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→ Barr, FYI

OFFICE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT

STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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

SUBJECT: Gender Gap Op-Ed Piece

	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"/>
BOGGS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OFFICE OF POLICY INFORMATION		
BRADLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HOPKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARLESON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	COBB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DENEND	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PROPERTY REVIEW BOARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FAIRBANKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OTHER		
FERRARA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GALEBACH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GARFINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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"/>
<u>UHLMANN</u>	<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:

Michael Uhlmann:

Attached may prove of interest for draft radio talking points.

<sup>(D)</sup>  
Doe Rock

Please return this tracking sheet with your response

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 28, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM CICCONI

FROM: ELIZABETH H. DOLE 

SUBJECT: Gender Gap Op-Ed Piece

Thanks for your help and guidance re: the article. While not much different than the draft we reviewed, I thought you might like to have final copy. The initial impression from those with whom I have shared the copy has been very favorable.

bcc: D. Lozano  
D. Jepsen  
T. Duggin  
M.E. Quint  
C. Bedell  
E. Rock 

## THE REAL GENDER GAP

Change, we are told, is the only constant. Yet, for millions of American women, change in the last generation has accelerated at a breathtaking pace. Since 1962, when I found myself one of 25 women in a Harvard Law School class of 550, deliberately ignored by a professor who reserved his questions for the annual "ladies day", a combination of social and economic forces have interacted to involve women in what might be called a "quiet revolution". Pollsters and pundits now diagnose a "gender gap" dividing the sexes in their attitudes toward President Reagan and his policies. The disparity is real, but it is rooted, I believe, in changes extending far beyond the control of any single President or political party.

It is ironic, for example, that the President's success in controlling inflation and cutting taxes -- putting nearly \$700 in the pocket of the working women earning the median \$11,000 a year -- has been minimized by his critics. For it was the explosion of inflation in the seventies that drove millions of married women into the work force for the first time. Today, half of all women over the age of 16 are working outside the home. Additional growth in the female work force has come from divorced spouses. These realities of modern America have blended with changes in the marketplace itself. As we become increasingly an economy of services instead of manufacturing, women who have found the doors to steel mills or auto assembly plants closed are discovering new and welcome opportunities for self-expression in fields as diverse as data processing and agricultural research.

Today, women are taking their places beside men in business, government and the professions in unprecedented numbers. The ranks of women MBA candidates have grown by nearly 800 percent during the last decade. And with the changed roles have come fresh expectations and attitudes. The Modern woman's new-found economic involvement has virtually guaranteed independence of thought and action. Thus, the gender gap and economic change are inexorably interwoven. The question before us is how to close the one by harnessing the other.

Let's begin with a dose of candor - and acknowledgement that the real gender gap we confront is not political, but financial and legal. It is the shortfall between society's promise of sexual equity, and the often frustrating facts of American life. And it is this gap to which we address ourselves. The tax package of 1981, for instance: it eased considerably the marriage tax penalty, saving a family up to \$300 by 1984. It broadened IRA participation, eliminated estate taxes for the spouse, boosted the child care credit from \$400 to \$720, and provided fresh incentives for employers to include day care in prepaid benefit packages. In addition, the Treasury Department recently announced its decision to include the child care tax credit on next year's form 1040A, permitting low-income families who do not itemize deductions to take advantage of the credit. Since 46% of all women in the work force are mothers with children under six years of age, these initiatives represent more

than verbal solidarity with working women. They add up to compassion women can put in the bank.

Equally important, the President has moved to strike down legal impediments to sexual equality. His Fifty States Project has assisted in identifying discriminatory laws and is now poised to coordinate corrective legislation in partnership with governors and other state and local officials. The Department of Justice is in the process of completing a sweeping review of statutes, regulations, policies and practices that inhibit the march of progress at the federal level. What's more, the President has created a mechanism to implement changes in sex-biased regulations throughout the federal establishment -- in everything from Secret Service provisions that specify protection for presidential widows to dozens of separate sections of the legal code that will require Congressional revisions. On October 1 of this year, my husband Bob Dole, with the strong personal support of the President, introduced in the Senate the Federal Equity Act, a bill cleansing the federal code of approximately 100 such discriminatory provisions. Although a small step, this is a necessary one in achieving equality for women under the law.

And, last August 27, President Reagan announced formation of a White House Coordinating Council on Women, with myself in the Chair. Our role is part think tank, part prod, a sensitive vehicle for long term planning, giving voice to the problems and potential of women, both in and outside the home.

Such steps may account for few headlines. But they can make a positive difference for millions of American women. How we anticipate their needs in this time of change will dictate how we respond to them. By making the legal system reflect the economic realities we can further the quiet revolution. We can close the real gender gap.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

To: ELH

From: EHR

Re: Two Year Gender Gap Plan

Attached is first, very rough cut at a two year strategy. In the next weeks ~~or so~~ we need to do the following things to firm up the plan:

- o Review initial draft with Diana Lozano and Judy Pond and Michael Uhlmann on Monday. Be prepared for Working Group strategy meeting on Tuesday to get Dee Jepsen's input.
- o Further refine plan in relationship to data being collected on how to market ideas to women. Data due in Tuesday.
- o ELH to present plan to E. Dole for suggestions, modifications and proposed introduction to WHCCW the week after Thanksgiving.
- o Draft plan again with all inputs and prepare first draft of plan to go to the President. Due: December 4.
- o Present Presidential draft to E. Meese III December 6.
- o Revise plan according to E.Meese recommendations.
- o Present plan to other WH senior staff. December 10.
- o Present plan to the President.
- o Cabinet Meeting to Stress the Importance of The Plan in relationship to the 84 elections.

In order to accomplish the above tasks, I would recommend that Diana Lozano, Judy Pond, and myself be assigned to originate, coordinate, and generally hound dog the beast until it is ready. This, of course, must be approved by E. Dole. I know the team is ready, willing, and able but we look to our collective bosses to let us lose.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 17, 1982

Two Year Gender Gap Strategy

**PROBLEM**

The Administration has been perceived ~~is being perceived~~ as being insensitive if not down right hostile to issues that are of concern to women voters. If this perception is not altered over the next two years, the gap will widen to the disadvantage of the Administration and Republican candidates.

**SOLUTION**

Twenty-four month plan to communicate present attitudes, highlight past accomplishments, and focus on what we are doing to support working women and female heads of households. It is not necessary to deviate from the Reagan agenda one iota in order to accomplish this goal. *task.*

THE PLAN

**BASIC ASSUMPTIONS**

- o We must adhere to the basic principles of the Reagan philosophy.
- o Since women make up 53% of the population, we would be foolish not to target specific groups that we should be able to attract or in some cases regain.
- o Major themes are legal and economic equity and sensitivity to the role that working parents play in society.
- o Concern for working women does not mean that we ignore or alienate married women who stay at home.
- o Effort should be long term, relatively low key, directed at the regional press, building a record.
- o It is apparent that it is not necessarily what the President says but how he says it. The Lebanon speech just about closed the gap on the war and peace issue because the President specifically expressed his concern for women and children and for a lasting peace.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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**BASIC ASSUMPTIONS-continued**

- o The White House has at its disposal many spokesmen. WH spokesmen should be used to contact women's groups that are sympathetic to the basic philosophy of the Administration.
- o Women within the Administration should be asked and encouraged to speak inside and outside of Washington.

**ANALYSIS OF TARGET GROUPS**

For the purposes of The Plan, all women can be said to share the following characteristics:

- o Economically underutilized and underpaid.
- o Not very sophisticated politically.
- o Responsive to rhetoric and symbols.
- o Feel under represented in the power structure of the United States.

On the whole, women are concerned about the macro problems of war and peace, the state of the economy, the state of the environment and unemployment. The tact that needs to be taken on the large issues is to make sure that the Administration communicates its philosophy in language that women can respond to. There is a sense, especially when discussing the economy and military issues, in which women tune out to what is demonstrably a male vocabulary. For a lot of women, discussions of the prime rate means nothing where a discussion of the effect of reduced inflation on a grocery bill would mean a lot. Discussions of nuclear freeze in the context of the deployment of military hardware will leave most women cold and hostile. Discussions of the fear of nuclear war and the effect that has on the fears that children have mean a lot. We must continue to study how to talk to women. It is clear that women are voting in order to be heard. It is time to listen and to respond as the body politic does to any group of active voters.

Women, like all voters, vote their pocket book and their particular interests. It is useful to further define the women's vote by economic group in order to better target groups that are potentially supportive of the Administration's goals.

**Low Probability Population:**

1. Young change seekers. Women in college who look forward

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Low Probability Population - continued

2. **Vanguards:** Part of the post war babyboom generation. Are well represented as journalists. Want to actively change the role of women in society. Are important to us because they are journalists and they are unlikely to respond to a Republican Administration in a positive manner. 4%
3. **Domestic Inactives:** Women on welfare or otherwise supported by the Federal government. They believe that the Federal government should support them. A very poor prospect for the Administration. 19%

Traditional Republican Voters That We ARE Unlikely to Lose:

4. **Mrs. Average:** Middle age, middle income, middle political views. Married. Natural Republicans. 16%
5. **Older Traditionalists:** Married. Over 55. Republican. 10%

Target Groups: Some to Regain and Some to Win Over:

6. **Under 35, single, liberal on social issues, students, clerical workers, not home oriented.** 6/10 say the women's movement has helped them personally. Likely to respond to the Administration. 12%
7. **Indispensables:** Staff homes and offices. Many minority women who are moving into the middle class. Two-thirds are married. Salaries a necessity for family maintenance. Have an expansive outlook on women. A very good possibility for the Administration. 19%
8. **Energetics:** Married, active, small children. Modern. Good target group. 18%
9. **Upscale Actives:** Professionals. Tend to be liberal on social issues. Caring is important to them. 10%

Unknown Quantity:

10. **Ms. Coping.** Single heads of households, working, not on welfare. Young children. 5%

We are well on our way to defining specifically <sup>what</sup> concerns the target groups and how best to get the message across to them that the Administration is not oblivious to their particular concerns.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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**SPECIFIC PROPOSALS, TIMING, ACTION OFFICERS**

**Appointments:**

Rationale: It is important to convey to women that they can succeed as Republicans. We must continue to find qualified women to fill high level jobs within the Administration. Democrats are perceived as the party that welcomes women. We can offset this advantage by appointing qualified women without the impression that they are token appointments.

Timing: Continual as positions open up.

Action Officer: Helene von Damm

**Support of Republican Women Candidates:**

Rationale: Same as above. There is a place in the Republican Party for women.

Proposal: Invite women Republican candidates to the White House in early September of 1984. Have prepared a well coordinated press plan to get press packages to the regional press. Supplement local press releases with radio interviews to be offered at the local level.

Timing: September 1984

Action Officer: Diana Lozano

**Support of Republican Women:**

Rationale: Same as above.

Proposal: President to attend the National Convention of Republican Women, Louisville, Kentucky, October 6-9, 1983. This visit will also provide campaign footage for 1984--The President speaking before thousands of cheering women.

Timing: October 6-9, 1983.

Action Officer: Diana Lozano

**WH Support of RNC Working Partners Initiative:**

Rationale: The RNC has developed a task force that travels around the country identifying groups of working partners (two worker families, single heads of households) that have particular needs concerning day care, child support, and other problems. The Task Force provides information on how to approach particular problems. The WH should identify ways in which we can support this effort and express

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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**Establish a Strategy to Contact Regional Press on a Regular Basis:**

Rationale: The major East Coast press are 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. There seems to be no way to win this argument even though the numbers, by all counts are in our favor. We can combat this situation by going directly to the regional press and radio shows with the Administration's record on this and other issues. In two years, we should be able to establish a systematic approach to press that reaches the grass roots.

**Proposal:**

1. Create a women's issues package to be updated on a regular basis. Provide the package to all Administration spokesman so that they will have at their finger tips answers to questions that may arise.

Timing: ASAP and Ongoing

Action Officer: Judy Pond

**Proposal:**

2. Set up a women's speaking team. Do not necessarily have the women go out to speak on women's issues but do have them focus on their areas of expertise and be ready to answer questions on issues of concern to women. Send speakers to organized women's groups such as organizations of women in business, real estate agents, etc. If a group does request a woman to speak on women's issues, be ready to fill the request.

Timing: ASAP and Ongoing.

Action Officer: Judy Pond

**Proposal:**

3. Cabinet Secretaries to speak to groups of women in and outside of Washington. Identify gatherings that are appropriate and encourage the Cabinet Secretaries to take the time to talk to and listen to women.

Timing: Ongoing.

Action Officer: Judy Pond

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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**Establish a Strategy to Contact Regional Press on a Regular Basis - continued:**

Proposal:

4. Actuality radio interviews with women who work within the Administration. Not necessarily limited to high level appointments. Local radio stations are apt to pick-up on "local girl makes good" story. These radio spots will send the message that there are many women in the Administration no matter what the NYTimes says.

Timing: Ongoing

Action Officer: Karna Small

Proposal:

5. Research significant dates that celebrate the accomplishments of women and key speaking engagements, press interviews, and radio to those dates. Be on the alert for possible statements by the President.

Timing: Ongoing

Action Officer: Judy Pond

**CCLP Activities:**

Rationale: Part of the ongoing commitment of this Administration is to assure that women are treated equally under the law. Since the major legislation is in place (Equal Pay Act and large parts of the Economic Equity Act), we need to be creative about examining legislation that may impact on women and parents.

Proposal:

CCLP to form a Working Group to examine laws and regulations that have an impact on children, adoption procedures, foster care, child pronography.

Timing: Form before the SOTU. Interim report due \_\_\_\_\_.  
Final report due \_\_\_\_\_.

Action Officer: Michael Uhlmann coordinate similar activity with 50 States Project.

Proposal:

2. CCLP to immediatly determine if the Administration can support the remaining parts of the Economic Equity Act. If we can support we should come out early and clearly.

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Timing: ASAP

Action Officer: Michael Uhlmann

Proposal:

3. Coordinate implementation of the Child Support Collections Initiative. Draft approved letter to Cabinet Secretaries from the President and send before the SOTU. Set up meetings with the Justice Department before SOTU. Monitor other parts of the initiative and look for similar issues to be folded into the plan. (The meeting with the Governors might be an opportunity to go over a whole range of issues that impact working mothers, child support, child care, adoption.)

Timing: ASAP and Ongoing

Action Officer: Michael Uhlmann

4. Proposal: Equal Pay for Equal Work. CCLP to make sure that the law is being enforced at the federal level. Be ready at any given time to support the Administration's record on litigating the Equal Pay Act. Commission a private study to examine the equal pay for comparable work issues so that the Administration is prepared with counter arguments to an issue that is not going to leave us alone for the next two years. Coordinate bullet-proof talking points with Lance Lambertson for use by Administration spokesman who will be asked about this issue. Look for a good, long drawn out Equal Pay for Equal Work case that the Administration is willing to support and publicize that support through the regional press network and with Washington press establishment.

Timing: Ongoing

Action Officer: Michael Uhlmann

Proposal:

5. Examine the viability of a restructuring of the Dependent Tax Exemption. The point is that tax exemptions for parents have not kept pace with rising costs. The present deduction of 1000 should be 4000 if the deduction had kept up with inflation.

Timing: Ongoing

Action Officer: Bill Barr to coordinate with CCEA.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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**50 States Project:**

Rationale: The 50 States Project apparently has a terrible reputation outside the WH. It is important to turn this around. The mandate of the Project should be expanded to identify state laws that inhibit the Child Support Collection Initiative, interfere with topics under the child protection initiative, and any other law at the state level that interferes in a negative way with the opportunities afforded to two worker families, single heads of households, and the equal treatment of women. 50 States Project and CCLP Working Groups should be closely coordinated.

Timing: Ongoing

Action Officer: Thelma Duggin

**Presidential ~~Radio~~ Speech:**

Rationale: After we have built a good solid record on women's issues, the President should give a speech or radio talk on the emerging, enlarging, expanding, changing role of women and how that effects public policy. It has been suggested that the President give this speech to a predominately male audience. The audience and timing should be identified fairly soon in order to create a target date for completion of other projects.

Timing: Forshadow in State of the Union and give speech at the beginning of 1984.

Action Officer: Dave Gergen

**How to Monitor Success of the Plan:**

By keeping in contact with Dick Wirthlin and Richard Beal and the RNC, keep an eye on the gap through specific questions that will measure the success of The Plan. Adjust the plan as information necessitates.

Timing: Ongoing

Action Officer: Ed Harper

Of course the final report will ~~be~~ the 1984 elections.