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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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(3 of 5)

Date: 5/7/99

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. memo	Michael Uhlmann to Edwin Harper re: Status Report on Women's Issues, 6p	1/17/83	P5 65 10/5/00

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].
- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
- F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

OFFICE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT

STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 12/3/82 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: FYISUBJECT: 52% Solution

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
HARPER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	DRUG POLICY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TURNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BARR	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	D. LEONARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BLED SOE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OFFICE OF POLICY INFORMATION		
BOGGS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HOPKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	COBB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARLESON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PROPERTY REVIEW BOARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DENEND	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OTHER		
FAIRBANKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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GUNN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B. LEONARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MONTOYA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ROCK	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ROPER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SMITH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
UHLMANN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ADMINISTRATION	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

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52% SOLUTION

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52% SOLUTION: TRACK I

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

OBJECTIVE: The objective of this aspect of an overall strategy is to increase the President's support among women and reverse the growing trend for women to support Democratic candidates by highlighting Presidential action on items of exclusive concern to women.

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. 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:

- Stress the policy themes of legal and economic equity for women.
- 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.
- 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.

- 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.
- Key attitudes to be communicated are:
 - Recognition of the changing role of women as breadwinners as well as homemakers.
 - Awareness of 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.
- Develop an effective regional and grassroots communications network.

To implement this aspect of an overall women's strategy, the attached, 2-year Action Plan is divided into components as follows:

Economic Equity Initiatives

Legal Equity Initiatives

Appointments

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. On subsequent analysis and development of Track II (other issues of concern to women), the two will be integrated and an overall plan will be implemented.

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's voting habits are becoming more Democratic. 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 Democrat 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 Democrat leanings of women to produce Republican victories. However, some key statewide election losses have been attributed to the gender gap.

Role of Women's Groups

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 Democrat 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.

Heart of the Problem: 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 expanding role 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.

Half of all people in poverty are from single female-headed households, who represent 16% of the population.

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. From 1970 to 1982, the number of families maintained by women alone increased by more than 71% to 9.4 M. One in seven families is headed by a women 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 problem. Unmarried 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 may 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 problem is 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 with particular appeal to 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 benefits for women, including a reduction of the marriage tax penalty, the virtual elimination of inheritance taxes, and increased child care tax credits, we still need to address the "tough" issues, of pension reform and insurance discrimination.
- 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 perception of the Administration's lack of concern among many women. 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 deal with this problem, 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.

52% SOLUTION: TRACK I

ECONOMIC EQUITY INITIATIVE

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

Background: For many decades, the median income of women in the labor force has been approximately 60% of that for men. Various interest groups have argued over the years that the differential is explainable primarily in terms of systemic sex discrimination in the workplace.

In response to such concerns, Congress enacted the Equal Pay Act of 1963, which established the principle of equal pay for equal work in federal law. The principle was further reinforced in the following year as part of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, which forbids employment discrimination on account of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

The wage differential between men and women has not, however, changed appreciably since the enactment of these two landmark statutes. The persistence of the "pay gap" has prompted some to argue that the law is not being enforced with sufficient vigor.

There is in fact little evidence to support such an allegation. In 1973-74, the then Council of Economic Advisors conducted a study of the male-female pay differential, which concluded that the primary cause of the "pay gap" lay in the fundamentally different work patterns of men and women. (Women's participation in the labor force is substantially more intermittent than that of men; further, women tend to opt for careers in jobs which permit greater flexibility in accommodating familial responsibilities.) According to the CEA, choice rather than discrimination as such was the dominant factor in explaining the pay differential.

There is some evidence which indicates, however, that with the massive entry of women into the labor force in recent years, traditional male/female career patterning of the sort we have known in the past may be coming to an end. If that is the case, the "pay gap" should become substantially narrower over the course of the current generation.

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 and liberal Democrats, such as Edward Kennedy and organized labor, have combined to make this a 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: Immediately undertake an internal study to examine equal pay for work of comparable worth issues and attempt to define the concept in a manner consistent with the Administration's goals in order that we might get in front of this fast developing issue.

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 three Republican Senators. 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 a 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: A formal, in-depth review of the elements of the EEA and pending and prospective legislation that would prohibit insurers from discriminating on account of sex. Both civilian and military are being covered. Prepare an appropriate communication/legislative strategy based on the above.

Issues being Addressed: Will elimination of sex-based actuarial tables benefit or harm women or particular groups of women? What will be the dollar cost (and to whom?) of eliminating sex-based distinctions in insurance? What will be the structural impact on the insurance industry of mandating a sex-neutral standard? What are the implications for federalism?

Status: Working group has been charged to produce an options memo by the third week of December, which will address (a) whether the Administration should embrace in whole or in part any of the major pending bills and (b) whether we should propose legislation of our own.

Officer: Michael Uhlmann

Timing: ASAP Analysis due December 22.

ECONOMIC EQUITY INITIATIVE

PRIVATE SECTOR INITIATIVE: CHILD CAREBackground

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 or 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. States are no longer required to report spending patterns to the Federal government.

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 regulation, state and local regulations and restriction on day care may impose prohibitive costs on the system.

Political Impact

Demographics indicate that child care will be an increasing need for parents.

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

Action:

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. 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.

Officer: Jay Moorhead

Timing: ASAP and ongoing

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 a percentage 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."

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: Completed

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

EDUCATION: FOCUS ON WOMEN

Background: A comprehensive women's strategy would not be complete without addressing important educational issues. Of chief concern to women is access to job training opportunities, including vocational education and entrance into non-traditional fields. Emphasis on training opportunities for displaced homemakers is also considered very important.

It is not necessary in this initiative to create additional programs for women; rather the emphasis should be on assuring adequate access and participation by women in existing programs and proposed new Administration initiatives.

Action: Identify existing job training programs and proposed initiatives, such as the Job Training Bill, and recommend measures to assure the participation of women.

Officer: Dee Jepsen

Timing: January 15, 1982

LEGAL EQUITY INITIATIVE

Child Assistance Package

Background: The objective is for the President to be credited with a substantive and visible child-related initiative.

Individually, issues such as child care and child support enforcement may lack sufficient weight to be considered a major Presidential initiative. By incorporating a cluster of issues which focus on child assistance, a package can be developed which is both substantive and politically attractive enough to gain broad-based support.

Some of the issues which might be considered for incorporation are:

Child Care

Child Support Enforcement

Adoption

- Tax incentives for "hard to place" children
- Incentives to adopt children from foster homes
- Streamlining regulations and procedures to facilitate adoption

Child Abuse

Child Abandonment

Child Pornography

- Ease complicated enforcement
- Protection of Children Against Sexual Exploitation Act of 1977
- Increase visibility of current A/G efforts

To be successful, any effort in this area will require an extensive investment of time and resources from the White House, the Cabinet and state-level agencies. It is unlikely that more than one campaign in the child assistance area could be successfully launched and completed. One comprehensive and integrated package would therefore have the greatest opportunity for success.

Action: Immediately form a WHCCW Working Group to examine laws which impact on children and report to the CCW on recommended initiatives to be included in a child assistance package.

Officer: Dee Jepsen

Timing: Report due to WHCCW December 23, 1982

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 steady to date, but 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 principles were made seriously and have been fulfilled.

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: 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/Elizabeth Dole

Timing: April, 1983

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

Officer: Brad Reynolds/Elizabeth Dole

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/Elizabeth Dole

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: 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 action plan submitted to Elizabeth Dole in December.

Officer: Thelma Duggin

Timing: ASAP

Action: Oversight by White House Coordinating Council on Women.

Officer: Elizabeth H. Dole

Timing: Ongoing

APPOINTMENTS

Women in the Reagan Administration

Background: Although the Reagan Administration has a credible record of women appointees in substantive positions, the perception persists that women are underrepresented. This is due in large measure by the absence of women heading Cabinet departments. The President has also been criticized for the relatively few number of appointments of women judges in comparison with the previous Administration.

Political Impact: The presence of women in substantive policy positions, especially in the Cabinet, is a factor which influences women's perception of the Administration. More than any single issue, it is raised as evidence of the Administration's perceived lack of sensitivity and commitment in the women's area.

Action: Focus on appointing women to Cabinet positions.

Officer: Helene Von Damm

Timing: As appropriate

Action: Focus on the appointment of additional women judges as a priority for 1983 and 1984.

Officer: Helene Von Damm/Fred Fielding

Timing: As appropriate

COMMUNICATIONS PLAN
52% SOLUTION: TRACK I

Proposed Presidential Events

- State of the Union. Recognition of the changing role of women in American society. Careful attention to language which will communicate to women in the audience. January 1983
Edwin L. Harper
- Meeting with individuals and organizations concerned with economic equity for women. State Administration policy and future initiatives. February 1983
Elizabeth Dole
- Meeting with elected Republican women to encourage the recruitment of candidates for 1984. April 1983
Elizabeth Dole
- Meeting with Governor's Representatives to the 50 States Project to review progress and future priorities. June 1983
Elizabeth Dole
- Early Spring Speech to a mixed group. Theme: Changing and expanding role of women in American society and Administration's response to that change. Early Spring
Elizabeth Dole
- 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. Spring 1983
Elizabeth Dole
- Attend National Convention of Republican Women in Kentucky. October 6-9 1983
Elizabeth Dole
- 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. July 1984
Elizabeth Dole

COMMUNICATIONS PLAN

Long Term Projects

- Establish a strategy to contact regional and local 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 and local 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 and local press that reaches the grassroots.

Action Officer: Karna Small
Timing: February and ongoing.

- 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.

- 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: Dee Jepsen

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

52% SOLUTION: TRACK I
POLICY/COMMUNICATIONS ACTION CHART

<u>DATE</u>	<u>ACTION</u>	<u>ACTION OFFICER</u>
<u>1982</u>		
November (Issue paper to President)	Child Care: Develop Administration policy statement and action plan.	Velma Montoya
November (Submitted to WHCCW 12/2)	52% Solution to be completed.	Emily Rock Diana Lozano
December	Equal Pay for Equal Work Act: Form working group to have oversight of enforcement of the Act.	Michael Uhlmann
December	Equal Pay for Comparable Work: Commission an internal study from DEA to examine this issue. Study due April 1983.	Edwin L. Harper
December	Child Support Collection: Letter to Department heads from the President requiring greater cooperation implementing this initiative.	Michael Uhlmann
December	Child Support Collection: Set-up Justice Department meetings to examine how better to implement the Child Support Collection Program.	Michael Uhlmann
December	Equal Pay for Comparable Work: Bullet-proof Issues Paper on Equal Pay for Equal Work. Due January 1983	Kevin Hopkins
December	Child Assistance 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

<u>DATE</u>	<u>ACTION</u>	<u>ACTION OFFICER</u>
<u>1982</u>		
December (Request made 11/30/82)	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.	Michael Uhlmann
December	50 States Project: Implement strategy and action plan.	Elizabeth Dole
December	Manhart Working Group (pensions/insurance) decision memo due. Develop communications plan.	Dave Gergen
December	Cabinet Meeting: Discuss importance of 52% Solution 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 25	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	52% Solution 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 Elizabeth Dole
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 Elizabeth Dole
October 6-9	Presidential speech to the National Convention of Republican Women in Kentucky. Theme: Changing role of women and Administration's response.	
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

52% SOLUTION: TRACK II

The 52% Solution Track II is intended to be a comprehensive plan building on and incorporating the women's economic and legal equity initiatives and the appointment of women outlined in Track I. The latter will be instrumental in attempting to reverse the loss of women's support by the Administration but, by themselves, may not close the "gender gap".

Track II will give special consideration to the less tangible areas of sensitivities and behavioral responses unique to women. Psychological studies and surveys indicate that women and men are different in their view, reactions and interpretations of verbal and visual communications. The second part of the 52% Solution will be manifested in an overall Communications Strategy designed to assure that the message sent is the message received - by both men and women. Track II requires further professional analysis and study and will contain the tactical flexibility needed to make adjustments after periodic review and assessment.

In formulating this plan, consideration will be given to women's judgments of political morality; their sensitivity to economic vulnerability; their deeply held values and commitment to children, family, and the needy; their levels of political awareness and their need for technical education on certain issues - as well as the overlapping demographics which help shape attitudes.

Studies indicate that women are likely to be more compassionate and "caring". Since 1952, women have voted for the Presidential candidate perceived to be the "most caring".

Not to be overlooked is the fact that a six-month period of economic recovery is likely to have a noticeable positive impact upon the support of the Administration by women. Women are not only troubled by their own personal hardships suffered as a result of a slow impaired economy, but have deep concerns for others who suffer and are in need.

In conclusion, an unfair image of the President must be corrected, and Administration actions and policies must be communicated in a manner which will be understood and accepted

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

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 17, 1983

FOR: EDWIN L. HARPER
FROM: MICHAEL M. *M. M.* SCHLMANN
SUBJECT: Status Report on Women's Issues

Under the regime established by the "Fifty-Two Percent Solution", the following matters were assigned to me:

Equal Pay Act

The assignment was to form a working group to assess enforcement policy, for review by the President in May. As I reported to you on January 7, we will have no difficulty meeting that deadline.

An ancillary suggestion was that EEOC and Justice identify particular cases for prosecution. (FYI, EEOC enforces the Pay Act; Justice and Labor, however, deal with analogous issues.) All three agencies are alert to criticisms and concerns in this area. Looking for cases that can be bally-hooed and finding them, however, are two different things. The typical equal pay case is dryasdust incarnate, and almost never yields public relations benefits of the sort which apparently promoted the suggestion in the first place. Cases which generate political interest usually do so because women's advocacy groups (mostly liberal Democrat in orientation) urge litigative strategies or remedies that would stretch the law beyond what this Administration believes to be its proper bounds. Such cases are rarely equal pay actions per se; they are usually conjoined with allegations under the Constitution or Title VII and employ arguments precisely of the sort that the President has objected to in many statements over the years (e.g., inferring the existence of discrimination from statistics).

In short, just because Advocacy Group X thinks Case Y is a splendid opportunity to advance their cause does not make it one that, from a sound public policy perspective, ought to be undertaken.

Finally, I do not see much of a White House role beyond exhortations about the need to be on the alert for cases which will dramatize our commitment to equal pay. Anything beyond that tends to present major downside risks which create political and legal problems of quite a different sort, i.e., exerting White House influence over what are after all law enforcement investigations and prosecutions.

It has been understood in every conversation I have been privy to on this subject that our gestures were meant to be chiefly symbolic, i.e., to correct the misimpression that we were somehow "soft" on equal pay enforcement. We can certainly underscore our commitment to the principles of the Act,, but as I have said to you and others on many occasions, we are unlikely (given that the political atmosphere is defined almost entirely by advocacy groups and their media cohorts) to correct that "misimpression" unless we embrace the litigative theories of the advocacy groups.

As this point seems to have suffered some mistranslation, let me take a few moments to spell it out in more detail.

The Pay Act has been on the books for some time now. It was overdue at the time it passed, was (and is) widely accepted in principle, and has clearly had a beneficial impact. Its jurisprudence is fairly well settled, although advocacy groups would like to see that jurisprudence expanded to include what has come to be known as the "comparable worth" doctrine. The issue arises inexorably from the case law: while equal pay for equal work is as close to a universally accepted principle as you will find in the law, good and reasonable people will differ on what "equal work" means in a particular case. And that is where the comparable worth debate begins.

We do from time to time receive criticism about enforcement statistics. Some groups will allege that our case filings are down (compared to this or that conveniently selected index), or that dollars recovered are only so much as compared to some earlier period. The affected agency will then respond, saying that there is a faulty premise in the statistical method chosen, or that the criticism ignores some better, or truer measure of progress. And so on, back and forth, until everyone forgets what the debate was all about. I have never seen any of these statistical arguments get anywhere. For one thing, the argument is usually about differences at the margin. But more importantly, the statistical argument is usually a front for something far deeper, and the far-deeper something is invariably a philosophical difference on a fundamental policy question.

We delude ourselves greatly if we think that marginally improved statistics here or there will do very much to placate the more severe critics of the Administration, much less induce them to support us. The advocacy groups are not naive. As a number of their representatives have made clear to me in private, they are not really interested in whether our enforcement numbers are up 3% here or 6% there. What they want from us is agreement on certain fundamental premises, and in the case of equal pay enforcement, they are upset with us because we reject the premises and remedies associated with comparable worth.

Folks on our side of the fence are sometimes misled on this point, because the advocacy groups often draw up short of embracing a full-bells-and-whistles comparable worth approach. (And for good reason: when comparable worth is presented in its full doctrinal raiment, it is seen for what it is and soundly rejected.) Instead, the advocacy groups cut the salami slice-by-slice, by pushing this case here, and that case there -- cases which taken individually may appear to have some merit, but which taken collectively lead you ever so gradually to a judicially-imposed Promised Land of comparable worth.

At the heart of the controversy is the so-called "pay gap" between men and women, which has hovered at or about 60% ever since people started to measure the difference. Women's advocacy groups contend that some significant portion of that gap is attributable to unlawful discrimination and, accordingly, that heavier enforcement of the Pay Act will narrow the gap. The trouble with the argument is that no one outside the advocacy groups and their allies believes it to be true.

Although the analysis is not undisputed, the prevailing view among economists is that only a small portion of the gap is a consequence of discrimination. The average male worker, for example, has been in the workforce twice as long as the average female. He works, on average, ten hours a week longer than his female counterpart. When those two factors alone are equalized, the pay gap tends to disappear altogether --and, in some lines of work, women's pay exceeds that for men. Choice also plays a significant role --e.g., women do not enter training programs or work overtime as much as men, and wives tend to follow their husbands' (vs. their own) job opportunities as far as location is concerned.

This argument by no means denies that job discrimination exists; nor does it in any way suggest that the Pay Act should not be enforced with vigor. What it does suggest, and suggests compellingly, is that the Pay Act as such will do very little to narrow the pay gap. Connecting the Pay Act with the pay gap is precisely what this Administration ought not to do. Once that association is made, it is inevitable (no matter how much we may wish to the contrary) that comparable worth remedies will follow, called by whatever name you please.

That is why I have been concerned about unduly highlighting the Pay Act in the SOTU or elsewhere. We will either create false expectations that we have no intention of fulfilling, thereby opening ourselves to charges of hypocrisy down the road, or give unnecessary aid and comfort to a philosophy which is fundamentally opposed to that of the President. We should do nothing which in any way, shape, or form encourages the idea that it somehow lies within the power of government to erase any significant portion of the wage gap.

The Pay Act is a fine law. But any reference to it should emphasize its success in combatting discrimination rather than its actual or potential capacity to narrow the wage gap. We can pledge full and vigorous enforcement, but if anything is said beyond the level of general principle, we have a responsibility to explain what the Act is unlikely to do.

Economic Equity Act

As you are aware, the Manhart working group was originally charged to look at the consequences of requiring equal periodic pension benefits for women. The group began meeting in June, background papers and statistical analyses were commissioned, and by roughly August the size of the problem we were working on was at least apparent. What to do about it was quite something else again. Most of the Fall was taken up with articulating possible options and the effort (not made easier by the fact that no one had really done it before) to cost them out with some degree of confidence. Simultaneously, there appeared on the horizon the specters of Ms. Norris and Ms. Spirt, whose legal claims probably generated more time of more lawyers in the government than any other issue to date. You are familiar with the ups and downs and arounds of the decisions to file or not file in those cases, so I will not belabor them here. Suffice it to say that everyone who had not previously worked on the matter was provided with at least a glimpse of how enormously complicated this legal issue is. Not only was it difficult to say where the better legal argument lay, but it was equally difficult to say where the equities lay, the law notwithstanding.

In the event, it was decided that Title VII did require equal benefits even as it required equal contributions. But no one who agreed that that was the better way to go did so with any comfort, because none of us had any confidence in the Court's capacity to fashion a remedy that took into account the realities of the pension business. But the deed was done, and we are now faced with the responsibility of contriving a remedy of our own.

In late November, the group was asked to expand its mandate to include certain provisions of the Economic Equity Act. These were the six items noted under "a" and the two items noted under "c" in Elizabeth Dole's memo to you on January 11. Contrary to the impression conveyed in Elizabeth's memo, all of these items have been discussed by the working group and will be aired (along with the more specific Manhart issue) at the Cabinet Council meeting next Wednesday.

I want to emphasize once again here what I have on many occasions mentioned in the past. The pension issue is enormously complicated --legally, morally, financially, and politically. (The Solicitor General and his most senior attorney with more than 10 years' experience in the field pronounced the

implications of the Spirt case to be the most intellectually complicated matter they have encountered in the law.)

At issue are not only apparent conflicts among at least four separate bodies of law --the Pay Act, Title VII, ERISA, and OFCCP --but significant financial and structural changes in the pension industry. It is one thing to say that we believe in pension "equity" for women, and quite another to achieve it in a way that does not create injustices of a different sort, threaten the viability of pension plans, or revolutionize the insurance industry. If you believe as I do that the unintended consequences of laws are at least as important, if not more important, than the intended consequences, this surely is an area in which we should tread carefully.

All of us who have worked on this matter --including a large number of professional women in the agencies --have come to discover why neither the Nixon Administration, the Ford Administration, nor the Carter Administration was able to come to a consensus. I think this much can be said, however: we are closer than any of our predecessors were to recommending a workable solution to at least some of the problems created by pension disparities related to sex. None of us, however, has any confidence that our proposals in this area will do much to close the so-called "gender gap".

That said, let me pick up on the other items noted in Elizabeth's memo.

Insurance (generally)

It was early-on decided, and agreed to by all, that the elimination of sexual distinctions in all forms of insurance (health, life, auto, e.g.) would not be addressed by the working group. The pension-related issues generated by Manhart and the EEA were thought to be quite enough for one sitting. We can, of course, look into them after a recommendation is forwarded on pensions, but this much should be said here: as with pensions, it should not be gratuitously assumed that the elimination of sex-based criteria will necessarily benefit women; it may actually add greater burdens. To the extent our concerns in this area are driven by a political desire to accomodate a female constituency, to that same extent should we avoid policies that, in the name of a well-intentioned but uninformed quest for "equality", may make life more difficult for the very class of people we are trying to please. We could, for example, forbid the use of sex-based actuarial tables in auto insurance. The principal consequence would be to raise rates for female drivers. But x-number of those drivers will, for example, be single heads of households, who can scarce afford the increase in premiums. And even beyond that particular class of women, I have my doubts about the political wisdom of causing an increase in insurance rates for women drivers.

Displaced Homemakers

I have no assignment in this area, other than being asked from time to time to comment on various proposals. Roger Porter has the matter under review. I remain of the view that "displaced homemakers" have no greater claim on the public purse or the Administration's supply of compassion than, e.g., out-of-work males, families who can't afford to send their children to college, etc.

Child Care

The "Fifty-Two Percent Solution" assigned responsibility for this issue to diverse other elements of the EOP.

Child Support Enforcement

There is no major policy decision that needs to be taken on this issue at this time. The idea of going forward through CCLP was proposed only as a formality. All federal agencies are in agreement on the general outlines of the approach proposed by "The Fifty-Two Percent Solution", and it was decided at the Executive Secretaries' meeting this week to proceed by means of a Memorandum for the President. Bill Barr is drafting, and it can be readied for presidential review before the SOTU. As for SOTU language itself, Bill will draft over the weekend.

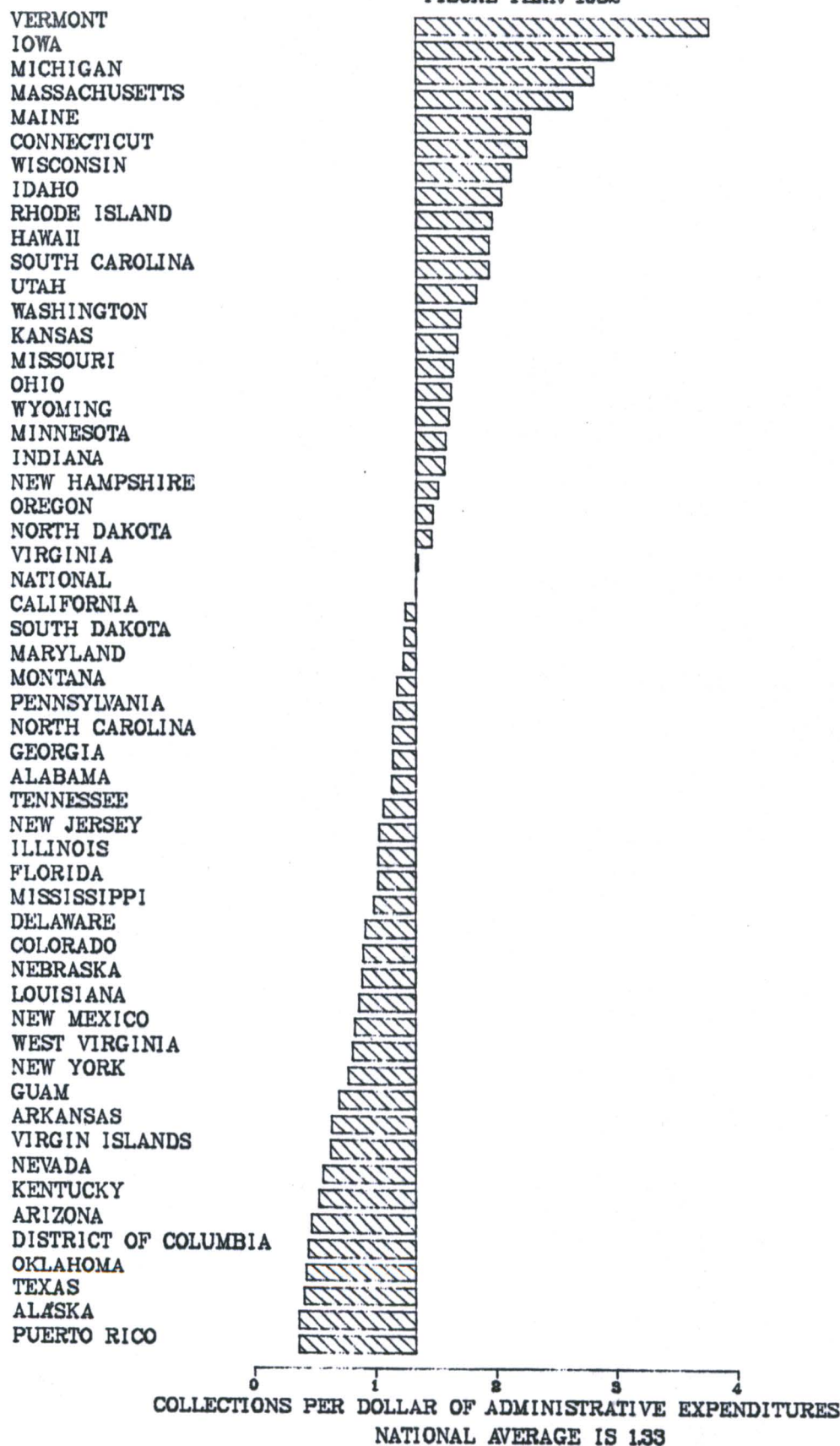
I will draft and have to you by Monday language for the SOTU on the pension matter and on equal pay.

CHILD SUPPORT PROGRAM PERFORMANCE

AFDC CHILD SUPPORT COLLECTIONS PER DOLLAR OF

TOTAL ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENDITURES

FISCAL YEAR 1982



CHILD SUPPORT PROGRAM PERFORMANCE

PERCENT OF AFDC CASES W/COLLECTIONS
TO TOTAL AFDC CASELOAD
FISCAL YEAR 1982

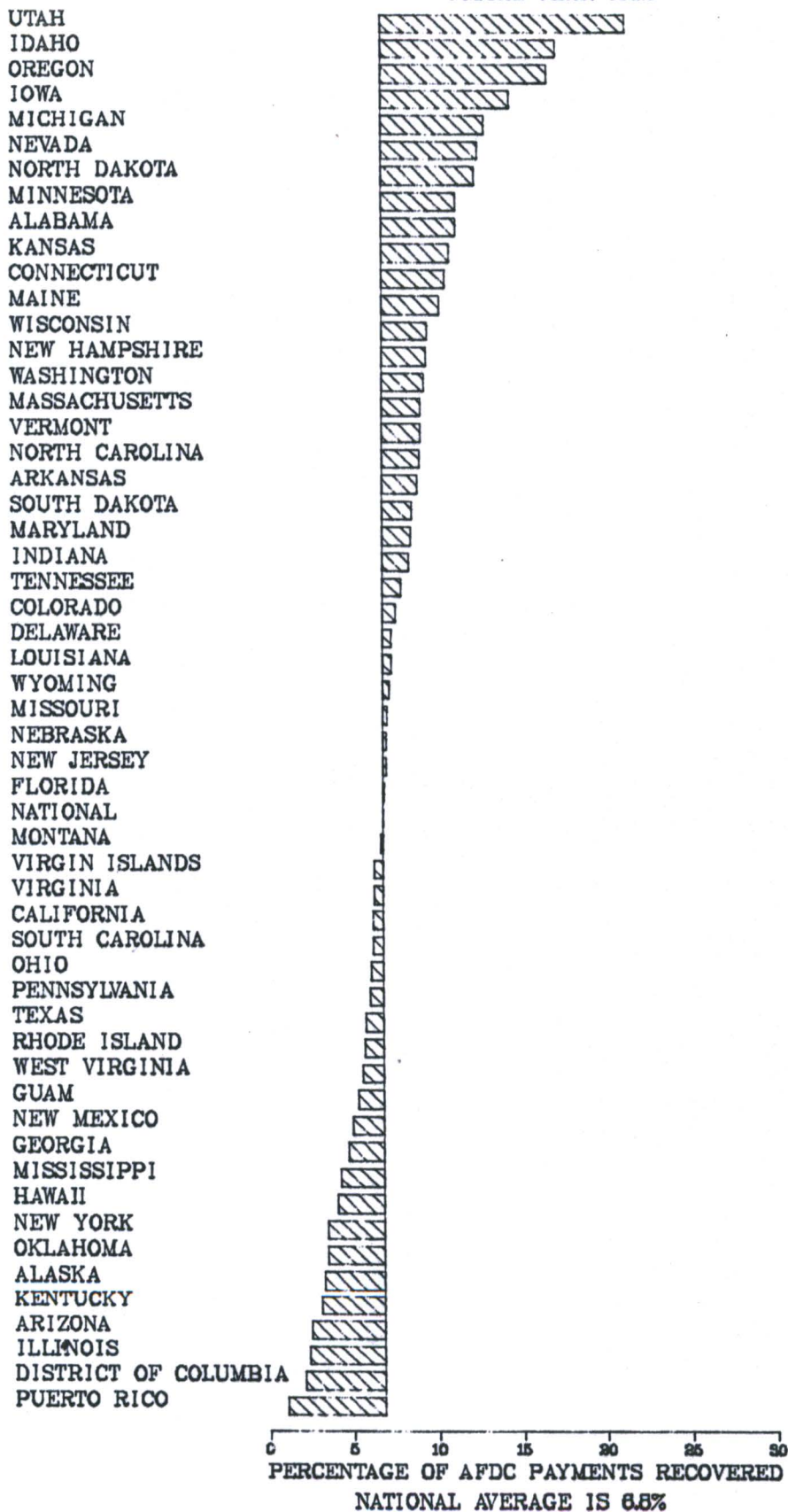


0 5 10 15 20 25 30
PERCENTAGE OF AFDC CASES W/COLLECTIONS
NATIONAL AVERAGE IS 10.1%

CHILD SUPPORT PROGRAM PERFORMANCE

PERCENTAGE OF AFDC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS
RECOVERED THROUGH CHILD SUPPORT COLLECTIONS

FISCAL YEAR 1982



EXAMPLE: CURRENT LAW VS. FINANCIAL RESTRUCTURING

TEN BEST STATES

AVERAGE COST EFFECTIVENESS: 2.47

COLLECT

\$ 2.47

SPEND

\$ 1.00

TAXPAYER SAVES

\$ 1.47

CURRENT

FINANCING

STATE SAVINGS \$ 1.31

FEDERAL SAVINGS \$ 0.16

RESTRUCTURED

FINANCING

STATE SAVINGS \$ 1.35

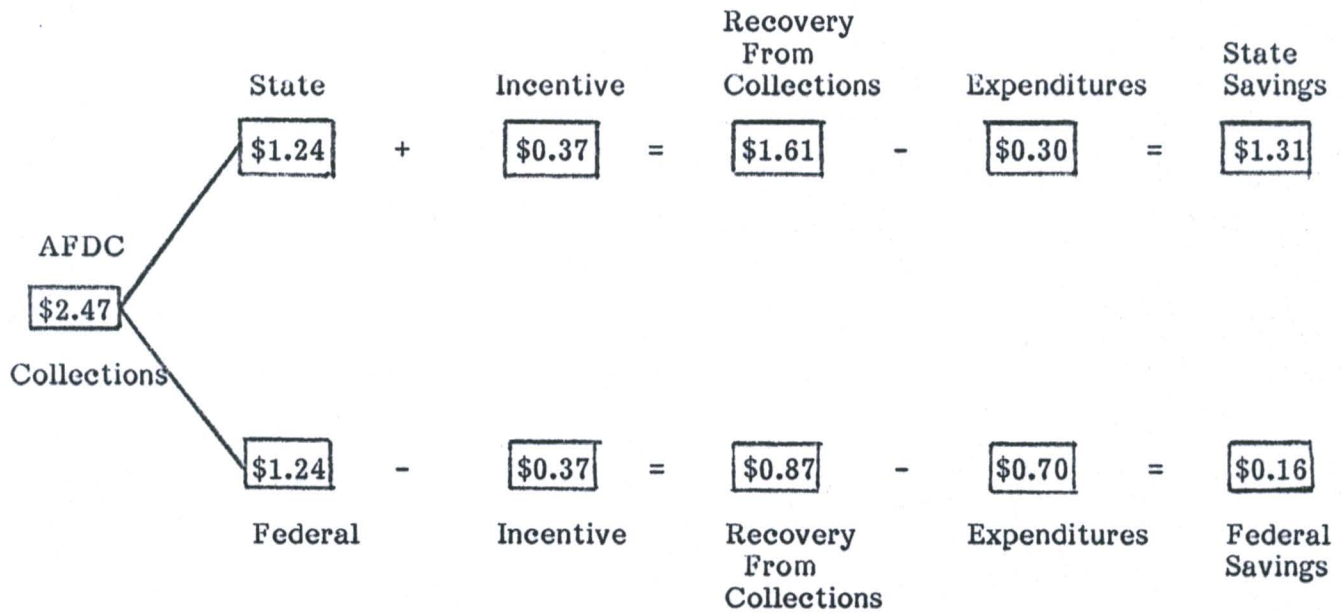
FEDERAL SAVINGS \$ 0.12

CONCLUSION:

GOOD PERFORMING STATES CAN DO BETTER
UNDER RESTRUCTURING

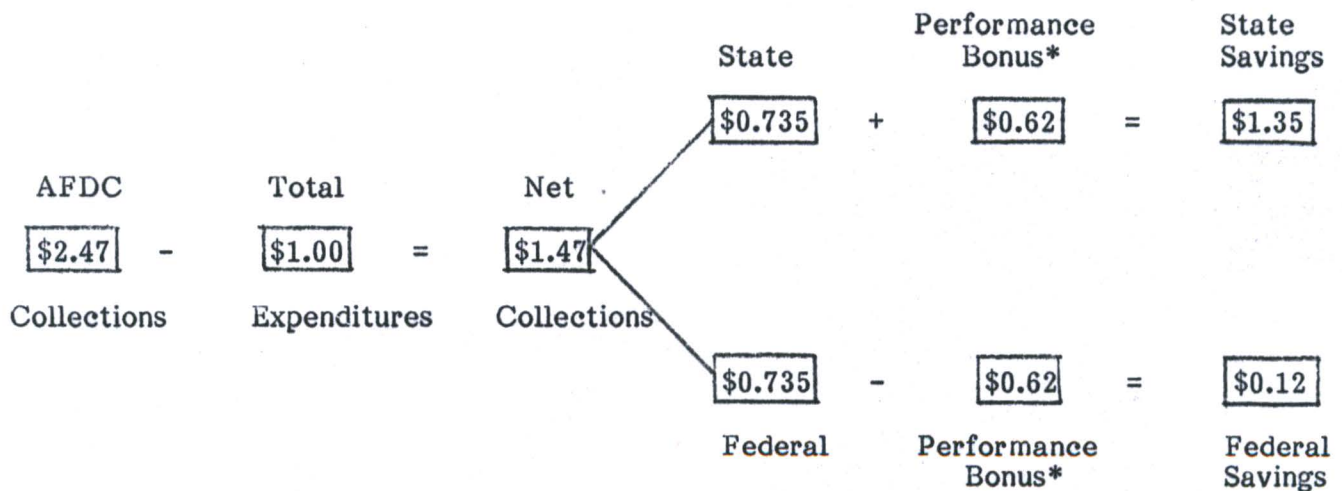
TEN BEST STATES

CURRENT FINANCING



States receive 50% of AFDC Collections and an incentive of 15% of Total AFDC Collections. Total Expenditures are split between Federal (70%) and State (30%) Governments.

RESTRUCTURED FINANCING



Assume Bonuses equal to 25% of AFDC Collections

EXAMPLE: CURRENT LAW VS. FINANCIAL RESTRUCTURING

TEN WORST STATES

AVERAGE COST EFFECTIVENESS: 0.49

COLLECT

\$0.49

SPEND

\$ 1.00

TAXPAYER LOSES

\$(0.51)

CURRENT

FINANCING

STATE SAVINGS

\$ 0.02

FEDERAL LOSS

\$(0.53)

RESTRUCTURED

FINANCING

STATE LOSS

\$(0.255)

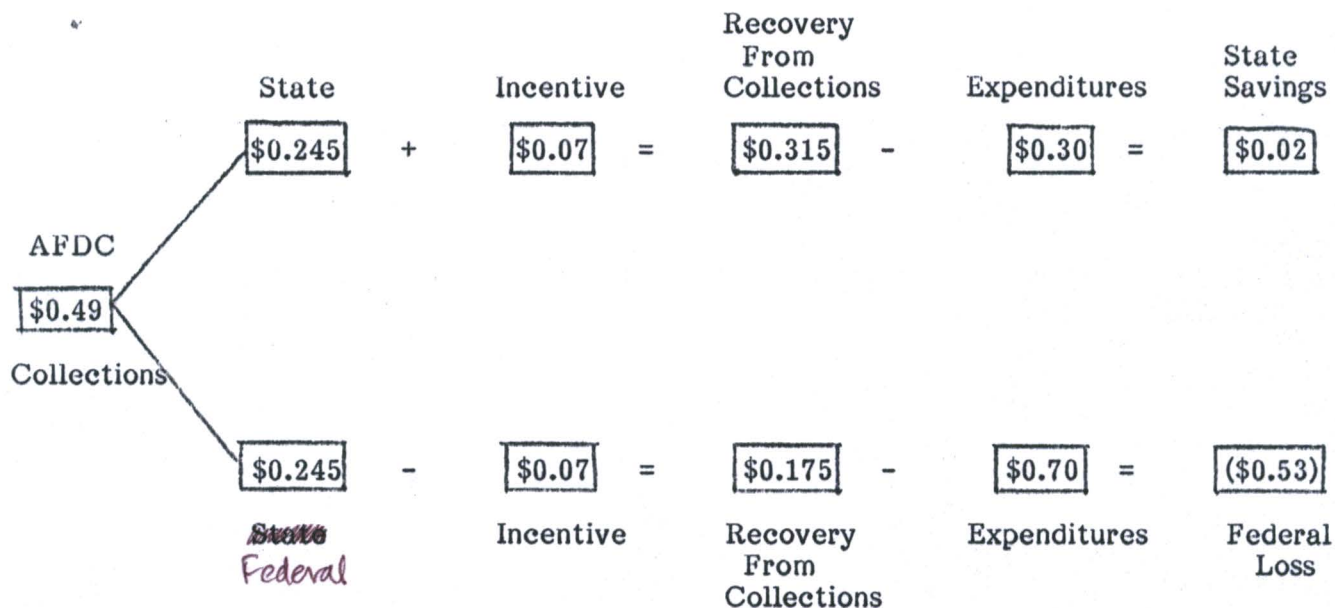
FEDERAL LOSS

\$(0.255)

CONCLUSION: POOR PERFORMING STATES HAVE INCENTIVE TO
IMPROVE

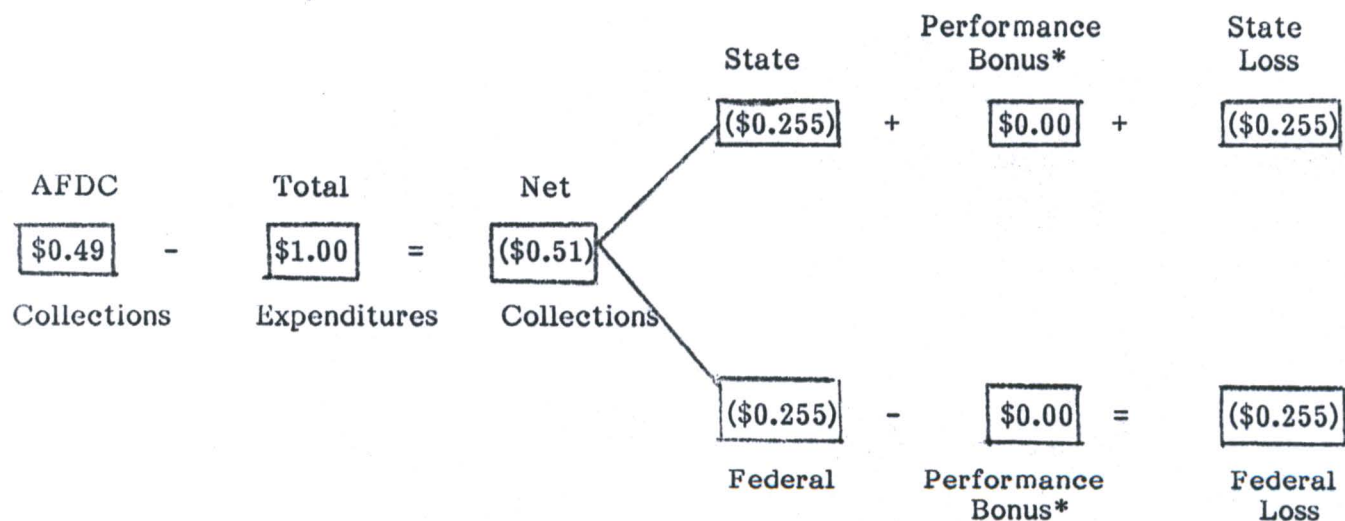
TEN WORST STATES

CURRENT FINANCING



States receive 50% of AFDC Collections and an incentive of 15% of Total AFDC Collections. Total Expenditures are split between Federal (70%) and State (30%) Governments.

RESTRUCTURED FINANCING



* Assumes no Bonuses