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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

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Date: 12/4/98

*9-16-3/16/11*

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
<del>1. report</del>	<del>Child Support Enforcement (p.2-3, partial), 2p.</del>	<del>n.d.</del>	<del>P5</del>
<del>2. report</del>	<del>50 State Project, 1p.</del>	<del>n.d.</del>	<del>P5</del>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> letter 1.	Richard Wirthlin to Deaver re Women's Issues, 1p. <i>7/11/83</i>	7/11/83	P5 <i>CG 10/27/00</i>

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
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TO: Michael K. Deaver  
FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin  
DATE: July 11, 1983  
SUBJECT: Women's Issues (Conversation 7/7/83)

In answer to your specific question, Mike, as to which would be preferred:

- a tax deduction for child care support for working women, or
- a new IRA option for non-working women,  
(assuming both would cost about one billion)

the child care option would be the best. The IRA option would open up once again the fairness issue, and of our four key women strength targets three consist of working women.

However, in response to the more general question, "What can we do to impact the women's vote?", I would recommend neither the IRA nor the child care option.

If we can apply funds of that magnitude programmatically I would strongly urge that they be used primarily to beef-up our commitment to quality education. This would directly impact three of our four strength targets:

Married/Working/Younger  
Married/Non-Working/Younger  
Married/Working/Older

Our two key swing groups:

Married/Non-Working/Older  
Non-Married/Non-Working/Older

can best be impacted with a well designed media campaign using morning and afternoon television, employing ads already produced by the RNC to hit three themes:

- Ronald Reagan making progress on inflation
- ~~Reasons for~~ optimism
- ~~Family~~ values.

Let's chat soon about the details.



# Congress of the United States

## House of Representatives

Bobbi Fiedler

December 23, 1982

The President  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President,

Our party does not enjoy a great deal of popularity with much of the American "prestige media." Thus it is with little surprise, but great concern, that I have watched the creation by the media of a "gender gap," a perception that this Administration is not doing enough for women.

As a Member of Congress and a Republican, who also happens to be a woman, I can assure you that this is a most damaging perception, whose presence or absence of truth does not affect its harmfulness. I can further tell you that this perception is held by intelligent people who would otherwise be supporters, and who could cost us the margin of victory two years.

Actions taken by the Administration so far by the President's Task Force on Legal Equity for Women have not effectively counterbalanced the President's positions on the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion and budgetary priorities affecting poor women. Appointments of women to Administration positions have not minimized the impact of Administration retreats from aggressive enforcement of our civil rights laws affecting equal pay and equal opportunity for women.

I regret to say that I perceive a lack of sincere commitment on the Administration's part to finding effective solutions to this problem. If we do not take direct, immediate and dramatic action, our opponents will expand on this readymade issue delivered to them for their use.

First and foremost, I would recommend that the Attorney General or the Labor Secretary announce the initiation of strong enforcement action against a state or other entity in violation of our civil rights and equal pay laws. In view of the nearly completed 50 States Project, test case action might be directed toward one of those states which has not been cooperative with the Project.





December 23, 1982

re 2

2  
Secondly, the cooperation with the private sector which has characterized the Administration's actions over the past two years should be carried over into the area of sex discrimination in job opportunity and wages. A White House Task Force of business and industry leaders should be called together to invoke voluntary policy changes which address women's concerns. The tremendous leadership and authority of the Presidency could be used to lead and persuade private sector leaders of the importance of this issue and the need for real, immediate action.

3  
Third, very little in this country can be imposed from top downward. Action from the White House should mobilize and direct a grass roots effort of Republican women around the country to help reaffirm the Administration's commitment to women's rights. There is a tremendous resource of female state and local officials, business executives, entertainers and heads of political organizations who can be very effective representatives of the Administration.

4  
Fourth, the 98th Congress should see efforts by this Administration to enact legislation that is responsive to the immediate economic needs today's women. This would by no means be a change in policy or direction. Because the perception endures that women have been somehow singled out as ill-effects under this Administration, a solid legislative program could help stop this and give us an opportunity to press the facts before the public.

I would recommend that you consider including in the 1984 budget provisions which provide substantial work incentives for welfare mothers, for example, or introduce an innovative proposal of tax breaks for employers who provide day care facilities for working mothers.

While I realize that not all in the Republican Party will support such initiatives, we must accept the risks involved in building a consensus of advocacy for women's concerns. The risks in not doing so are much greater.

Our party resembles an attorney arguing our case before the jury of the electorate. I must say that we have had the facts in our favor, yet the opposition has come back with arguments that are in no way weak for their lack of facts. Concerning women's issues, the results in 1984 may be disastrous. We must act now. Let us present the argument to our jury in such a way as they cannot fail to reject the arguments presented by the opposition.

If there is any way I may be of assistance to you in this regard, please let me know.

Sincerely,

*Bobbi Fiedler*

BOBBI FIEDLER  
Member of Congress



# FACT SHEET

## Statistics

- a. In 73 out of 85 exit polls conducted during the Nov. 2 election, women voted for the Democrat candidate more than men did.
- b. The gender gap appears to have been a significant factor in the gubernatorial losses in New York, Texas, Michigan and Connecticut.
- c. Wirthlin thinks that the gender gap will go away. Teeter thinks that it will be a big factor in 1984.
- d. In a New York Times poll taken on November 1, women were found to favor Democrats in House races by a margin of 64 to 33 among unmarried women. Married women (and men) were less inclined to vote Democratic.
- e. In California, 1 out of every 6 households is headed by a woman with no man in the house. Two-thirds of these households have children under 18.
- f. 25 percent of all California households are "non-family" households, i.e. single people. The average number of persons per household in California is 2.68, showing that the traditional family unit has ceased to exist statistically.

## Legislative Considerations

- a. The Center for the Study of Social Policy in Washington released an extensive study earlier this year that was widely circulated and repeated on the Hill. "Profiles of Families in Poverty" analyzed the effects of welfare reductions on the working poor in 48 states.

Before 1982 changes, those AFDC mothers who went out and worked (and earned average wages) were able to raise their disposable incomes to the poverty levels in 29 states. After the 1982 cuts, average AFDC working mothers were pushed below the poverty line in every state.

If all of the 1983 welfare reduction proposals would have been enacted the AFDC working mother earning average wages would end up with less disposable income than the AFDC mother who does not work. In California, the working mother would have had \$82 a month less in disposable income than the mother who does not work at all. For most AFDC working mothers, each additional dollar they earn after their first four months on the job will result in a net income gain of only one cent, under the 1983 proposals. Ninety-nine cents would have been taxed away through reductions in AFDC and food stamp benefits and increases in Social Security and payroll taxes.

These extraordinary high combined marginal tax rates destroy work incentives. They are contrary to the philosophy behind the major tax reductions in the 1981 tax bill. Wealthy individuals in the highest tax brackets now retain at least 50 cents of each additional dollar they earn.

The worst work disincentive for poor women is the loss of Medicaid

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 11, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR: MICHAEL A. MCMANUS, JR.  
FROM: FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR. <sup>7/6/83</sup>  
SUBJ: WOMEN'S EVENTS (Preliminary List)

I. INTRODUCTION

As we discussed, our approach to the Women's Issue must be substantially different from the Education Theme. The report of the Commission on Excellence in Education served as a "triggering event" that justified the President's sudden focus on education. There is no such "trigger" with respect to the women's issue. Therefore, it should be a gradual process focusing on the subliminal (i.e., women in photos, on Air Force One, as administration speakers, etc.) in addition to the President's participation in women's events.

One major point to consider when reviewing the following list of events is that Presidential remarks to a women's group should be substantially the same as they would be to an all male forum. Our investigation and research on the women's issue suggests that women do not want to be addressed on the standard "womens issues" (abortion, ERA, etc.) but would prefer to hear the same type of substantive message as their male counterparts (the economy, education, etc.).

II. WHITE HOUSE EVENTS

In order to demonstrate the access that women have to this administration, it is important that the White House be used as a site for women's meetings whenever possible.

The following is a list of suggested meetings at the White House.



# NOT MARRIED NOT WORKING/OLDER

---

- \*\* LIKE TO CONSIDER THEMSELVES AS IDEOLOGICAL MODERATES, BUT LEAN TOWARD THE CONSERVATIVE POINT OF VIEW
- \*\* HIGH LEVEL OF DEMOCRATIC IDENTIFICATION (61%), WITH THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE OF DEMOCRATIC VOTES IN 1980 (42% FOR CARTER) AND IN 1982 (47% FOR DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES)
- \*\* MOST ARE 65 OR OLDER
- \*\* LIKE THEIR MARRIED COUNTERPARTS, THERE ARE RELATIVELY FEW MINORITY MEMBERS AS 85% ARE WHITE
- \*\* FOUND IN RELATIVELY HIGH PERCENTAGES IN THE PACIFIC STATES
  
- \*\* AGAIN, RELATIVELY PESSIMISTIC WITH 70% "WRONG TRACK" SCORES
- \*\* CONCERNED ABOUT SOCIAL PROGRAMS AND GOVERNMENT SPENDING
- \*\* GIVE REAGAN A LOW THERMOMETER OF 46.3; ONLY THEIR YOUNGER COUNTERPARTS GIVE LOWER SCORES TO THE PRESIDENT
- \*\* RATE THE ECONOMIC PROGRAM QUITE NEGATIVELY, BOTH IN GENERAL (40% HELP), AND ON THE SPECIFIC OF INFLATION (40% WILL REDUCE INFLATION)

# MARRIED NOT WORKING/OLDER

---

- \*\* THE MOST CONSERVATIVE OF THE EIGHT SUBGROUPS (68% CONSERVATIVE)
- \*\* SLIGHTLY LOWER LEVEL OF DEMOCRATIC AFFILIATION (53% DEMOCRATS)
- \*\* SECOND ONLY TO THEIR WORKING COUNTERPARTS FOR PERCENTAGE OF REAGAN VOTE IN 1980 (46%)
- \*\* CONCENTRATED IN THE 65 AND OVER AGE GROUP
- \*\* LOWEST INCIDENCE OF MINORITIES AS 87% OF THESE RESPONDENTS ARE WHITE
- \*\* FIND PROPORTIONALLY HIGHER PERCENTAGES OF THESE WOMEN IN THE GREAT LAKES STATES, LOWER PERCENTAGES IN THE DEEP SOUTH
  
- \*\* SLIGHTLY UNDER THE MEAN SCORES ON DIRECTION OF THE COUNTRY (29% "RIGHT DIRECTION")
- \*\* ALTHOUGH THEY ARE NOT WORKING, THEY EXHIBIT A LOWER THAN AVERAGE CONCERN ABOUT UNEMPLOYMENT, CONCENTRATING INSTEAD ON MORAL AND SOCIAL ISSUES
- \*\* GIVE REAGAN A 53.6 THERMOMETER RATING
- \*\* TEND TO BELIEVE THE ECONOMIC PROGRAM WILL HELP, BUT ARE SPLIT ON ITS EFFECT ON INFLATION

WOMEN

KEY STRENGTH TARGETS



# MARRIED WORKING/YOUNGER

---

- \*\* CLOSE TO THE IDEOLOGICAL MEAN FOR FEMALES
- \*\* HAVE A HIGHER LEVEL OF REPUBLICAN SELF-IDENTIFICATION, BUT TEND TO REGISTER AS INDEPENDENTS; NONETHELESS, THEY VOTED BETTER THAN MOST FEMALES FOR REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES IN 1982 (30%) AND FOR REAGAN IN 1980 (39%)
- \*\* CONCENTRATED IN THE 35-44 AGE RANGE
- \*\* REPRESENT A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF THE WOMEN WITH HIGHER EDUCATIONS
- \*\* FOUND IN PROPORTIONALLY LOWER NUMBERS IN THE GREAT LAKES STATES
- \*\* ONLY 8% CONSIDER THEMSELVES TO BE THE PRIMARY WAGE EARNER IN THE HOUSEHOLD
- \*\* TWO-THIRDS WORK OUT OF NECESSITY
- \*\* 59% WORK FULL-TIME
  
- \*\* SECOND IN LEVEL OF OPTIMISM (33% "RIGHT DIRECTION")
- \*\* HIGHER THAN AVERAGE CONCERN OVER ECONOMIC ISSUES, WITH LESS EMPHASIS ON OTHER SOCIAL OR DOMESTIC CONCERNS
- \*\* GIVE THE SECOND HIGHEST THERMOMETER SCORE FOR REAGAN ~~55~~ 55.2
- \*\* ARE EXTREMELY LIKELY TO BELIEVE THE ECONOMIC PROGRAM WILL HELP THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND WILL ALSO REDUCE INFLATION

# MARRIED WORKING/OLDER

---

- \*\* MORE CONSERVATIVE THAN WOMEN IN GENERAL (65% SELF-IDENTIFIED CONSERVATIVES)
- \*\* SIGNIFICANTLY HIGHER LEVEL OF REPUBLICAN IDENTIFICATION (36%) AND REPUBLICAN VOTING PATTERNS (52% FOR REAGAN IN 1980, THE HIGHEST OF THESE EIGHT GROUPS, AND 36% FOR A GOP CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATE IN 1982)
- \*\* CONCENTRATED IN THE 45-54 AGE RANGE
- \*\* HIGHEST LEVEL OF "BORN AGAINIS" AMONG WOMEN (68%)
- \*\* GEOGRAPHICALLY PREVALENT IN MID ATLANTIC AND MOUNTAIN STATES, LOW LEVELS IN GREAT LAKES AND PACIFIC STATES
- \*\* ALTHOUGH THEY ARE MARRIED, 15% NONETHELESS CONSIDER THEMSELVES TO BE THE PRIMARY WAGE EARNERS IN THE HOUSEHOLD
- \*\* 56% OF THEM WORK OUT OF CHOICE, RATHER THAN NECESSITY
- \*\* 68% WORK FULL-TIME
  
- \*\* FIRST IN OPTIMISM, WITH A "RIGHT DIRECTION" SCORE OF 35%
- \*\* EXHIBIT THE HIGHEST CONCERN ABOUT UNEMPLOYMENT (49%) AS THE #1 NATIONAL PROBLEM
- \*\* GIVE THE HIGHEST THERMOMETER SCORE FOR REAGAN ~~55.2~~ **55.2**
- \*\* ARE SPLIT ON WHETHER THE ECONOMIC PROGRAM WILL HELP THE ECONOMY OR NOT; HOWEVER, THEY BELIEVE IT WILL REDUCE INFLATION (53%)



# MARRIED NOT WORKING/YOUNGER

---

- \*\* AS WITH THEIR WORKING COUNTERPARTS, THESE RESPONDENTS ARE CLOSE TO THE IDEOLOGICAL MEAN FOR FEMALES
- \*\* HIGH TENDENCY TO NOT REGISTER TO VOTE
- \*\* HIGHEST INCIDENCE OF "INDEPENDENT" PARTY AFFILIATION (15%)
- \*\* MOST ARE IN THE 25-34 AGE RANGE
- \*\* HIGHEST PERCENTAGE OF HISPANIC MEMBERS (10%)
- \*\* FOUND IN GREATER CONCENTRATIONS IN THE DEEP SOUTH, FEWER IN THE MID ATLANTIC OR PACIFIC STATES
- \*\* HAVE RELATIVELY LOW EDUCATIONAL LEVELS
- \*\* THE SPOUSE IS HIGHLY LIKELY TO BE EMPLOYED IN A BLUE COLLAR JOB (54%)
  
- \*\* HIGHLY PESSIMISTIC (65% "WRONG TRACK")
- \*\* EMPHASIZE DEFENSE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS AS A NUMBER ONE PROBLEM
- \*\* GIVE REAGAN A LUKEWARM THERMOMETER SCORE OF 50.8
- \*\* ~~NONETHELESS~~ BELIEVE THE REAGAN ECONOMIC PROGRAM WILL HELP THE NATIONAL ECONOMY (56%) AND WILL REDUCE INFLATION



WOMEN

KEY SWING TARGETS

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Congress of the United States  
 House of Representatives  
 Washington, D.C. 20515

February 3, 1983

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The Honorable Ronald Reagan  
 President  
 The White House  
 Washington, D.C. 20500

123005

Dear Mr. President:

As Republican Members of Congress and as women, we found cause for optimism in your State of the Union address. You demonstrated a clear new awareness of the hardships currently confronting many women in this country. More importantly, you made a number of pledges to address some of the most difficult problems of our day, foremost among them the lack of legal and economic equity for women. Each of us shares a deep sense of commitment to these goals, and offers you her assistance and the promise of tireless effort in the U.S. Congress on behalf of the women of America.

The opening of the 98th Congress presents both the Republican Members of Congress and your administration with a prime opportunity for a critical reevaluation of the legal and economic inequities confronting women, and the initiation of new efforts to eliminate these barriers to full equality. We take this opportunity to present our concerns, and provide you with our recommendations for addressing these serious problems. Further, we would like the opportunity to sit down with you in the near future and develop a course of action for confronting this issue in the 98th Congress.

We believe the two pieces of legislation in the 98th Congress that would do the most to insure legal and economic equity to the women in this country are the Equal Rights Amendment and the concepts embraced by the Women's Economic Equity Act. A variety of other legislative and administrative remedies will be necessary during the next two years, as well. In particular, we are eager to review Justice Department proposals to seriously address the issue of child support enforcement.

The Women's Economic Equity Act has enjoyed broad-based bipartisan support in both the House and Senate. The original package was developed by Senator Durenberger, and cosponsored by twelve of the Senate's most prominent Republican members. Separate provisions of the bill address some of the major reasons that women are economically disadvantaged, particularly important are those that seek to



February 3, 1983

remedy pension inequities and child care burdens. We urge a prompt and comprehensive administration initiative to address women's economic situation, and believe endorsement of this legislation would represent a very important first step.

The Equal Rights Amendment continues to have the support of the vast majority of men and women in this country. We recognize your long-standing opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment as the formal means of eliminating the barriers to equality that women presently face. As you know, the ERA was reintroduced into the 98th Congress with the support of 280 House Members and 56 Senators. We regret that you do not share our position on this issue, but would ask that you let the Congress work its will.

Perhaps the most difficult problem for either the Congress or your administration to remedy is the problem of wage discrimination. Its causes are complex, and in many cases, deeply intertwined with our most basic institutions and socialization patterns. Yet, as we come face to face with a new phenomenon described as the "feminization of poverty," we can no longer accept or excuse the pervasive wage discrimination that has remained essentially unchanged throughout the 20th Century. Last fall the Social Security Commission confronted the demographic and economic changes that threatened the very survival of the Social Security program, and developed legislative proposals to insure its solvency. The ability of this Commission to translate complex demographic and economic causes into legislative remedies in the face of serious problems is encouraging. We thereby recommend the creation of a Commission to study the problem of wage discrimination and develop specific legislative proposals to begin to reverse one of the greatest injustices confronted by women in this country every day.

In the immediate future, we encourage a special focusing of attention within all new and existing programs with regard to occupation segregation and wage discrimination in the workforce. Any new block grants to stimulate advancement in math and science should have built in insurances that women will benefit equally. New jobs programs to help the unemployed should have a special component aimed at addressing the special employment problems women face. The proposed state grants to aid dislocated workers should recognize and address the problem of displaced homemakers, a prime example of the "dislocated worker."

We have a deep concern for the apparent disproportionate share of budget reductions that are directed toward programs of greatest benefit to women and children. The Women's Educational Equity Act Program, the only program which specifically addresses educational equity for women should be fully funded and vigorously administered. Further cuts in child nutrition, food stamps, and AFDC will have their greatest impact on women, particularly women who are maintaining families and represent one of the fastest growing poverty groups in the country today.



The Honorable Ronald Reagan  
Page Three  
February 3, 1983

In short, Mr. President, we support fully the pledges you made in the State of the Union address. It is now time to move beyond pledges to the enactment of specific legislation to remedy the fundamental legal and economic inequities women face daily. We believe passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, the Women's Economic Equity Act, and a strong attack on wage discrimination are urgently needed. Further, we strongly support strict child support enforcement laws and adequate funding levels for programs important to the economic well-being of the women in this country. We respectfully request a meeting with you to expand on these comments and to work with you to develop a course of action to remedy these problems.

Sincerely,

*Claudine*  
Claudine Schneider  
CLAUDINE SCHNEIDER

*Olympia*  
Olympia J. Snowe  
OLYMPIA J. SNOWE

*Marge*  
Marge Roukema  
MARGE ROUKEMA

*Narcy*  
Narcy Johnson  
NARCY JOHNSON

*Lynn*  
Lynn Martin  
LYNN MARTIN

*Bobbi*  
Bobbi Fiedler  
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March 25, 1983

Edwin Meese III  
Counsellor to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

118897

Dear Ed:

We appreciate your invitation to sit down and go over the provisions of the Economic Equity Act of 1983. We are willing to work with you in any way necessary to secure the President's endorsement of the various proposals embraced by this legislative package.

We do feel, however, that it is imperative we move swiftly ahead with concrete action on specific legislation. The Economic Equity Act has already attained broad-based bipartisan support both within the Congress and from women's groups ranging from the Federation of Republican Women to the National Women's Political Caucus. We can expect a major lobbying effort on this legislation to begin almost immediately, and the Administration should not delay in demonstrating a leadership role in support of legislation to ensure economic equity for women.

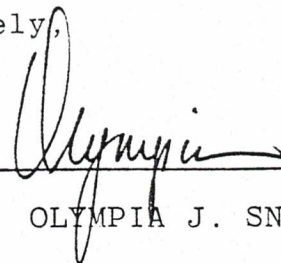
In addition, we are also interested in pursuing our proposal for a Commission on Wage Discrimination with you. The Census Bureau recently published figures which revealed that regardless of education, men can expect to earn at least twice what women can during their lifetimes. We believe our proposal is a sound one, and again, request that it be given serious consideration.

We will continue our efforts in the House and Senate, and will certainly offer you any assistance that is necessary to your efforts to address this critical issue.

Sincerely,



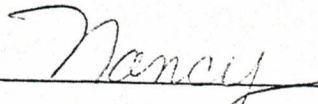
CLAUDINE SCHNEIDER

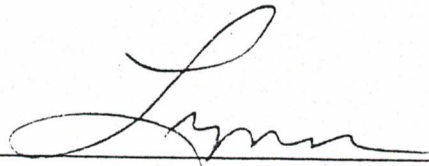


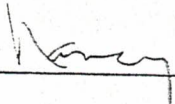
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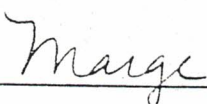


Edwin Meese III  
Page Two  
March 25, 1983

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
NANCY L. JOHNSON

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
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*Congress of the United States*

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

26 MAR 1983

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AND ENVIRONMENT

March 24, 1983

118896

The Honorable Edwin Meese, III  
Counselor to the President  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ed,

Just a note to express my personal gratitude for meeting with us at the White House this morning. The session was most fruitful, and I very much appreciated the opportunity to make suggestions which we believe could result in great political benefit to the President and to Congressional Republicans, without in any way compromising his underlying philosophical convictions.

I would like to reiterate, if I may, a few key points which I feel are particularly important. First, I believe it is imperative that the initiative be seized from the Democrats in Congress in those areas we discussed this morning and which the President can accept. The best way to do this is to avoid the rhetorical "battle-cry" issues of the feminist movement and clearly endorse issues of substance.

I sincerely believe that the issue of child care can be at the top of the President's women's agenda and score very real points with the broad mainstream of women both employed and unemployed in America. It is a pro-family issue, and it is characterized by substantial adaptability to the private sector. The Economic Equity Act contains four child care provisions, all of which relate to incentives for private sector involvement: increasing the flexibility of the tax credit (see Barber Conable's bill attached); making private day care centers tax exempt; making the credit refundable to help very poor women; and establishing clearinghouses of day care information. One of the single greatest roadblocks to female employment is care of children. Endorsement of this approach would win the gratitude of millions of women while helping to keep productive families together.

Second, you will recall that in the State of the Union address the President endorsed a private sector related tax credit for the creation of new jobs. Enclosed is a copy of my bill, which was discussed this morning, which accomplishes just that. Further, it provides similar treatment for the other side of the problem: labor-short industries. The bill has been endorsed by the Machine Tool Association and should be completely acceptable to industry. Further, as I mentioned, the Democrats are talking about the same approach, but at three times the cost. We can't let the Democrats seize the President's own idea.



The Honorable Edwin Meese, III


Page 2

March 24, 1983

Ed, I can't help feeling that the Democrats are planning to strike while the iron is hot. I certainly hope that it will be possible for the President to announce a major initiative at the soonest possible time. Of course, you may count on my help, and I hope that you will feel free to call on me or my Executive Assistant, Todd Nichols, at 225-2735 if we can be of assistance.

Warm personal regards.

Sincerely,



Claudine Schneider  
Member of Congress

CS:tnt

## INTERNAL DISCUSSION

Very simply, there was general agreement among our policy people to not support the insurance bills on the Hill. The Administration has testified that there aren't enough statistics to warrant the drastic changes in the legislation, but basically we have not taken a strong stand in opposition to the legislation. (FYI, a position in opposition was requested by some of our House Republicans, notably Jim Broyhill -- House Energy and Commerce ranking member, but we decided to keep our visibility low on the issue and get the industry working.)

There was also agreement by our policy people to pursue five other items recommended to us with the appropriate cabinet councils:

- o Pension equity legislation
- o Bipartisan commission on insurance equity by executive order in lieu of support of the insurance legislation that is moving on the Hill. (This decision was subsequently re-examined and not recommended.)
- o Child care credits (along the lines of the Conable bill)
- o IRAs (whether or not to increase the ceiling to \$4,000 or to somehow remove any inequities in the IRAs)
- o Child support enforcement improvement

With each successive meeting, these issues were worked and re-worked and worked again and re-worked. Some new items were also proposed, such as flextime and job sharing.

The decision memoranda are attached (tab E). The President signed off on child support enforcement last week (tab F).



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CABINET TIME

May 24, 1983

AGENDA

1. Update on Women's Concerns Faith Whittlesey  
Ed Harper
2. Overview of Issues
3. Economic Equity for Women: Equal Pay
  - a. Occupational Opportunities for Women in the federal government/CM361 Ed Harper
  - b. Job Sharing/CM372 Ed Harper
  - c. Flex-time/CM360 Ed Harper
  - d. DOT Initiatives Elizabeth Dole
- ✓ 4. Economic Equity for Women: Day Care
  - a. Dependent Care Tax Credit/CM180 Tim McNamar
  - b. Private Sector Child Care/CM370 Jim Coyne
- ✓ 5. Economic Equity for Women: Child Support
  - a. Child Support Enforcement/CM288 Margaret Heckler
  - b. Update on IRS Assistance in Child Support Enforcement/CM288 Tim McNamar
- ✓ 6. Economic Equity: Pension Equity
  - a. Pension Equity/CM297 Ray Donovan
  - ✓ b. IRA: Spousal Contributions/CM362 Tim McNamar
7. Legal Equity for Women
  - ✓ a. Gender Based Insurance Rates/CM373 Ed Harper
8. Reagan Appointments of Women John Herrington
9. Concerns of Members of Congress Nancy Risque

## WOMEN'S ISSUES

OCCUPATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT

ISSUE: Should OPM's plan for improving occupational opportunities for women in government be approved?

RECOMMENDATION: Yes, with the following modifications: (1) increase the President's Management Intern Program to bring in more women at the GS-9/11 level; and (2) develop an "immediate job offer" program for women at senior levels to overcome months of delay now encountered by qualified applicants.

BACKGROUND: This issue is carried over from the CCMA meeting with the President of April 28 at the request of Secretary Dole who had to leave early.

At that meeting, Don Devine presented historical data on women in the workforce and women in executive positions in the Federal government. Under this administration, 14.2% of the appointments to non-career SES professionals have gone to women, while only 5.5% of career SES appointments have gone to women. Mr. Devine also pointed out that the percentage of women separated during a RIF of supervisory and management positions is higher than the percentage of women employed. This was attributed to the fact that women have less seniority, the current basis for separation.

OPM proposed five recommendations for enhancing the movement of women into supervisory and executive positions:

- 1) recruit more executives from outside the government;
- 2) make a long term shift to general knowledge examinations;
- 3) limit over-credentialing in job standards;
- 4) require Executive Resource Boards to consider upward mobility for women; and
- 5) base RIFs on performance rather than seniority.

-----  
DECISION:

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED  
AS AMENDED

\_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVED



WOMEN'S ISSUES

*How about  
private  
sector  
job sharing.*

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT INITIATIVE

ISSUE: Should an effort be made to increase use of part-time employment in the Federal government, to provide better opportunities for women entering or re-entering the job market.

RECOMMENDATION: Yes. Direct OPM and Federal agencies to provide all managers with information on how to set up and use part-time employment programs.

BACKGROUND: Of particular interest to women entering or re-entering the job market are opportunities for part-time work or "job-sharing" (which is defined as two people sharing the responsibility of one full-time position).

Proponents of this recommendation would argue that:

- o The use of part-time employment is fully supported by current law. There is currently flexibility for agencies to split the work of a full-time position into two part-time positions.
- o No change results in counting FTE (Full-time Equivalent) employment levels and employee benefits are proportionate to time worked.
- o The only impediment to its being used more fully is a lack of knowledge on the part of managers.
- o To implement job-sharing in the Federal government similar to the model used by the private sector would require major changes in laws and regulations relating to the selection, pay, appraisal, and removal of employees.
- o The initiative helps the employment of women without creating a "reverse discrimination" situation.

Opponents of this recommendation would argue that:

- o This is nothing really new other than making managers more aware of existing tools.
- o Special initiatives designed to accomodate employment of women could raise questions about why special programs are not being developed to help minorities.

-----  
DECISION:

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED  
AS AMENDED

\_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVED

## WOMEN'S ISSUES

FLEXTIME FOR FEDERAL CONTRACTORS

ISSUE: Should the Administration actively support the Armstrong Bill (S. 870) permitting Federal contractors to adopt flexible workweek schedules?

RECOMMENDATION: The CCHR unanimously recommends yes.

BACKGROUND: Federal government and private sector employers are free to adopt flexible workweek schedules for their employees. However, present law effectively prohibits private companies with federal contracts from operating on any weekly schedule other than the standard five-day, forty-hour workweek.

Senator Armstrong has introduced legislation to provide employers under federal contracts the ability to adopt flexible workweeks. This initiative enjoys substantial support in the business community, and last Congress the Administration formally endorsed this proposal. The AFL-CIO opposes this bill.

Proponents of this recommendation would argue that:

- o Increased time at home with family, especially helpful to working mothers.
- o Reduced commuting time and expenses, as well as reduced child-care expenses.
- o There is some evidence (though not conclusive) that employee satisfaction with flexible work schedules has manifested itself in increased productivity, lower absenteeism, and reduced turnover.
- o More effective utilization of capital equipment; reduced start-up/shut-down time; reduced energy requirements.
- o Cost savings could result in reductions in the costs of federal procurements. However, we have found no reliable data on possible cost savings.

Opponents of this recommendation would argue that:

- o Opposition comes from the national labor organizations, who would view this issue as a "test vote" for labor.
- o Union contractors with collective bargaining agreements that still required overtime would be underbid by non-union contractors.

---

DECISION:

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED  
AS AMENDED

\_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVED



## WOMEN'S ISSUES

DEPENDENT CARE TAX CREDITS

ISSUE: Should the Administration support provisions of the Economic Equity Act of 1983 to increase the tax credit allowed for dependent care expenditures?

RECOMMENDATION: No. The Administration should stress its positive record in this policy area.

BACKGROUND: The Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981 (ERTA) changed the way tax credits for dependent care expenditures are calculated, raising the expenditure ceiling and introducing a sliding scale based on income that increases the credit for low income taxpayers. Section 201 of the Economic Equity Act and the Conable Bill would further increase the tax credit for low income taxpayers by altering the sliding scale but without making the credit refundable. OMB estimates that the legislation as drafted would cost the Treasury approximately \$700 million in foregone revenue each year compared to the ERTA changes.

In reviewing this issue the Cabinet Council on Economic Affairs noted that the Administration has already adopted policies in this area to improve program coverage and availability, although the Administration's record on the issue is not very well known either in the Congress or by the public. Second, the proposal is expensive, increasing the deficit by over \$.7 billion each year.

DECISION:

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED  
AS

\_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVED

Office of Policy Development  
May 18, 1983

## Proposed Increase in the Child and Dependent Care Credit

Present law allows a nonrefundable 30 percent tax credit for certain employment related expenses incurred for child or dependent care to enable a taxpayer to be gainfully employed.

The credit phases down on a sliding scale. The rate is reduced by one percentage point for each \$2,000 of income above \$10,000, until the credit reaches its lowest rate of 20 percent for taxpayers with incomes above \$28,000. The maximum amount of the credit is \$720 for one dependent and \$1,440 for two or more. Taxpayers in the highest bracket could receive a credit of \$480 for one dependent and \$960 for two or more. This sliding scale came into the law in the 1981 tax act. Prior to 1982, eligible taxpayers could receive a maximum credit of \$400 for one dependent, \$800 for two or more.

The proposal would increase the rate of credit for taxpayers with incomes of less than \$40,000, with a maximum rate of 50 percent for taxpayers with incomes of less than \$11,000 sliding down to 20 percent for incomes of \$40,000 or over. No changes are proposed in the maximum amount of credit (\$720 for one dependent, \$1,440 for two or more). The proposal leaves the credit nonrefundable.

The proposal would cost at least \$0.7 billion in 1985, \$0.8 billion in 1986, \$0.9 billion in 1987, and \$1.0 billion in 1988. If the more generous credit encourages more people to incur eligible expenses, the costs could be even greater.

While it appears as if the bulk of the benefits would go to those with AGI's under \$10,000, such individuals cannot afford to pay large amounts for child care; thus, their potential benefits are limited.

More importantly, taxpayers, especially families, at lower income levels do not pay enough income tax to benefit from the extra credit, since the credit is nonrefundable. For example, a three-person family with income of \$12,000 will have a 1983 tax of \$718. If they spend the \$2,400 maximum for child care of one child, their child care credit is \$672. Under the proposal the gross credit seems to rise to \$1,128, but actually it is limited to the tax of \$718. So, the credit only rises by \$46. Moreover, the credit could not exceed \$720, the maximum credit under current law and the proposal. Thus the only way to make the credit more meaningful to these families would be to increase the maximum amount of credit and make the credit refundable, both of which would increase the cost significantly.

Attachment



The Effect on Fiscal Year Receipts of Increasing the  
 Child Care Credit to 50 Percent of Eligible Expenses:  
 The Rate of the Credit is Reduced from 50 Percent to  
 20 Percent as Adjusted Gross Income Increases  
 from \$10,000 to \$40,000

(\$ billions)

	: 1984	: 1985	: 1986	: 1987	: 1988
Fiscal year .....	-0.1	-0.6	-0.7	-0.8	-1.0

Office of the Secretary of the Treasury  
 Office of Tax Analysis

May 23, 1983

WOMEN'S ISSUES

CHILD CARE: EMPLOYER OPTIONS TO SUPPORT WORKING FAMILIES

ISSUE: Should child care receive direct support from this Administration by private sector initiatives?

RECOMMENDATION: Yes. In particular, the President's Office on Private Sector Initiatives currently is encouraging the expansion of quality, private sector child care by creating a more informed environment in the business community for the consideration of employer options for working families.

BACKGROUND: Approximately 13 million children 13 years of age and under are in households in which both parents or the sole parent work full-time. There are only 1 million slots in child care centers, and another 7 million children cared for either in family homes (i.e., someone else's home) or their own home. That leaves 5 million children under 13 with no regular care when not in school.

The significant increase in the number of working parents in this country has created an unprecedented mutual dependence between businesses and the family. It is this mutual dependence which provides a rationale for the development of employer strategies to strengthen both the family and the workplace.

At the present time, an informed business community environment about the nature of employer options with respect to child care for working families does not exist. This environment will not change until employers conclude that addressing these needs serves their interests, as well as those of their employees. In order to reach that point, a serious educational effort must be undertaken to bring the concerns of working parents to the level of serious consideration by business.

The President's Private Sector Initiatives Office is providing this educational effort through a series of nationwide meetings hosted by prominent CEO's and aimed at their peers in the community. They will provide information on the growing needs of working parents, the various ways in which those needs are met or not met, and finally, the list of options for meeting those needs, ranging from on-site child care to family counselling.

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DECISION:

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED  
AS AMENDED

\_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVED



## WOMEN'S ISSUES

CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT

ISSUE: Should the Administration's Child Support Enforcement legislation be modified to place additional emphasis on non-AFDC child support enforcement efforts?

RECOMMENDATION: The CCHR recommends that proposed legislation be modified to require States which receive Federal funds for child support enforcement to charge a fee of at least \$25.00 from all non-AFDC applicants and a 3% to 10% collection surcharge from absent parents with delinquent support obligations. The fees collected could be used only to finance non-AFDC child support enforcement efforts at the State or local level.

BACKGROUND: The Administration's 1984 Budget includes proposed legislation to strengthen incentives to States to be more cost effective in child support collections from parents of AFDC families. Some women believe that these changes will cause States to place more emphasis on AFDC collections at the expense of collection efforts for non-AFDC cases. Collection of the fees in the recommended modification will produce an estimated additional \$50 million to the States which can be used only for non-AFDC collection efforts.

Proponents will argue that:

- o The "user" fees will provide additional funds for State non-AFDC collection efforts.
- o The collection fees will act as a deterrent to delinquent child support obligations.
- o The modification will provide more support for the legislation from women.

Opponents will argue that:

- o This modification will require fees which are now optional on the States, violating a Federalism principle.
- o This modification serves as a precedent for federal involvement in collection of other private debts.

---

DECISION:

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED  
AS AMENDED

\_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVED

## IRS Assistance in Child Support Enforcement

The Internal Revenue Service today provides two kinds of assistance to State and local AFDC agencies. First, the IRS collects past due child support, both by offsetting such obligations against tax refunds and by applying the full range of procedures available for collection of employment taxes to such debts. Second, the IRS provides confidential tax return information for use in collecting past due support and locating absent parents.

AFDC agencies made 547,000 requests for offset of tax refunds in 1982. These requests resulted in collection of \$169 million from 278,000 taxpayers. IRS was reimbursed \$17 for each collection by the State involved. Total reimbursements in 1982 were \$4.7 million.

The IRS has been sued approximately 35 times with respect to this program. Many of these suits were class actions. The principal grounds for these suits are that (i) the program is unconstitutional or, (ii) when the obligated parent has remarried, the offset illegally takes tax refunds belonging to the new spouse.

The refund offset program is the principal means used to collect AFDC-related child support obligations through the tax system. In addition, the IRS collects such debts of obligated parents whose known assets are beyond the collection ability of a State. As of June 1982, 274 collection cases involving \$2.5 million were pending.

In addition to the debt collection procedures described above, the IRS provides confidential tax information for use in collecting child support obligations, many of which are AFDC-related. The Federal Parent Locator Service at HHS received approximately 1 million records from the IRS in 1982. Additionally, State and local agencies received approximately 12,000 records in 1982. The IRS collected reimbursements for such disclosures ranging from 8 cents to \$2.65 a record (depending on the nature and source of the record).



WOMEN'S ISSUES

PENSION EQUITY

ISSUE: Should the Administration submit legislation requiring equal annuity benefits for men and women, even though most women live longer than most men?

RECOMMENDATION: CCHR recommends that no decisions be made until after the Supreme Court rules in June. Preliminary steps should be taken so that a Commission can be created quickly in late June with its mission to be decided after Supreme Court action.

BACKGROUND: The overwhelming majority of working women now receive pension benefits equivalent to those received by men. In certain kinds of pension plans, however, the monthly payment to women is less than that for men. Conversely, under some benefit forms, women get larger payments than men. The Supreme Court has ruled that equal employee contributions are required by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It is expected to rule on the question of equal benefits by June of this year.

Legislation pending on the Hill would mandate the abolition of gender-based actuarial tables in all forms of insurance, including pensions. The Administration has so far remained neutral on the legislation, but did file a brief in the Supreme Court supporting the idea of equal pension benefits in employer-based plans. The President's State of the Union Address in January made clear the Administration planned to introduce legislation to remedy sex discrimination in pension systems.

A prospective-only proposal:

- o Would be attacked by feminist groups as providing less than what they believe they are now entitled to under Title VII.
- o Would cost approximately \$90 million per year. By contrast, retroactive application of an equal-benefits rule would cost \$1.2-1.7 billion per year.
- o Would not jeopardize the financial solvency of pension plans. Retroactive application could have such an effect, especially on smaller plans and those covering state and local employees.

---

DECISION:

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED  
AS AMENDED

\_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVED

WOMEN'S ISSUES

INDEPENDENT RETIREMENT ACCOUNTS: LIMIT ON SPOUSAL CONTRIBUTIONS

ISSUE: Should the Administration support a provision of the Economic Equity Act of 1983 to increase the limit on Individual Retirement Account (IRA) investment from \$2250 to \$4000 for taxpayers filing a joint return even if only one had earnings?

RECOMMENDATION: No. The Administration should stress its positive record in this policy area.

BACKGROUND: Currently, taxpayers filing a joint return may invest a maximum of \$2250 of their earnings in an IRA, even if only one taxpayer had earnings, reflecting a liberalization of IRA regulations implemented by this Administration to stimulate private saving. Section 101 of the Economic Equity Act would raise this limit to \$4000 in an effort to recognize the productive contribution of a joint return taxpayer who may not have market earnings by making the joint IRA limit double that of the individual limit. The Treasury Department estimates that the provision would cost approximately \$500 million in foregone revenue each year.

In reviewing this issue the Cabinet Council on Economic Affairs noted that the Administration has already adopted policies in this area to improve program coverage and availability, although the Administration's record on the issue is not very well known either in the Congress or by the public. Second, this proposal is expensive, increasing the deficit by \$.5 billion each year.

---

DECISION:

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED  
AS AMENDED

\_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVED

Office of Policy Development  
May 18, 1983



## Proposed Expansion of Spousal IRAs

Single individuals currently can invest in an IRA up to the maximum of the lesser of \$2,000 or their annual compensation. A taxpayer filing a joint return and whose spouse has no compensation may invest in a "Spousal IRA" up to the maximum of the lesser of \$2,250 or annual compensation. The two spouses can divide this amount between them as desired (though not more than \$2,000 can go to either spouse). Where each spouse earns at least \$2,000, a married couple can invest annually in two IRA accounts which total \$4,000.

The proposal would keep the filing status requirement, but would raise the \$2,250 limit to \$4,000. Thus, for any family in which the breadwinner earns \$4,000 or more, the amount which could be invested in an IRA would not be affected by whether or not the other spouse worked. The main beneficiaries of this new provision would be spouses not employed outside the home and other spouses with (part time) earnings of between \$250 and \$2,000.

This change would cost half a billion dollars per year in revenue. In addition, as the attached table shows, the income distribution concentrates roughly 76 percent of the benefits in AGI classes over \$30,000.

From an economic standpoint, the proposal would be another step toward relieving the taxation of savings. As with any increase in IRA limits, it would, however, add to the potential for tax arbitrage whereby taxpayers can increase their borrowing and, thus, increase the amount of deductible interest while earning a tax-exempt yield on the proceeds. To the extent that this occurs, additional net savings is not encouraged.

Attachment

Revenue Effect of the Spousal IRA Provision of S. 888

	(\$ billions)					
	Fiscal Years					
	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Increase spousal IRA limit to that applicable to higher paid spouse .....	--	-0.1	-0.4	-0.4	-0.5	-0.5

Office of the Secretary of the Treasury  
Office of Tax Analysis

May 11, 1983



Income Distribution of the Effects of a \$4,000 Spousal IRA

Adjusted gross income (000)	(percent)	
	Percentage distribution	
	Returns affected	Tax change
Less than 5	*	*
5 - 10	*	*
10 - 15	4.4%	1.4%
15 - 20	5.0	2.8
20 - 30	28.9	20.8
30 - 50	35.8	38.0
50 - 100	21.2	31.2
100 - 200	2.7	5.3
200 and over	*	1.1
Total	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

Office of the Secretary of the Treasury  
Office of Tax Analysis

April 25, 1983

\*Less than .05

Note: Details may not add to totals due to rounding.

## WOMEN'S ISSUES

### GENDER-BASED ACTUARIAL TABLES IN ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE

ISSUE: What should the Administration's posture be regarding legislation to ban gender-based actuarial tables in all forms of insurance?

RECOMMENDATION: CCHR believes such legislation is at best of mixed benefit to women as a whole and, at worst, positively harmful to some classes of women.

BACKGROUND: Feminists have long argued that sex should be eliminated as a criterion in all laws and regulations, and that private practices which rely on distinctions between the sexes should be forbidden as unlawful "discrimination". The elimination of gender-based actuarial tables in insurance has long been a major goal.

Legislation is now moving on the Hill to do just that. It is advanced by its supporters as a "civil rights" measure and attacked by its opponents as uninformed and, in fact, harmful to many women.

The legislation is supported by feminist groups and their traditional congressional allies. It is opposed strongly by conservatives, and has even been criticized in major part by the Washington Post and N.Y. Times. Insurance industry reactions run the gamut from outright opposition to conditional acceptance under terms unlikely to be agreed to by the legislation's sponsors.

#### Arguments for:

- o Strong feminist support.
- o Modest gains for some women in some forms of insurance.

#### Arguments against:

- o Would increase automobile and life insurance rates for women, in some cases substantially so.
- o As written, the bill would mandate abortion coverage in health insurance.
- o Would require extensive federal regulation of insurance, a field now left to the states.



-----  
DECISION:

- \_\_\_\_\_ o Support legislation to prohibit gender-based actuarial tables.
- \_\_\_\_\_ o Oppose legislation.
- \_\_\_\_\_ o Create a commission to study the use of sex as an actuarial criterion in insurance.

Office of Policy Development  
May 24, 1983



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

June 14, 1983

RECEIVED  
SS

JUN 14 PM 5:41

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAVID A. STOCKMAN 

SUBJECT: DECISION ON CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT

The Senate Finance Committee has scheduled hearings on child support enforcement for June 16. As part of the Administration FY 84 budget initiatives, you proposed several reforms in the child support enforcement program. Legislation to implement these reforms has not, as yet, been transmitted to Congress. HHS is holding the bill until a decision is made on Secretary Heckler's proposed amendment. Her proposal was discussed at the May 24 Cabinet meeting on women's issues. A decision is needed in the near future if our proposed reforms are to be considered by the Finance Committee.

CURRENT LAW

- o States are required to establish programs to obtain child support payments from legally liable absent spouses of AFDC recipients and others who apply for CSE services.
- o Federal Government pays 70 percent of administrative costs of program.
- o A state failing to establish a CSE program forfeits 5 percent of the Federal share of AFDC program payments.

ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSED FY 84 REFORMS

- o Strengthen CSE programs, in part, by mandating that states withhold wages of absent spouses to collect support payments.
- o Restructure Federal financing to increase incentives for collecting support payments from legally liable absent spouses.
- o A state failing to implement required reforms would lose between 3 and 5 percent of AFDC funds.

IMPETUS FOR HECKLER AMENDMENT

- o The proposed restructuring of Federal financial assistance would have the effect of
  - increasing assistance to states for collecting child support payments from absent spouses of AFDC recipients and,
  - reducing financial assistance to states for collecting child support payments from absent spouses of parents not receiving AFDC.



- o Representatives of women's groups claim that this will result in fewer resources being devoted to collecting child support payments for women not receiving AFDC.

#### THE HECKLER AMENDMENT

- o The amendment would place additional requirements on states to ensure collection efforts for non-AFDC parents. The additional requirements would mandate that states establish
  - A minimum \$25 application fee payable by any non-AFDC applicant who seeks state assistance in collecting child support payments, and
  - A collection fee payable by the absent parent. The fee would equal 3 to 10 percent of the amount collected by the state from the absent parent and would be assessed on top of the child support payment.

#### PROS

- o The amendment is likely to be well-received by special interest women's groups and, as a result, may improve the prospects for passage of our legislative reforms.
- o The amendment appears to have no known opposition on the Hill.

#### CONS

- o The amendment runs counter to the Administration's Federalism principles. It places additional mandates on states in an area where the Federal Government has no legitimate interest and uses the club of Federal AFDC dollars to enforce the mandates.
- o The amendment's value in addressing the women's groups' concerns is questionable. The amendment would establish a fee for services currently provided to many women free of charge or at a lower cost.

---

#### DECISION:

RR

AMENDMENT APPROVED

AMENDMENT DISAPPROVED

No decision as yet on amendment. Transmit legislative reform package as currently drafted leaving open the possibility of sending up the amendment at a later date.

eligibility for herself and her children as she begins to work. This problem has been exacerbated by reductions in the federal matching rate the Medicaid costs of working poor families not on AFDC in certain states.

Legislative proposal: address the issue of Medicaid coverage for women coming off welfare and into the work force. Find incentives to encourage states to cover working poor until they can be covered by a private health plan.

Consider a reversal on previous reductions on the earned income credit for welfare recipients.

b. Concerning day care, work disincentives for poor women are resulting from sharp cuts in federal funding for day care services provided to low income working families. In 1982, Title XX program funding was reduced 25 percent, with day care programs the largest part of that budget. The Child Care Food Program was cut 30 percent in 1982.

Legislative Proposal: consider incentives to private employers in the form of investment tax credits for the construction or equipment of day care centers. (See Gilman, H.R. 5965). Or consider tax deductions for corporations which contribute funds to cooperative day care centers they establish-- (see Jepsen, S. 1579).

d. Legislative proposals in the area of wage discrimination and equal pay do not seem viable. See Ferraro, H.R. 217, amendments to Fair Labor Standards Act.

Legislative Initiative: The Administration could show through the EEOC, through Senate hearings, a more active interest in the issue of comparable worth: equal pay for traditionally female jobs of "comparable worth" to other traditionally male jobs.

Several state legislatures, including California, have passed resolutions supporting the need for guidelines for evaluating comparable worth of jobs, as more and more suits are brought to the courts. The reports and policies of the EEOC have not shown a positive interest in the comparable worth issue.

### 3. Public Relations and Women's Network

Recommend that Republican Party "institutional" press and advertising be stepped up.

Recommend working with entertainers for network such as Angie Dickinson, Sally Field, Michael Learned, Florence Henderson, Linda Carter, Lucille Ball, and Goldie Hawn.



- 1) One-on-one lunch with Sandra Day O'Connor on the anniversary of her swearing-in to the Supreme Court. The President's appointment of Sandra O'Connor as the first woman on the Supreme Court was a historic event for women. A private luncheon with her on the anniversary date of her swearing in, September 25th, would be a nice way to highlight this accomplishment.
- 2) Luncheon for outstanding women in business. September 22, 1983 is Business Women's Day. We could invite a group of participants from various women's business groups, or one particular outstanding group. If the luncheon is successful, it would be a good event to do again in September of 1984.
- 3) Host a "Women's Recognition Day". This could be based on a congressional resolution or as an independent activity of the White House. It would be an excellent opportunity to honor women in their various fields of accomplishment (Outstanding Woman in Law, Outstanding Woman in Business, Outstanding Woman in Medicine, etc.). The event should take place sometime prior to November in order to allow for a repeat in 1984.
- 4) Rose Garden ceremony announcing the appointees to the Presidential Advisory Committee on Women's Business Ownership. The President has recently signed an executive order creating this commission. A Rose Garden ceremony would be an appropriate way to recognize the many women who have been opening and working in small businesses in recent years.
- 5) White House announcement of Woman's Trade Mission. A group of women is currently being assembled for a November trade mission into the Pacific region. This is an important administration event that should be brought to the public's attention.
- 6) Meetings with Congresswomen and Women Senators. In addition to the regular meetings with Republican women from the Hill, we may want to consider a luncheon with all women in Congress. This took place during the transition at the Blair House and I am informed that it was very successful.
- 7) One-on-one meetings with Secretary Dole and Secretary Heckler. The President is often seen meeting with Secretary Shultz and Weinberger to discuss the activities of their individual

departments. He has not met with our two women cabinet secretaries. A brief meeting to discuss the activities of their Departments would be a good thing to do.

- 8) Photo opportunities with Championship Women's Athletic Teams. We have recently received good coverage for the President's meetings with national sports champions (i.e., Philadelphia '76ers, New York Islanders, etc.). We should do the same thing for women's national champion teams in major sports.
- 9) White House meeting of the various "Women in . . . . ." Groups. There is a women's group for almost every profession (i.e., Women in Construction, Women in Accounting, Women in Radio and Television, etc.) A large White House meeting with the leadership of all of these groups would be a good opportunity to reach women in a wide variety of professions.
- 10) White House briefings for Republican Women State Legislators. In the past, we have held White House briefings for state and local officials. We may want to consider holding a special briefing for elected women officials on a nationwide basis. It would be particularly good to hold such a meeting with Republican women officials as they come up for reelection next fall.

### III. OUTSIDE EVENTS

- 1) Address the Republican Women's Leadership Forum. This takes place August 26th (Women's Equality Day) in San Diego, California. The first forum took place in Indianapolis, and received very good coverage. This would work out well with the President's August schedule.
- 2) Address National Association of Women in Construction. This group, which has been very supportive, is a clear example of women who have successfully entered a male dominated field. Apart from that, it would be a good blue collar event. It takes place in Kansas City, Missouri, on September 18 - 22, 1983.
- 3) Address the National Federation of Republican Women. This event, which takes place in Louisville, Kentucky, has been entered on the President's schedule for October 7, 1983.



- 4) Address the Forum for Woman State Legislators. On December 3, 1983, in San Diego, California, a group of women office holders from across the country will be meeting. This group is expected to be the largest gathering of women officials in history. At this point, it is receiving a large share of Republican registrants. It is something we should definitely keep our eyes on.
- 5) Address the National Council of Catholic Women. This group meets in Denver, Colorado on October 17-21, 1983. It may be a good opportunity to reach women through a Catholic forum.
- 6) Address American Business Women's Association. This organization will be meeting in Las Vegas, Nevada on October 26-30, 1983. We are currently attempting to find out how supportive this organization has been.
- 7) Visit the National Women's Employment Education Program. This program in Ventura, CA has been complimented by "60 Minutes" for its success in helping women to enter traditional and non-traditional private sector jobs.
- 8) Meet with members of Women Involved in Farming Economics (WIFE). This group has chapters in all farming states. It would be a good agriculture/women's event.
- 9) Visit a private sector child-care center. This would show that the President not only cares about the needs of children, but the needs of the increasing number of working mothers. There are many good examples of such child care centers at various cities across the country.
- 10) Visit the site of a Women's Career Development Program. This would emphasize the need for job training for women in developing fields. There is one operated by the Hispanic Women's Council in Los Angeles. It receives no government funding and was selected as a recipient of the President's 1983 Volunteer Action Award.
- 11) Visit a High-Tech Company owned and run by a woman. The Small Business Administration has identified some very successful businesses of this type.

#### IV. ADDITIONAL FORUMS

- The following is a list of women's events that will be taking place in the months ahead. We have not as yet received any recommendations on these groups.

- 1) National Council of Negro Women, New York City - November 2-6, 1983.
- 2) National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women, Norfolk, Virginia - August 10-14, 1983.
- 3) The Women's Trusteeship, Los Angeles, CA - Open.
- 4) The Financial Women's Association of New York, - Open.
- 5) Businesswomen in the West, Los Angeles, California October 26-28, 1983.
- 6) Association of American Women in Radio and TV, Chicago, Illinois - May 30 - June 2, 1984.
- 7) National Association of Bank Women, Honolulu, Hawaii - September 29 - October 3, 1984.
- 8) National Association of Insurance Women, Las Vegas, Nevada June 24-28, 1984.
- \*9) National Association of Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors, Boston, Massachusetts - April 4-7, 1984.

#### V. MISCELLANEOUS

- . When at all possible, the President should speak of "men and women" as opposed to "people", "citizens", or "persons". This means that he should refer to "businessmen and businesswomen"; "congressmen and congresswomen", etc. This is a subtle point, but it is an easy way to emphasize that all of his programs are directed at women as well as men.
- . The President's speeches frequently contain quotes from famous men in history. It would be wise to include quotes from famous women as well. Again, a subtle point that would help in the women's area.
- . The "50 States Project" was a campaign promise that was frequently referred to when explaining the President's opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment. Although there was initial White House involvement in this program, it has



recently waned. I suggest that we again draw attention to this as it could become a campaign promise that "comes back to haunt us".

- . As in the case of the inflation theme, the women's area is one in which Administration surrogates are essential. This will help to avoid the appearance that the President suddenly is "campaigning" for the women's vote. If such a program had been in place, the recent Supreme Court decision in the Norris case could have been used to the Administration's advantage. Each surrogate could have included in his or her remarks for that date a reference to the President's support of the Norris decision concerning pension plans.
- . The National Organization of Women has begun a plan called "Women's Rights and Reagan Wrongs". It is designed to draw attention to the President's failures in the women's area. We should recognize N.O.W. for what it is, not a women's organization, but a liberal political group. Its members are nearly all democrat and they restrict their support to democratic candidates even when women Republicans are running in the same race. Therefore, through our surrogate program and, perhaps Presidential involvement, we should begin a public awareness campaign about N.O.W. This will help " to reduce the credibility of their anti-Reagan offensive.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 12, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL DEEVER

FROM: FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY *FRW*

SUBJECT: Communication - President's Programs for Women

As we discussed, I have put together some additional thoughts I have previously stressed regarding communications efforts to improve perceptions of the Reagan Administration with regard to women. I have not cleared this with Gergen or Rollins, but you may want to add these suggestions to the communications plan already underway. As I suggested, we have to go around the Washington-based media and out to the local constituencies where our strength lies on this issue.

1. Administration accomplishments with respect to women should be clearly set forth in a concise fashion, stressing the benefits to women of a strong and healthy economic recovery. We must frame the issue for our spokesmen on our terms.
2. Whenever the President goes on a trip, he should be accompanied by at least two high level administration women. These women should be programmed for press and radio interviews, as well as TV, at every stop the President makes, and should be highly visible with him as he moves through his appointments.
3. The same applies to trips by the Vice President.
4. We should consider a group of high level Administration women -- as many as 25 -- signing letters to editors to go to all major newspapers, setting forth the President's record for women.
5. Op-Ed pieces should be planned in major media at the rate of at least one per week for a six month period. These pieces could outline the implementation of benefits to women of everything the President has already done, i.e., reducing Federal estate taxes, "marriage penalty", and increasing dependent deductions, to name only a few.



6. Detailed travel schedules should be planned for every high level woman of this administration, traveling for any purpose, with full press in the local media for each stop. Speeches to outside groups on the Reagan record on women should be increased by at least 50%.
7. All Schedule C appointees in the regions should be called together and briefed on the record on women and provided talking points. The same should be done here in Washington in a series of meetings for both male and female Reagan appointees.
8. All Presidential photo opportunities should be considered as opportunities to highlight the importance of women in working and ceremonial situations.
9. RNC should be encouraged to put someone in charge of organizing Republican women all over the country for writing letters to editors of every weekly and daily newspaper in their respective areas, as well as radio stations, stressing the fine record of this President on women. They should be encouraged to visit local editorial boards to stress their support of this President.
10. It has been mentioned that none of the photos in the White House include any female appointees of this administration. This should be changed as soon as possible.

women case

Women File

NORRIS DECISION

Here is a brief summary of Norris opinion:

- 0 The Court in effect handed down two separate 5-4 opinions:
  - (a) 5-4 in support of the proposition that Title VII forbids employers from offering gender-based annuities;
  - (b) a different 5-4 split (O'Connor switching) holding that relief should be prospective only.
- 0 The majority made clear that Title VII applied to employers only and not to insurers.
- 0 The Court remanded Spirt, Peters, and a number of other cases in the light of Norris.
- 0 Upshot:
  - (1) If we want to go ahead along the lines previously discussed (i.e., prospective unisex), we can wrap ourselves in the Court.
  - (2) On the other hand, it can now be argued that the Court's opinion has already fulfilled the President's SOTU promise re: pension equity.



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2:00 PM 7/6 - women issue

Aboct 1st  
Sent letter

Pension reform.  
women equity act.

talk Hoyer / Udall - to do

sentiment in congress is for a quiet retreat.

go w/ women - other reform issues - in study mode

Bryant - News week.

Have approx - 519 - pension instruction  
- cabinet meeting - more dose  
involvement - not to talk about

small groups - communication exchange.

congress women..

Hoyer  
Mcman } communicate  
Dunn  
Casper

Hoyer - Package  
congress women - Pres.  
pension reform / statement

Monday 11.



- This Administration has a very proud record on female appointees - as of January '83, 96 women for Presidential appointments (more by now) vs. 74 in the last Administration.
- The "Power Aggregate" is beyond question - with a Supreme Court Justice and three women serving on the Cabinet, and Faith Ryan Whittlesey as a Presidential Advisor.
- Private Sector Initiative Day Care Project
- 50 States Project.
- ERTA enacted benefits for women-reduction of marriage tax penalty; elimination of inheritance taxes and increased child care tax credits.
- Job training partnership act.
- Child support improvements.
- Recent (May 12th) decision to support case in Supreme Court on side of Women - EEOC and Justice Department gave Administration support to allow discrimination suits to be heard regarding hiring and promotion policies of women in large law firms. \* (See article attached).
- Administration backed EEOC report on discrimination against women.
- estate tax reductions
- tax credits for employed parents
- equal opportunity for women in the federal government
- increased percentages of female armed service officers and civil service employees
- first female astronaut and Supreme Court Justice

DRAFT

- o The time has come for this Administration to embark on a creative and energetic program to deal with the concerns of the women of this Nation. Conservative, moderate and uncommitted women should be the primary focus of this effort in order to gain support and understanding from women.
  
- o To date, this Administration has maintained a low, almost timid, profile with women in an attempt to keep controversial "women's issues" at arm's length. This approach has unfortunately resulted in a certain sense of alientation and "benign neglect" that is noted by Republican, as well as other women.
  
- o The President's personality and style project him as a "man's man" ... and men accordingly favor his performance by a margin of 60% to 38%.
  
- o Our approval margin among women is improving. A recent ABC/Washington Post poll show women favoring the President at 47% vs disapproval at 46%. However, Wirthlin polls done as recently as the week of May 15th continue to show a 10 point "gap", and confirm certain fundamental differences in the attitudes of women toward this Administration.
  
- o It is not surprising that an Administration whose policies highlight reduced domestic spending and increased military



buildup would be more appealing to men than women, unless a concerted effort was made to explain the need for this policy to the women in the country.

- o This Administration and the Republican Party are faced with the challenge of responding to changes created in our Society over the last generation. It is not the fault of the Republican Party that one in every two marriages now end in divorce, or that women entering the workforce have increased threefold. But these facts do beg some response from a government that is charged with administering programs whose structures were laid down fifty years ago, and which may be viewed as being unresponsive to today's realities.
  
- o Democrats are grappling with these issues as well, and with little success. After all, they have been the party in power for the last thirty-odd years, and they haven't done all that well by women. As recently reported by the U.S. Commission of Civil Rights, the number of poor families headed by women increased by a third during the 70s. The "feminization of poverty" is the aftermath of years of Democratic control.
  
- o This Administration has a number of achievements that have been of particular benefit to women:

- o The President should move to broaden the scope of the "women's agenda." He has already taken the lead with his speech regarding the subject of educational excellence. This issue is very important to women. Women are also responsive to the problem of crime, and this Administration has a story to be told here as well.
  
- o An additional issue of concern to women that this Administration has failed to address is domestic violence. This issue cuts across class lines - it's the number one concern of the Junior League, while impacting heavily on the lower and middle socio-economic groups of women. It's a problem that primarily affects women - there are not many abused husbands - and vast numbers of women.
  
- o The time is right to move out and grasp this opportunity to bring women into the Republican fold in ever-increasing numbers. Women want to be convinced that this party should be their party of choice ... that they will not be ignored once they have joined us. We have a good story to tell, and it should be told by not only the greatest communicator of all, our President, but by the many talented Republican women that serve this country and Party.



- o Republicans must not be timid about placing the blame for some of the women's concerns where it clearly lies ... with the Democratic party.
  
- o We should not shy away from the fact that the "feminization of poverty does exist, and that our Republican party is empathetic to this reality, and is willing to take steps to address the crisis ....after placing the blame squarely where it belongs... in the laps of the Democrats, under whose Administrations the problem developed.
  
- o All available resources should be mustered to communicate the President's concern that women receive fair and equitable treatment. This can be done as follows:
  - A major Presidential speech highlighting this Administration's accomplishments and recognizing the vital role of women (should be given soon).
  
  - Careful attention must be given to the selection of the new Deputy in Presidential Personnel. Ideally, it should be a woman, if not, a man who publicly expresses a dedication to placing women in top level positions (this statement should also be expressed by Mr. Herrington publicly).
  
  - More women should be used to present the Administration's position in testimony given before congressional committees. This should quickly communicate the Administration's desire to not only place women, but to use them as policy makers. (Especially true for defense/foreign affairs).
  
  - A women's Speakers Bureau. Should be organized quickly so that articulate Republican women could be spreading the word on this Administration's support of women.
  
  - Pension legislation should be developed and introduced soon by the Administration. It is important to emphasize that most so called inequities do not result from overt sex discrimination, but because these programs are set up to reward a certain kind of work behavior which women generally don't exhibit. Be sure the onus of responsibility for this problem is properly placed.