

f. O.P.D. memos

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 29, 1982

TO  
Cicconi -  
11/1  
MOT

To: James Baker  
From: Edwin Harper *[Signature]*  
Re: Agent Orange Reports

Please find attached a memo from Bill Roper\* concerning the recent press accounts and the Agent Orange situation.

If you need any further information, please let me know.

\* Bill is our White House fellow. He is an MD with some business school training. I have assigned him to our team working on health care cost controls.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 28, 1982

MEMORANDUM TO ROGER B. PORTER

FROM: WILLIAM L. ROPER *WR*

SUBJECT: Agent Orange

Recent press accounts have dealt with controversies concerning the Agent Orange situation. Attached are several articles from the Post and the Times on this subject.

Background

In July, 1981, the President re-established and upgraded the Agent Orange Working Group (AOWG) to report to the Cabinet Council on Human Resources. The AOWG was charged with overseeing the research being done in the Federal government on the possible health effects of Agent Orange.

I am the OPD representative on the AOWG.

There are a number of studies underway on Agent Orange. However, the major one, which was mandated by Congress three years ago, has not yet begun. That is one of the controversies. This massive epidemiological study, involving thousands of veterans, will take years to complete. However, the VA, as lead agency for this study, and the other agencies involved, including DoD, HHS, the National Academy of Sciences, and many others, have not been able to agree on the specifics of the study.

The Congress has grown very impatient with the seeming lack of progress on this study. The October 12 Post article and the October 14 Times article outline this viewpoint.

Depending on who is asked, one gets various answers about who is responsible for the delay. There seems to be general agreement that the VA could have moved more quickly.

Despite his denials, VA Administrator Nimmo was widely criticized for not giving this study enough support. On October 14 he announced that the VA was asking the Centers for Disease Control (an HHS unit) to take over the study, as reported in the October 15 Post and October 16 Times articles.

There is wide feeling that the CDC will be able to move rapidly to begin the study. At present, negotiations are underway between VA and CDC on the terms under which the CDC will do the study for the VA. It is expected that an agreement will be announced in one to two weeks.

A second item of controversy is covered in the October 26 Times article on the just-released GAO study of the VA's Agent Orange testing program.

In 1978 the VA began a study of all veterans who felt that they had some adverse health effect from Agent Orange. Originally it was envisioned that complete epidemiological information would be taken on all presenting veterans, and that this information, plus the data from a complete physician examination and laboratory tests, would be entered into a computer registry for detailed study.

However, the information taken from each veteran consisted only of their name, address, and health complaint. The physical examination and laboratory tests continued to be done, but not in a uniform fashion.

Thus, the GAO report cited the VA for having an inadequate registry from an epidemiological standpoint, and for administering physical examinations without a consistent view of what the physical exam was for, and without appropriate quality controls on the process. GAO recommended stopping the registry.

The VA commented on the GAO report, stating that the study was done over two years ago, and that the registry is in better shape now. However, it may well be that in view of the fact that the data in the registry is inadequate for a scientific study, the VA has continued to do the physical examinations as a gesture toward the veterans, so that at least they get something out of the process.

### Conclusion

It is important to bear in mind that it has not been proven that Agent Orange causes any health effects, except for chloracne, a skin problem. That is why the major VA study needs to be begun soon, so that its results can be received as soon as possible. In the absence of hard data, the government will continue to be pressured to admit guilt for Agent Orange.

The moving of the study to CDC should help. A new Administrator at the VA, who puts Agent Orange matters as a high priority should help as well. The only way this Administration can be blamed in the Agent Orange controversy is if it does not do expeditiously what it has so often said it wants to do.

*N.Y. Times*  
10-14-82

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## **Science Office Chief Says V.A. Is Stalling Agent Orange Study**

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WASHINGTON, Oct. 13 (AP) — The head of a science review panel says the Veterans Administration has needlessly delayed the start of a study on whether servicemen in Vietnam were harmed by the toxic herbicide Agent Orange.

The official, John H. Gibbons, director of the Office of Technology Assessment, said that it was three years since Congress directed the agency to conduct the investigation but that little had been done. His office is an arm of Congress.

Vietnam Veterans link exposure to the herbicide to health problems ranging from cancer to birth defects, but the veterans agency says it has no evidence of such a link and has refused to pay disability compensation.

The purpose of the study is to determine whether Agent Orange caused the difficulties and whether compensation should be made.

### **Basic Decision Not Made**

Mr. Gibbons, in a letter to the Senate Veterans Affairs Committee, said the V.A. still had not made the basic decision of whether to limit the study to the health effects of Agent Orange or whether to consider whether other chemicals used in Vietnam may have been harmful to soldiers.

The Veterans' Administration denied that it had delayed the project. It said the Army had difficulty identifying men most likely to have been exposed to the substance and by the need for scientific reviews of the study's design.

Mr. Gibbons said the study has already been screened by three scientific panels. "Waiting on still another technical review to make a policy decision seems unnecessary and can be viewed as a delaying tactic," he said.

A decision to broaden the study would involve comparing the health of three groups, men who served in Vietnam, those in the military at the same time who were not in Vietnam and men who did not serve in the military.

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# VA Turns Over Agent Orange Study

10-15-82

By Pete Earley  
and Felicity Barringer  
Washington Post Staff Writers

Veterans Administration chief Robert P. Nimmo, bowing to pressure from Congress, yesterday asked the Centers for Disease Control to take over the VA's much-delayed and controversial study of the health effects of the defoliant Agent Orange.

"While I remain firm in my belief that the VA has proceeded reasonably . . .," Nimmo said in a letter to Health and Human Services Secretary Richard S. Schweiker, "it has become increasingly apparent that a broad consensus has developed that supports the belief that it would be in the best interest of veterans to have a non-VA scientific body conduct the Agent Orange epidemiology study."

Nimmo's decision to seek the CDC's help pleased VA critics even though CDC officials say it could cause additional, short-term delays in the study. But critics say the switch should ultimately speed the study.

"There's a good chance that the study will happen much more quickly," said Joan Z. Bernstein, an attorney who has worked with veterans' groups on the issue and who chaired an interagency task force on the herbicide during the Carter administration. "How could it go any slower? It's been three years and nothing has happened."

In 1979, Congress ordered the VA to determine whether exposure to Agent Orange, which was widely used during the Vietnam war, damaged the health of veterans and their offspring. But the agency has been unable to decide how to proceed with the study.

Meanwhile, Vietnam veterans claim the defoliant has caused numerous health problems, including cancers, nerve, liver and kidney disorders, impotence, miscarriages in their wives, and birth defects in their children.

If a link between the defoliant and veterans' health problems is proven, it could cost the government millions of dollars in compensation to disabled veterans.

Nimmo asked Schweiker to arrange a meeting next week between VA and HHS officials to begin contract negotiations that would allow the VA to hire the CDC to perform the study.

In his letter, Nimmo said he became "persuaded" after receiving letters last week signed by 101 House members and from Rep. G.V. (Sonny) Montgomery (D-Miss.), chairman of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee, which urged him to relinquish control of the study to a non-VA panel because the VA's credibility had come under strong attack. On Monday, the congressional Office of Technology Assessment and Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), ranking minority member of the Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee, also criticized the VA for dragging its feet on the study.

Nimmo's decision comes as yet another critical report on the VA's handling of Agent Orange issues is to be released. Within two weeks, the General Accounting Office is expected to send to Congress a 2½-year study attacking the VA's program to find and screen veterans suffering symptoms potentially related to the herbicide.

Sources who have seen the report say it faults the VA for inconsistent procedures at the agency's 172 hospitals, with some veterans receiving extensive examinations, including urinalysis, blood tests and X-rays and others receiving more cursory examinations, some performed by medical personnel unfamiliar with the alleged effects of the herbicide. About 95,000 veterans have requested screening for problems potentially related to Agent Orange, according to the VA.

The GAO study was made at the request of Sen. John Heinz (R-Pa.) and Rep. Thomas J. Downey (D-N.Y.), who are expected to release it at a joint press conference soon.

The VA has prepared a rebuttal that is expected to charge that much of the GAO's evidence is dated and the program has improved markedly since the auditor did his research.

While the screening programs and the epidemiological study represent separate VA responsibilities, the veterans' complaints and skepticism about both have revolved around one central theme: that the VA doesn't take their problems seriously. This feeling was exacerbated when, shortly after taking office, Nimmo compared the effects of Agent Orange to teenage acne.

Nimmo's decision has left the agency's Agent Orange staff uncertain about its future. Maurice LeVois, who directed the agency's research and education office, is ex-

TO HIS UNIT

pected to be reassigned to other duties, sources said. The agency's Department of Medicine and Surgery also has postponed hiring four additional staff members and an epidemiologist.

From the beginning, the VA has maintained that it has not delayed the study intentionally, but that a number of unforeseen events, including a lawsuit and problems with a university hired to design the study, caused the delay.

The agency currently is trying to decide whether it should limit its study to two groups—Vietnam veterans exposed to Agent Orange and those who weren't—or add a third group, veterans who served during the Vietnam era but did not serve in Vietnam.

In a House hearing last month, Dr. Vernon N. Houk, director of the CDC's Center for Environmental Health, said he favored the three-group study. Houk added that had if the CDC had been in charge of the study, it would have been "already under way"—a comment that miffed VA officials.

## TOP SPENDERS FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

The federal government spent more than \$39 billion on research and development in fiscal 1982, the lion's share of that in the departments or agencies listed below. The relative rankings, however, have changed over the past year, with the Energy Department slipping a notch. Spending for DOE and Environmental Protection Agency research and development also decreased from fiscal 1981 to 1982. Figures for those years are estimates.

IN BILLIONS OF DOLLARS

AGENCY	1982	1981	1972
DOD	\$19.879	\$15.845	\$8.297
Air Force	\$8.872	\$6.393	\$3.426
Navy	\$5.639	\$5.083	\$2.501
Army	\$3.722	\$3.145	\$1.890
Other DOD units	\$1.645	\$1.124	\$475
NASA	\$5.895	\$5.274	\$3.423
DOE	\$5.815	\$6.104	\$1.551
HHS	\$3.947	\$3.717	\$1.446
NSF	\$ .920	\$ .909	\$ .435
USDA	\$ .876	\$ .799	\$ .358
EPA	\$ .327	\$ .344	\$ .134

SOURCE: NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

6 *Ny Times*  
*10-16-82*

## AGENCY TO YIELD ON HERBICIDE ISSUE

### Disease Centers to Carry Out Review of Health Effects of Spraying in Vietnam

WASHINGTON, Oct. 15 (AP) — The Veterans Administration has yielded to Congressional pressure in giving up control of an investigation into whether the herbicide Agent Orange damaged the health of soldiers in Vietnam.

The agency's administrator, Robert P. Nimmo, agreed today to let the national Centers for Disease Control take over the investigation. He was responding to a letter from 100 members of Congress who asked him two weeks ago to allow the centers to take over the study of the effects of the herbicide.

Mr. Nimmo acknowledged that some veterans might have rejected the findings of a study directed by the V.A.

Congressional critics have said it was unfair to ask Vietnam veterans to wait seven or eight years for answers to their concerns about their health and their ability to produce healthy children.

#### Shift Based on Prudence

Mr. Nimmo wrote Representatives G. V. Montgomery, Democrat of Mississippi, and John Paul Hammerschmidt, Republican of Arkansas, the chairman and the ranking Republican member of the Veterans' Affairs Committee.

But Mr. Nimmo said his agency could have done the job. But he added: "The need for public acceptance of both the conduct of the study and the study results is recognized. Therefore, while I would ordinarily favor retention of responsibility, I am persuaded that it would be prudent to enter into an agreement with a non-V.A. scientific body to perform the Agent Orange epidemiological study."

For years veterans have blamed Agent Orange for such problems as cancer, liver and kidney disorders, nerve and skin troubles, numbness, vision and hearing impairments, fatigue, reduced sexual drive, impotence, miscarriages and birth defects.

#### Study Ordered Three Years Ago

Agent Orange, which contains highly toxic dioxin, was sprayed to destroy Vietcong crops and hiding places in the Vietnamese jungle. But many members of the services may also have come in contact with it. Twelve million gallons was sprayed, chiefly from planes.

The proposed study would involve comparing the health of 6,000 men believed to have been exposed to the defoliant with that of 6,000 not exposed.

Three years ago Congress ordered the Veterans Administration to conduct the investigation, but the work has not started.

The veterans agency has taken the position that there is no connection between Agent Orange and any major disease. It has refused to allow veterans to collect disability compensation for health problems they attribute to Agent Orange.

## G.A.O. Says Agent Orange Tests Are Inadequate

WASHINGTON, Oct. 25 (AP) — Physical examinations for veterans of the Vietnam War who fear that exposure to Agent Orange may have imperiled their health are often inadequate, the General Accounting Office said today.

Moreover, the Veterans Administration's computerized registry into which the results of the exams are stored is so unreliable that the system should be scrapped, the G.A.O., an investigative arm of Congress, said after a two-and-a-half-year study.

Agent Orange, a chemical defoliant, was widely used by American forces in

Vietnam to destroy crops and cover used by enemy troops. Its use was suspended after tests indicated that it caused cancer in laboratory animals.

So far, more than 95,000 Vietnam veterans have gone to Veterans Administration hospitals for the exams out of concern that exposure to the herbicide is damaging their health or causing birth defects in their offspring.

### Lawmakers Express Outrage

The report on the examination program was made public by Senator John Heinz, Republican of Pennsylvania, and Representative Thomas J.

Downey, Democrat of Suffolk County, who expressed outrage at the findings.

"It's an appalling operation, for the most part," Mr. Downey said at a news conference. "It's astonishing to me that a government agency behaves that way."

Senator Heinz said in a written statement that the investigation exposed "negligence and callousness," and called the way the examinations were administered "a national disgrace."

In response to the report's findings, the Veterans Administration said the G.A.O. exaggerated the problem and

used out-of-date data to reach its conclusions.

The Congressional investigators sampled records of 1,258 medical exams and found that the exams were thorough in only 36 percent of the cases. Only 10 percent of the records completely documented the veteran's medical history, the report said.

### 13,199 Claims Denied

The report found that 14,236 claims had been filed by veterans for service-connected disabilities that the servicemen attributed to Agent Orange. The veterans agency denied 13,199 and found that some other factor caused the disability in the cases where it did award compensation.

Robert P. Nimmo, retiring administrator of the veterans agency, restated

the agency's position that not enough was known to blame Agent Orange for any disorder except chloracne, a severe skin condition.

An investigation comparing the health of 5,000 Vietnam veterans exposed to the spray and 5,000 men of the same age was ordered by Congress three years ago, but the veterans agency has not yet started it, blaming technical problems.

Recently, under Congressional pressure, the agency agreed to let the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta take over the project.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 1, 1982

TO  
Cicconi FYI  
6/11  
MOT

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: SHANNON FAIRBANKS *SA*

SUBJECT: Report of the President's Commission on Housing

The President's Commission on Housing has issued a 277 page Report which outlines a new framework for housing policy. The Report proposes new ways to provide shelter for low-income families, to give the faltering housing finance system new strength, to assist those seeking rental housing or buying a first home, and to reduce costly overregulation of housing.

The Commission was created in June of 1981, in the third year of a housing depression, reflecting the President's deep concern that a continuation of past housing policies would deny Americans their opportunity to live in decent and affordable housing.

The President charged the Commission to chart a new path for housing policy which would not rely on numerical targets for housing production, or the common belief that if only government would set the right goals and enforce the right policies, our problems would be solved.

#### HOUSING AND THE ECONOMY

The Commission first identified a set of principles, consistent with the Administration's Program for Economic Recovery, as a framework for long-term reform. These principles hold that national policy must:

- Achieve fiscal responsibility and monetary stability in the economy.
- Encourage free and deregulated markets.
- Rely on the private sector.
- Promote an enlightened federalism with minimal government intervention.
- Recognize a continuing role of government to address the housing needs of the poor.
- Direct programs toward people rather than toward structures.
- Assure maximum freedom of housing choice.

The following Overview summarizes the Commission's recommendations which revive this country's commitment to a social priority for housing.

Attachment

## OVERVIEW SUMMARY

### HOUSING FOR POOR AMERICANS

From the 1937 Housing Act which created public housing to the New Construction program of "Section 8", the Federal government has helped poor Americans find better quality housing by paying the cost of construction of new low-income housing.

1. Vouchers: Today, the housing problem facing poor families is not the quality of the housing in which most poor people live, but the cost. Census Bureau figures show that 19% of "very low income renters" live in substandard housing, but 62% had to pay more than 30% of their incomes for rent.

The Commission recommends that the primary Federal program for helping low-income families live in decent housing should be a Housing Payments (Voucher) Program. This program, coupled with housing supply assistance to local communities through the Community Development Block Grant Program, should replace future Federal commitments to build or substantially rehabilitate additional units.

A "voucher" program is more equitable than construction programs and will have wider impact because it allows subsidy dollars to cover twice as many households, and permits people the freedom to choose housing anywhere in the private market.

2. Public Housing: Today some 1.2 million Americans live in low rent public housing projects, managed by local public housing authorities. But public support for the program has eroded, as subsidy needs and Federal controls have increased. Federal regulations now control policies and procedures for accounting, labor agreements, contracting, tenant selection, and grievances and evictions.

The Commission therefore recommends that within a specified period of years public housing should be restored to local management and control, passing public housing authorities and local governments responsibility and choice in the use and disposition of public housing projects. The future use of each project should be determined on the basis of a joint local-Federal assessment which considers a broad range of options in light of each project's physical, economic, and social characteristics.

### HOUSING OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL AMERICANS

For almost 50 years the government has been involved in finding ways to promote homeownership, because owning one's home is one of the most highly prized values in American life. A home of one's own is a stake in society, encouraging neighborhood stability and political participation.

1. Homeownership. The Commission recommends continuing the current tax deduction for mortgage interest and property taxes. Other proposals include:

- Removal of regulatory and tax impediments to the conversion of rental units to condominiums or cooperatives, and the provision of a more equitable tax treatment for cooperatives.
- More even-handed regulatory and financial treatment for manufactured housing.
- Making cooperative housing a more feasible homeownership option through FHA-insured share loans and secondary markets for share loans.
- Making single-family and multifamily properties acquired or held by HUD available for homeownership through homesteading.
- "Homesharing" by elderly homeowners in larger homes, and equity conversion methods to allow elderly homeowners to obtain extra income from their homes.

2. Rental Housing. More than a third of American households live in rented housing. But the private production of rental housing continues to shrink, due in part to the negative effects of rent control: rent control causes a reduction in the quality of the existing rental stock and discourages investment in new rental property.

Therefore the Commission voted to oppose rent control at Federal, State, and local levels. The Commission urges states to pass legislation removing the power of counties, cities, and all other jurisdictions to adopt ordinances controlling rents.

The Commission also recommended that the Federal government should preempt the application of any State or local controls on rental housing financed by a lending institution in which deposits are insured by a Federal agency, and on rental housing financed, insured, or guaranteed by the Federal government or its agencies.

Additional tax reform is called for to encourage the production of rental housing: builders should be able to expense interest and property tax payments during the construction period, and rehabilitation tax credits, made available to commercial and industrial property, should be extended to housing.

## HOUSING FINANCE

The Commission's Report stresses that the current crisis in housing is largely a crisis in the financing of housing. Outdated and inappropriate laws and regulations, coupled with inflation and unprecedented interest rates, have combined to paralyze the housing finance system. A broadly based and more resilient mortgage delivery system must be developed if the nation is to meet the housing demands of the 1980's and beyond.

- Broaden the asset and liability powers for depository institutions that traditionally have specialized in mortgage finance, in order to increase the vitality of these institutions and maintain their importance as housing lenders.
- Provide the same tax incentive for mortgage investment to all types of institutions, to help increase the base of mortgage supply. A mortgage interest tax credit, keyed to newly acquired mortgages and mortgage pass-through securities, should be made available to all investors.
- Adjust laws and regulations that currently restrict mortgage investment by institutions such as pension funds and commercial banks. Action has been completed by the Department of Labor to remove certain regulatory restrictions on mortgage activities of private pension funds, as recommended earlier.
- Remove tax, legal, and regulatory impediments to the development of private mortgage-related securities. A coordinated package of measures should be adopted, including appropriate revisions to the Federal tax code, modifications to Federal regulations concerning the registration of securities and issuers, changes in Federal Reserve regulations governing the purchase of securities on margin, changes in the Federal bankruptcy code, and modifications to State legal investment statutes and blue-sky laws.
- Place less reliance on Federal credit programs as the private sector becomes more able to meet the public's demands for housing credit.

## HOUSING REGULATION

Growing concern about the cost of housing has paralleled an explosion in overregulation of housing production. Meanwhile the clock ticks on escalating wages and prices; and builders must pay interest charges and local taxes to maintain inventories of still barren land. Homebuyers must pay for it all.

Unnecessary government regulations of land use and housing hurt in three ways: they limit the production of housing, they restrict consumer housing choices; and they inflate housing costs -- by as much as 25% of the sales price of a new home. One recent HUD demonstration carried out in three cities showed how minor revisions in local codes coupled with density increases and expedited permit processing reduced housing costs by as much as one-third.

1. Federal. To deal with the fact that more than 50 Federal agencies administer regulations that affect housing, the Commission has asked the President to designate housing for priority regulatory relief and to establish the necessary centralized control to deal with this fragmentation under the Vice President's Task Force on Regulatory Relief.

Other action to relieve the Federal regulatory burden should include: greater reliance on private sector model construction codes and standards; reform of environmental regulations to eliminate duplication and unnecessary restrictions; repeal of the Federal Farmland Protection Policy Act; reform of the Davis-Bacon Act as it relates to housing; and, reform of timber harvesting policies for Federal lands because their negative effects on housing outweigh their benefits.

2. Local. However, most regulations are imposed by State and local governments. Therefore, the Commission urges these local governments to limit zoning restrictions on housing to the achievement of "vital and pressing governmental interests". Regulators should have the burden of proof that the code meets this standard if the code is challenged in court.

The Commission also requests that the President ask the Attorney General to evaluate the "vital and pressing" standard of judicial review as applied to zoning restrictions on housing.

The Commission also recommends:

- fuller use of model building codes and increased professionalism in code enforcement;
- elimination of excessive development standards;
- more equitable distribution of costs for public facilities between the developer and the community;
- accelerated processing of development applications; and
- expansion by HUD of its Housing Affordability initiatives, and establishment of an Office of Productivity to deal with the problems of low efficiency in the industry.

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
April 13, 1982

TO: JIM CICONI  
FROM: ~~CRAIG L. FULLER~~  
 FYI  
 Comment  
 Action

*f OPD memo*

*File Under  
Possible CCEA Agenda Items*

DATE: March 17, 1982  
MEMO FOR ROGER  
FROM: SHELLYN *PS*  
SUBJ: Cicconi's memo on "Take Over Loans"

This issue has been difficult to track down as there has not been any solid legislation introduced which relates to limiting loans in either the House or the Senate. Cicconi's attachment of Hill action seems accurate and an updated list would include:

H Res 228  
H Res 238  
S Res 211  
H Jt Res 365

Note that all action has been in the form of a resolution and that there is no related law, therefore, pending in committee.

In the course of testifying before a House banking subcommittee in late February, Beryl Sprinkle made comment on the issue. Those comments are not contained within his prepared testimony, which was on monetary policy, and a transcript of the proceeding will not be out for a few months. I can go to the Hill and read through the hearing record if you should desire.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

058059

January 13, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR CRAIG FULLER

FROM: Jim Cicconi *Jim*  
SUBJECT: "Take-Over" Loans

In a letter to Jim Baker, Paul Volcker mentioned the concern in Congress about "take-over" loans (roughly, loans used by large firms to acquire small firms). Volcker enclosed a list (attached) of legislation introduced to limit such loans, and said he expects the subject to be a "continuing problem."

I spoke with Roger Porter, and he indicated that the subject has only been discussed peripherally in the Cabinet Council, although he feels that Don Regan may have discussed it with Volcker. Roger offered to check out this latter point.

JAB's question is whether the subject should perhaps be put on the CCEA agenda.

*To: Roger Porter  
— an appropriate  
agenda item?  
Please advise  
Thanks,  
CZ*

Legislation to Limit Loans for Speculative or Unproductive Purposes

- Chiles Amendment to Tax Bill - It is the sense of the Senate that "the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System should exercise its regulatory powers to require that loans be made for productive economic purposes, rather than to enable large firms to acquire smaller firms."  
Passed Senate 100-0  
July 28, 1981  
Dropped in Conference Committee
- Chiles Resolution later turned into an Amendment to Export Administration Bill--35 Democratic Co-Sponsors - To require the President "to limit the diversion of credit to non-productive uses, such as conglomerate mergers and corporate takeovers" and "to assure an adequate flow of credit to small borrowers at affordable prices . . . such actions shall include voluntary guidelines appropriate to regions of the country and types of borrowers."  
Rejected when a harmless substitute was approved 50-35 on Nov. 12, 1981
- Kennedy Amendment to Export Administration Bill - "The President shall take appropriate actions to encourage banking or other financial institutions to exercise on a voluntary basis restraint in extending credit for the purpose of unproductive large scale corporate takeovers. Such action shall include consultation and cooperation with the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System."  
Passed Senate 77-12  
Nov. 12, 1981
- Bentsen Resolution (Many Co-Sponsors, 20 or so) - Calling on the Federal Reserve to undertake an aggressive campaign to encourage banks to stop providing loans for unproductive and speculative purposes, and to increase loans for productive purposes.  
(Also has been introduced by several House members including Pickle and Rinaldo)  
Introduced Sept. 1981  
No action.
- Sasser Resolution - "It is the sense of Congress that policies to prevent additional increases in interest rates and also to restrain nonessential credit growth are necessary." Required that a study be done to, among other things, investigate "the feasibility of implementing a dual prime rate to channel credit to those sectors of the economy that have suffered from chronic credit shortages."

- Chiles Resolution - To create a Committee on Interest Rates  
S.J. Res. 112 and the Availability of Credit: (1) to  
publish voluntary guidelines to limit  
the large scale diversion of credit to  
nonproductive uses such as conglomerate  
takeovers and mergers, and (2) to pub-  
lish voluntary guidelines to assure an  
adequate flow of credit to small bor-  
rowers at affordable prices.
- Introduced Sept. 1981
- Co-sponsored by Boren,  
Nunn, Johnston and  
Pryor.
- No action.
- Cong. Jeffords Resolu- - That the Federal Reserve "shall take  
tion H. Res. 227 prompt and effective action to discourage,  
during periods of high interest rates,  
the establishment of large lines of  
credit which may be used by large cor-  
porations for purposes of acquiring  
other corporations."
- Introduced Sept. 1981
- 13 Co-sponsors--7 of  
them Republicans
- Reuss, St Germain, - That the President and the Federal  
Fauntroy Resolution Reserve shall immediately undertake  
"an aggressive campaign designed to  
encourage banks to cease providing  
loans on lines of credit for unpro-  
ductive takeovers and speculative  
purposes, so as to increase the supply  
of credit available for productive uses."
- Introduced Nov. 20, 1981
- Hearings scheduled  
Dec. 9, 1981
- H. Con. Res. 160 - Among other things, said that "the  
Administration and Congress should en-  
courage the banking system to concen-  
trate available credit on those uses  
which contribute most to long-term  
productivity, improvement and inflation  
fighting."
- Sponsored by Reuss,  
St Germain and  
Fauntroy
- Passed House 403-17  
July 27, 1981

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# WOMEN'S STRATEGY: A TWO-YEAR PLAN

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### OBJECTIVE:

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

### TARGET GROUP:

The specific groups of women targetted in this strategy include:

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

### STRATEGY GUIDELINES:

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

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

Guidelines for policy development include:

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

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

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

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

Economic Equity Initiatives

Legal Equity Initiatives

Communications Plan

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

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

## OVERVIEW

Gender Gap

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Heart of the Gap: Non-married and Working Women

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

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

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

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

Women are falling into poverty faster than any other group.

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

Women are having fewer children.

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

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

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

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

#### Administration's "Perception" Problem with Women

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## WOMEN'S STRATEGY: A TWO-YEAR PLAN

## ECONOMIC EQUITY INITIATIVE

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Officer: Michael Uhlmann

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

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

Officer: Michael Uhlmann

Timing: Ongoing.

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

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

## ECONOMIC EQUITY INITIATIVE

THE ECONOMIC EQUITY ACT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Officer: Michael Uhlmann

Timing: ASAP Analysis due November 29.

## ECONOMIC EQUITY INITIATIVE

PRIVATE SECTOR INITIATIVE: CHILD CAREIssue

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

Background

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

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

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

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

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

Political Impact

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

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

Recommendations:

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

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

## ECONOMIC EQUITY INITIATIVE

SOCIAL SECURITY

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

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

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

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

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

Officer: Edwin L. Harper

Timing: ASAP

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

Officer: Edwin L. Harper

Timing: ASAP

## LEGAL EQUITY INITIATIVE

CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Officer: Michael Uhlmann

Timing: December 1, 1983.

LEGAL EQUITY INITIATIVE

Children's Package

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

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

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

Officer: Michael Uhlmann

Timing: November 1982

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

LEGAL EQUITY INITIATIVEFEDERAL EQUITY PROJECT (Executive Order 12336)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Officer: Carol Dinkins

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

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

Officer: Brad Reynolds

Timing: April, 1983

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

Officer: Brad Reynolds

Timing: February, 1984

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

Officer: Brad Reynolds

Timing: June, 1984.

LEGAL EQUITY INITIATIVETHE 50 STATES PROJECT

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

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

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

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

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

Officer: Thelma Duggin

Timing: ASAP

Action: Oversight by White House Coordinating Council on Women.

Officer: Elizabeth H. Dole

Timing: Ongoing

COMMUNICATIONS PLAN  
TWO YEAR GENDER GAP STRATEGY

Proposed Presidential Events

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

COMMUNICATIONS PLAN  
TWO-YEAR GENDER GAP STRATEGY

Long Term Projects

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

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

Action Officer: Karna Small  
Timing: February and ongoing.

- o Gender Gap Speaking Team.

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

Action Officer: Judy Pond  
Timing: March and ongoing.

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

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

Action Officer: Diana Lozano

- o Coordinate Cabinet Secretaries to speak to select audiences.

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

Action Officer: Judy Pond  
Timing: December and ongoing.

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

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

Action Officer: Lee Atwater  
Timing: December and ongoing.

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

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

Action Officer: Judy Pond  
Timing: December and ongoing.

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

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

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

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

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

WASHINGTON

Revised November 29, 1982

October 29, 1982

SUBJECT: CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT PROGRAM

BACKGROUND

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

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROGRAM

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

GOALS OF FUTURE ACTION

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

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

### A. Expand Popular Support:

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

#### Recommended action:

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

### B. State and Local Government Activity:

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

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

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

Recommended Action:

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

C. Help and Cooperation from the Federal Establishment

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

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

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

Recommended action:

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

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

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

Resource individuals familiar with the program:

Robert Carleson, Office of Policy Development, 456-6630.

Emily Rock, Office of Policy Development, 456-6515.

Lance Lamberton, Office of Policy Information, 456-2762.

Robert C. Harris and Fred Schutzmann, HHS, Office of Child Support Enforcement, 443-4442.

PROJECT OFFICER

TIMING

PROJECT

Edwin L. Harper

Kevin Hopkins

Michael Uhlmann

Elizabeth Dole

Thelma Duggin

Rich Williamson

Edwin Meese/  
Elizabeth Dole

Completed.

ASAP & ongoing.

ASAP & ongoing.

ASAP & ongoing.

February

In process.

March

?

March/April

Talking Points.

Cabinet Council Working Gr

Presidential letter  
to Departments.

Dept. of Justice  
sessions.

White House event:  
Interested groups.

Identify state laws  
that inhibit program.

Council of Governor's  
Clearinghouse meeting.

National Association of  
Governor's Meeting.

Report to the President  
on progress.

## WHAT CAN BE DONE TO MAKE A GOOD PROGRAM BETTER

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

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

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

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

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

- o How these improvements can be realized.

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

- \* The welfare savings to state governments that come from higher rates of enforcement and compliance.
- \* The savings to the taxpayer from lower levels of welfare expenditures.
- \* The fostering of greater family responsibility and the prevention of hasty and unwarranted family break-ups.
- \* The assurance of financial security for women who head households and must depend on support payments to meet their family's living expenses.
- \* Preventing potential harm to the self-esteem of children whose fathers have abandoned them not only physically, but financially as well.

-- Governors of the various states can do more than any other group of government officials to make improvements in their child support enforcement programs. Examples of recent actions:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



White House Office of Policy Information

# ISSUE ALERT

Washington, D.C.

Number 8

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## CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT PROGRAM

### Background

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

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

### Analysis

#### o The absent-parent problem.

##### -- The dimensions of the problem.

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

##### -- The causes of the problem.

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

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

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

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

-- The effect: a higher welfare burden.

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

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

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

o How the Child Support Enforcement Program works.

-- General characteristics.

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

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

- \* Federal matching funds at the rate of 90% for the costs of developing, implementing and enhancing automated child support management information systems.
- \* Federal reimbursement to states at the rate of 70% of the costs incurred in providing support enforcement services under a state plan.
- \* Incentive payments equal to 15% of amounts which are collected on behalf of individuals receiving AFDC.
  - For example, states which have a 50-50 AFDC participation rate receive 65% of the amount of child support collected as a result of state enforcement efforts.
  - Note: Incentive payments were reduced to 12% of amounts collected after October 1, 1982.
- \* A Parent Locator Service to assist states in securing support payments, establishing paternity, enforcing child custody, and dealing with parental kidnapping.
- \* Technical assistance to states and localities.

-- State responsibilities under CSEP include:

- \* Administering the program through a designated organizational unit.
- \* Establishing paternity and securing support for individuals who apply for child support enforcement services.
- \* Establishing a state parent locator service.
- \* Cooperating with other states in locating absent parents, establishing paternity and securing support payments.

-- Other aspects of CSEP.

- \* The IRS can disclose, to appropriate agencies, income tax information to assist in collecting support obligations and locating individuals owing such obligations. The confidentiality of the information is maintained at all times.
- \* The Department of Treasury can collect past-due child support through a federal tax refund offset.
- \* U.S. District Courts can enforce court orders for child support when one state has failed to enforce the court order of another and the federal courts are the only reasonable enforcement method remaining.

\* Federal salaries, pensions and income from other sources are subject to garnishment for support.

o The success of CSEP to date.

-- Prior to the establishment of the Child Support Enforcement Program, there was no concerted or coordinated effort to obtain child support from absent parents.

-- CSEP, in just six full fiscal years, has produced significant results:

\* Collections.

- Total child support collected has exceeded \$7 billion.

- More than \$3 billion has been collected in AFDC recoveries.

- Annual collections increased from \$500 million in FY 1976 to \$1.6 billion in FY 1981.

\* More than 600,000 children have been legitimized.

\* More than 1.6 million enforceable orders have been promulgated.

o Despite the CSEP's success thus far, however, much room remains for improvement.

-- Program performance varies widely from state to state (see Table 1).

\* In the ten states with the best record for child support enforcement, the percent of AFDC payments recovered for child support averaged 10.2% in FY 1981 compared to 2.5% for the ten states with the worst record.

\* The ten states with the best record for collecting child support from absent parents on behalf of AFDC recipients have been able to collect payments from 27% of the absent parents, as opposed to only 3.5% in the ten states with the worst record.

\* In the ten states with the best record for child support enforcement, the ratio of AFDC collections to total administrative costs is 2.50 compared to 0.51 in the ten states with the worst record.

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

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

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

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

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

o Accomplishments of the Reagan Administration.

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

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

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

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

Table 1

COMPARISON OF CHILD SUPPORT PROGRAM PERFORMANCE

FY 1981

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

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

\*\* Ratio of AFDC collections to total administrative costs.

Source: Office of Child Support Enforcement.

WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES: EXPANDING ROLES

## NUMBER

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

## RACE

Six of seven are white  
Of all females 101.6M, or 85%, are white.  
14.6M, or 12%, are blacks.  
2.9M are of other races.

## AGE

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

## LIFE SPAN

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

## EDUCATION

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

## MARRIAGE

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

## FAMILIES

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

## CHILDREN

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

## POLITICAL POWER

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

WOMEN IN THE WORKPLACE

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

## Percentage of women in the labor force.

1962	1972	1982
38%	43.9%	59.9%

...at a pay disadvantage

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

1962	1972	1982
56%	58%	59%

Better jobs open up...

Proportion of management jobs held by women..

1971	1976	1980
10.9%	14.9%	19.2%

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

9.8% for men v. 8.6% for women.

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

Women as proportion of all persons employed as--

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