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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection:** BARR, WILLIAM L.: Files

**Archivist:** mjd

**File Folder:** [Women's Issues] (1) ~~GA-9095~~  
Box 9

**Date:** 5/7/99

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                                                            | DATE    | RESTRICTION   |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------------|
| 1. memo               | EHR to EHL re: Short-Term Fixes, 2p                                      | 7/27/82 | <del>P5</del> |
| 2. memo               | Wendy Borchardt to Ed Harper re: Short-Term Initiatives, 3p              | 7/21/82 | <del>P5</del> |
| 3. memo               | Velma Montoya to Harper re: Uhlmann's memo, 1p                           | 7/23/82 | <del>P5</del> |
| 4. memo               | Emily Rock to Harper re: Short-Term Fixes, 1p                            | 7/26/82 | <del>P5</del> |
| 5. memo               | MDT to Ed re: memo on women, 1p                                          | 7/27/82 | <del>P5</del> |
| 6. memo               | Michael Uhlmann to Harper re: Short-Term Fixes on Women's Issues, 2p     | 7/19/82 | <del>P5</del> |
| 7. memo               | Bob Schuettinger to Uhlmann re: The Women Problem, 1p                    | 8/2/82  | <del>P5</del> |
| 8. memo               | Montoya to Harper re: Suggested Strategies to Address Women's Issues, 3p | 8/2/82  | <del>P5</del> |

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

## OFFICE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT

### STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 7/20/82 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 7/23/82

SUBJECT: Short-Term Fixes on Women's Issues

|                | ACTION                              | FYI                      |                              | ACTION                              | FYI                      |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| HARPER         | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | DRUG POLICY                  | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| PORTER         | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | TURNER                       | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| BARR           | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | D. LEONARD                   | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| BAUER          | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | OFFICE OF POLICY INFORMATION |                                     |                          |
| BOGGS          | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | GRAY                         | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| BRADLEY        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | HOPKINS                      | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| CARLESON       | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | PROPERTY REVIEW BOARD        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| DENEND         | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | OTHER                        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| FAIRBANKS      | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |                              | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| FERRARA        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | <u>Margaret Tutwiler</u>     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| GUNN           | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | <u>Emily Rock</u>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| B. LEONARD     | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | <u>Wendy Borchardt</u>       | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| MALOLEY        | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____                        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| MONTOYA        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____                        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| SMITH          | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____                        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| UHLMANN        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____                        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ADMINISTRATION | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____                        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Remarks:

Please return this tracking sheet with your response.

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 20, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR MARGARET TUTWILER  
WENDY BORCHERDT  
EMILY ROCK  
VELMA MONTOYA

FROM: EDWIN L. HARPER 

SUBJECT: Short-Term Initiatives of Special Interest to Women

Attached is a memorandum Mike Uhlmann prepared July 19 suggesting some short-term initiatives of special interest to women.

I've returned the memorandum with some hand-written comments of my own.

I'd appreciate your thoughts on the memo and possible additional initiatives we should be exploring. May I have your comments and suggestions by close of business, Friday, July 23.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 19, 1982

FOR: EDWIN L. HARPER  
FROM: MICHAEL M. UHLMANN  
SUBJECT: Short-Term Fixes on Womens' Issue

I. EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

As discussed in my previous memos, the pay disparity between men and women generally does not reflect sex discrimination. To the extent it does, there are already two federal statutes which mandate equal pay for equal work. These laws have been

*How do you measure their effectiveness? You must be able to prove this, because many do NOT believe!!*

There are two areas, however, where some room for maneuver may exist:

1. Pensions. Women's retirement benefits could be raised up to men's level. A CCLP working group is examining this and will be ready to report in a week.
2. Other amendments. Present law contains exemptions for pay differences based on seniority systems, productivity, merit. Also there are some exemptions for seasonal workers and certain workers in some sectors of agriculture, retailing, health care, etc. The EEO working group could study whether any modifications can be made to these provisions to broaden and strengthen the existing statutory mandate. (However, the political costs of any amendments would likely outweigh gains.)

II. OTHER POTENTIAL INITIATIVES

1. Military pensions. This week Rep. Schroeder is introducing legislation that would give divorced wives of military men an interest in their husband's pensions. We could support this move if DOD concurs.
2. Further tax cut for the working poor. (See my memo of June 11, 1982, "Overview of Women's Issues".)
3. Day care. Increase tax incentives provided in 1981 Tax Act to businesses to establish corporate day care centers.

4. Enforcement of child support. Explore possibility of federal measure or multi-state compact to facilitate enforcing child support decrees. Any initiative should avoid creating federal domestic relations law.
5. Jobs for "displaced homemakers". Develop program to encourage private sector to hire and train unskilled middle-aged women driven into labor market, usually by breakup of family.

Are there inequities in divorce laws that should be addressed?

As I recall 4,000 of the 4,500 DECCP complaints are from women? This suggests that there is a problem. In what other areas do women file a large number of formal complaints? If nothing else we might be able to expedite the resolution of complaints in this area, or do something to solve the problem.

## OFFICE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT

### STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 7/30/82 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: OPENSUBJECT: Short-Term Fixes on Women's Issues

|                | ACTION                              | FYI                      |                              | ACTION                   | FYI                      |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| HARPER         | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | DRUG POLICY                  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| PORTER         | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | TURNER                       | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| BARR           | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | D. LEONARD                   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| BAUER          | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | OFFICE OF POLICY INFORMATION |                          |                          |
| BOGGS          | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | GRAY                         | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| BRADLEY        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | HOPKINS                      | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| CARLESON       | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | PROPERTY REVIEW BOARD        | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| DENEND         | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> | OTHER                        | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| FAIRBANKS      | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| FERRARA        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| GUNN           | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| B. LEONARD     | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| MALOLEY        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| MONTOYA        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| SMITH          | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| UHLMANN        | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ADMINISTRATION | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/> |                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**Remarks:**

Some more interesting ideas on the women's issues. I trust you are not letting this slip. More from Wirthlin this week.

Please return this tracking sheet with your response.

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

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

To: Mike Uhlman

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Some more interesting  
ideas on the women's  
issues. I trust you are  
not letting this slip. More  
from Wirthlin this week.

3/

EDWIN L. HARPER

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 27, 1982

To: ELH  
From: EHR (P)  
Re: Short-Term Fixes on Women's Issues

Please find attached comments on Mike Uhlmann's July 19th memo on Short-Term Fixes on Women's Issues.

Highlights From Comments:

o Equal Pay for Equal Work

- "...social scientists of late have learned to distinguish between the fact of a law and its implementation." VM
- "If there is equal pay for equal work, it is news to me and most of the people in this country." MTut.
- "...we must demonstrate that these laws have been effective, for the perception is that they have not been." WB
- "Make it clear that the President supports equal pay for equal work...." ER

o Pensions

- "The civil rights principle of this Administration should mandate nondiscriminatory treatment of objectively identifiable equals." VM
- "...why aren't they already?" MT
- "This is an issue of economic importance to all philosophical persuasions of the women's constituency." WB

o Day Care

- "...critical issue...." WB
- "...If they (corporate day care centers) are inherently better than other private and public sources, why aren't working mothers already willing to pay for them?" VM
- "...totally agree with 'increase tax encentives....'" MT
- "Encourage private sector...and visible support from the President...." ER

o Enforcement of Child Support

- "...one should be penalized for not paying...." MT
- "...this is a critical issue and there is wide spread abuse, the women's constituency does not seem to be addressing this issue broadly at this time." WB
- "...appealing on humanitarian grounds." VM
- "Assistance in collecting child support would help." ER

o Displaced Homemakers

- "There is a real concern for the displaced homemaker by the women's constituency." WB
- "...many public programs to retrain mid-life re-entry women already are in place...." VM
- "Nice idea...." MT
- "Doesn't concern the target group." ER

o Inequities in Divorce Laws

- "No concern has been expressed from...constituency...." WB

o Military Pensions

- "...concern across the board...." WB

o Tax Cut for the Working Poor

- "...no public outcry...." WB

I have highlighted, in yellow, the individual memos.

The point seems to be that MU missed the boat on equal work for equal pay and that he has made some suggestions that are of little political interest to women and others that are of great interest. The focus is off.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

JUL 22 1982

DATE: July 21, 1982  
TO: Ed Harper  
FROM: Wendy Borchardt *W.B.*  
SUBJECT: Short-Term Initiatives of  
Special Interest to Women

I. Equal Pay for Equal Work:

I concur in the comment that we must demonstrate that these laws have been effective, for the perception is that they have not been. Our approach should be that the laws are there to mandate equal pay for equal work, and we should encourage redress in the system when it does not occur. If the Reagan Administration emphasizes that it wishes these Federal statutes to provide this protection, this will provide a fine psychological factor in changing the public perception that the President is uncaring and unfeeling. We must stress that the system is in place to redress these wrongs and that women (and men) should use the system and that the system will respond.

I also want to be sure to emphasize that we only stress equal pay for equal work. The feminists are going beyond this premise and are asking for equal pay for comparable work. This, of course, is an entirely different ball game - one which is most subjective and controversial and one which we should not address at this time.

1. Pensions: The pension question is one to which we must respond. This is an issue of economic importance to all philosophical persuasions of the women's constituency. Some of the Task Force material that has been circulated has referred to the inequities in pensions, and the expectation for this Administration to do something has been raised. We can address equalizing women's retirement benefits to those of men, and this will have a significant impact on our public perception and will refute the lack of compassion on the part of the President.

2. Exemptions: There does not seem to be any extreme concern for the exemptions for pay differences based on seniority systems, productivity, merit. The pension provision along with stressing equal pay for equal work are much more important. Exemptions do not have a high priority across the broad-base of the women's community.

## II. Other Potential Initiatives

1. Military Pensions: The military pension question is of concern across the board - even into the Eagle Forum constituency. I urge supporting giving divorced wives an interest in their husband's pensions. With the Supreme Court ruling that angered so many women, a positive approach by the Reagan Administration to provide divorced wives an interest in these pensions demonstrates that the President wishes to correct this inequity.

2. Tax Cut for the Working Poor: I have read Mike's memo of June 11th, and I need to see the economic figures for that tax cut. The arguments seem valid. However, there has been no public outcry from the women for a tax cut, per se, but those who use the system are expressing their distress because of the social service programs being cut. I feel that the negative impact of specific program cuts will not be alleviated by a further tax cut for the working poor.

3. Day Care: Increasing tax incentives to businesses to establish corporate day care is a critical issue and one which should be endorsed if the economic fall-out of reduced taxes can be sustained. The concern is that the tax incentives not be limited to large businesses but be provided for sole proprietors, small partnerships, etc. A great majority of the employed women today are working in small businesses where there may be only two or three employees. If the sole proprietor can be encouraged to form a cooperative day care with other merchants on his block, many of the women that we are trying to attract will be helped significantly. Therefore, I urge increasing the tax incentives to businesses but including all employers.

4. Enforcement of child support: Although this is a critical issue and there is wide spread abuse, the women's

constituency does not seem to be addressing this issue broadly at this time.

5. Jobs for "Displaced Homemakers": There is real concern for the displaced homemaker by the women's constituency. At present the Women's Bureau at the Department of Labor is investigating a program of training for the displaced homemaker. This training will be confined to developing women who can provide the increased child care that is needed. Also, the women's program at the Small Business Administration is considering financing "cottage shop" small businesses which will be developed to provide child care and will work with the Women's Bureau at the Department of Labor to secure the labor. This provision goes much further in encouraging the private sector to hire and train unskilled middle-aged women, and this range of training will have wide appeal and support.

6. Inequities in Divorce Laws: No concern has been expressed from the various women's constituency on inequities in divorce laws. I believe that these are state-wide issues, and these are addressed in each state. I have had no expression of concern from my constituency that inequities should be addressed at the Federal level.

I was unaware that 4,000 of the 4,500 OFCCP complaints are from women. I would like to have that information verified as well as in what other areas women do file a large number of formal complaints in the Federal arena. I agree that perhaps a resolution of some of these complaints might solve some problems. However, I caution that we look beyond the grievances just here in the Federal system where one organization may be dealing with two or three sub-agencies at HHS, the Women's Bureau, SBA, and minority programs at Commerce, etc. Often, it is the same group of women appealing to many similar programs, so in the Federal arena we are addressing a relative small number of women.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 23, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR EDWIN L. HARPER

FROM:

VELMA MONTOYA *VM*

SUBJECT:

COMMENT ON UHLMANN'S JULY 19 MEMO

While it is correct that there already exist two federal statutes that mandate equal pay for equal work, social scientists of late have learned to distinguish between the fact of a law and its implementation. Perhaps the large fraction of OFCCP complaints by women indicate a faulty or inept implementation of the legislation, particularly by smaller employers who don't enjoy the luxury of separate offices to clean up EEO issues. I'd like to see an itemization of the nature of the almost 90% of outstanding OFCCP complaints filed by women. Some indicators of faulty implementation of the 1967 Civil Rights Act might be identified by such an itemization. As we all know, the work place is multidimensional, and practices that managers have used for many years may in fact differentially affect recent entrants to the labor force. On this point, it is interesting to note that a recent CBS News Poll (June 30, 1982) finds 67% of the women and 68% of the men polled think it's easier for men to get top jobs in business or government these days. Along the same line, I agree with Ed Harper that we should find a way to expedite the resolution of OFCCP complaints.

The civil rights principle of this Administration should mandate nondiscriminatory treatment of objectively identifiable equals. Pension reform and insurance reform could be warranted in certain instances based upon this principle, and in some cases, these reforms would benefit women.

Uhlmann's suggestion of enhanced child support enforcement, given his proviso, is appealing on humanitarian grounds. In addition, it should be relatively costless to enforce.

On the other suggestions: It is not clear to me why this Administration would want to further (differentially) subsidize corporate day care centers. If they're inherently better than other private and public sources, why aren't working mothers already willing to pay for them? Regarding "displaced homemakers," many public programs to retrain mid-life re-entry women already are in place, many at very low cost in junior colleges across the country.

I'll think about this issue some more when there are no longer charts to be made up.

cc: Roger Porter

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 26, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR EDWIN L. HARPER

FROM:

EMILY H. ROCK

*E. Rock*

SUBJECT:

Short-Term Fixes on Women's Issues

In addition to the suggestions in Mike Uhlmann's paper, the following areas could be considered:

- o Clarify the concerns of the women who vote and are turning against the Administration's policies.
- o Appoint a woman to advise the President on issues that are of particular concern to women. In lieu of an individual, formalize the women's network that now exists in the White House and have members of that group meet with the President in a visible manner. The point is to have women seen advising the President.
- o Appoint a woman to a Cabinet position.
- o Take an aggressive stance on the fairness issue as suggested in Horowitz's paper.
- o Make it clear that the President supports equal pay for equal work and that he doesn't think women are taking jobs away from men.
- o Have Cabinet officials point out the increase of women in the work place and note the potential increase in productivity, the cushion against unemployment and inflation, and the positive effect on the economy of increased spending by more wage earners.

Because more women are entering the work force and are therefore becoming more political, it is important to capture this emerging vote. If we are able to convince women that they have a chance to succeed as Republicans, they will work with us and not against us. Women want what men want, they just don't want to go to war to achieve their goals.

Attached some additional thoughts from another paper.

SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO WHAT THE ADMINISTRATION MIGHT BE ABLE TO DO  
TO REACH WOMEN SIMILARLY SITUATED

- o Assistance in collecting child support.
- o Student loans to be paid back as a percentage of income..
- o Encourage private sector to establish day care centers by a tax break or visible support from the President i.e. a visit to a corporate child care center.
- o Flexible work schedules for people, federal and private sectors.
- o Presidential support of Republican women candidates, lots of pictures. Two women Senators are Republicans and ~~that the~~ four women members of Congress are ~~also~~ Republicans. Play this up to point out that the Democrats promise but the Republicans deliver on issues of concern to women.
- o Always have a woman on the President's Secret Service detail. Good image of trust.
- o Appoint women to substantive Administration positions.

Women need to work in order to support themselves and their families, whether or not they are married. If government and society discourage women from working, the economy will be inhibited and women will continue to be poor and dependent as a class.

The process of working one's way up is exactly the process that allows individuals to develop the skills that allow for success. If there is discrimination, individuals will not develop individual skills that lead to economic independence. If there is a welfare state, individual independence is discouraged. One must walk a fine line between the two.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 27, 1982

Ed,

My thoughts on your memo about women.

- 1, I could not agree more with you that the vast majority of women if asked DO NOT believe that they are paid, hired, or treated equally with men in the work force. There may be two federal statutes legislating equal work for equal pay but in the real world and the over-all big picture I don't see it being enacted or becoming a reality.
2. I know absolutely nothing about pensions but the suggestion that "women's retirement benefits could be raised up to men's level" My reply to that statement is why aren't they already?
3. I totally agree with "Increase tax incentives for businesses to establish corporate day care centers". Times have changed and a larger number of women are having to work and have to leave their children in day care centers -  
My understanding of corporations that either provide on the premises day care or help women make arrangements for such are wonderful things that are working etc.
4. I believe that all child support should be paid and one should be penalized for not paying what you have agreed to pay.
5. Nice idea to help middle aged women find a job and learn a skill - maybe use the same type of incentives as you suggest on day care etc.

Sorry so rapidly done but Emily called this A.M. and said you needed by end of today - I am swamped and have tried to bang this out for you - if typo's etc. and poor grammar sorry but I am really rushed for time - as we all are !

MDT

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMO FOR MIKE UHLMANN

FROM BOB SCHUETTINGER

RE: THE WOMAN PROBLEM

August 2, 1982

I noticed a recent poll showing older women (over 50) substantially more anti-RR than younger women.

This is not what most people would expect. Older women are supposed to remember RR as a popular actor, etc., be more conservative, etc.

*Dead right* /  
Assuming this poll is correct, I believe it is in line with my own thesis, namely that the problem is not so much with our abortion and ERA positions (younger women ought to be more concerned about those issues). The problem, in my opinion, is that we have a split between those who are optimistic and self-reliant (about 70 % of white, middle-class and up males voted for RR in 1980) and those who are pessimistic and dependent or economically insecure) Older women, I think, would tend to fall disproportionately into the latter category.

This theory could be tested by polls which cross-checked older women who are anti-RR with these other characteristics.

I also think these older women tend to be Democrats (when they were growing up almost everyone was a Democrat! (1936)) and when times get rough they revert to their natural state. This could be tested also.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 2, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR EDWIN L. HARPER

FROM:

VELMA MONTOYA *VM*

SUBJECT:

Suggested Strategies to Address Women's Issues

Currently the following issues are of key concern to women:

1. War/peace including nuclear armament
2. Fairness of budget cuts, especially Social Security assistance to elderly, school lunches
3. Legal and economic equity
  - a. Pension reform
  - b. IRA's especially with respect to non-working spouses
  - c. Maternity insurance coverage
4. Affirmative action
5. Abortion

How can we defuse these issues or, better still, turn them to our advantage?

Nuclear armament. Apparently many women do not yet appreciate the importance of the role of commitments to protect property, particularly international commitments regarding property. This issue could be at least defused by bettering the education of women regarding the importance of this role. Ambassador Jean Kirkpatrick obviously appreciates the important role of international commitments. A nationally televised interview of Ambassador Kirkpatrick on this topic could serve to both enhance the Administration's position on this issue and detract from the credibility of those Democrats who've recently gained noticeable political momentum by allying themselves with the nuclear disarmament movement.

Fairness of budget cuts, especially Social Security assistance to the elderly, and of school lunches. The examples here are key. From them, I infer that the President has lost many women voters on this issue, especially those 18 to 45, because they perceive the President's budget cuts as lacking "heart". Apparently these women don't appreciate the counter-arguments of reduced dependency, etc.

How can the President win back these women in a manner consonant with his philosophy? Given the logic, the policy (or policies) must show heart and directly (not indirectly) and positively change these women's perceptions of the President. The President could appeal to these women directly by announcing in his State of the Union Address that he will launch a major effort to encourage states to create low-cost child-care centers for children of working parents, with AFDC recipients staffing the child-care centers. The staffs could receive their payments as part of a workfare program, so that the additional costs from the policy shouldn't be too great.

This suggestion has a similar ring to Mike Uhlmann's generally well-received suggestion that further tax incentives be provided to private corporations to provide day care centers for their employees. This policy recommendation differs somewhat in that (1) it seems more easily structurable so that the President (and not corporations) gets the direct credit for providing the child-care facilities -- it just seems a bit much to expect women to thank the President for corporate day-care centers facilitated by tax incentives -- and (2) this policy casts a wider net for child-care clients, as only corporations of a certain size workforce would provide child-care facilities for their employees (depending upon the tax incentives), and (3) it's likely cheaper. Also, Bob Carleson says states could provide this kind of workfare program.

Regarding this suggestion, did you know there are an estimated 50,000 "latch-key children" under age 6 in this Country who come home to a house with no responsible adult present?

Legal and Economic Equity. I already touched on this topic in my July 23 memo, and I understand that pension, insurance, and savings reform are currently on the CCLP agenda. Note that reforms in these areas on the basis of equal treatment of objectively identifiable equals likely will hurt some groups of women at the expense of other women and men.

Affirmative Action. Most women would agree that AA regulations should be made simpler, require less paperwork, and that the resolution of OFCCP complaints should be expedited by the Administration.

Frankly, here it appears likely that many working women will always want more than this Administration is philosophically prepared to give. But this shouldn't deter us from continuing to search for ways to monitor the quality of the work environment to assure equal opportunity (as opposed to monitoring for quotas), particularly since upward promotions for women likely will become their primary AA concern once the economy begins its strong recovery.

Allow me to belabor this point about the importance of the quality of the workplace. An example of such monitoring would be to assure that the "old boy network" is opened to the "new gals". Real world examples from my experience include changes in policy so that all Rand researchers now learn at the same time about any windfall increase in the size of the pot of funds for more readily attainable Rand-sponsored research (instead of the previous way that the news trickled out from the men's locker room), about proposals submitted by specific individuals, and about contracts received by specific individuals. The new policy enables those individuals formerly outside the information loop to more readily gain employment within the Rand marketplace, a significant change since continued "coverage" is a condition for staying on at Rand. For another example closer to home, those of us seeking White House Mess privileges don't do so primarily because we believe the food served there to be noticeably superior to the relevant alternatives.

In this area, the President will get a lot of mileage from appointing a woman as head of a Cabinet Department.

Abortion. While it's true that women are philosophically split on this issue, the baby boom generation of women (part of the group of women 18 to 45) is now at the age where doctors strongly advise tests before the decision is made whether or not to continue a pregnancy. Most women of this age want the legal right to make this decision. The President likely should leave this issue to the Congress.

cc: Roger Porter  
✓ Michael Uhlmann

# OFFICE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT

## STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 8/9/82 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: FYI

SUBJECT: Women's Issues

|                | ACTION                   | FYI                                 |                              | ACTION                   | FYI                                 |
|----------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| HARPER         | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | DRUG POLICY                  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| PORTER         | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | TURNER                       | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| BARR           | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | D. LEONARD                   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| BAUER          | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | OFFICE OF POLICY INFORMATION |                          |                                     |
| BOGGS          | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | GRAY                         | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| BRADLEY        | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | HOPKINS                      | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| CARLESON       | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | PROPERTY REVIEW BOARD        | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| DENEND         | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | OTHER                        | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| FAIRBANKS      | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| FERRARA        | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | Edwin Meese, III             | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| GUNN           | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| B. LEONARD     | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| MALOLEY        | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| MONTOYA        | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| SMITH          | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| <u>UHLMANN</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| ADMINISTRATION | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |

Remarks:

Please return this tracking sheet with your response.

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 8, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR EDWIN MEESE III

FROM: EDWIN L. HARPER

SUBJECT: Women's Issues

Recently, Dick Wirthlin has done some additional analysis of the polling data with respect to women's issues and arrived at a couple of very interesting conclusions:

- There has been no significant change in women's attitudes about the President since a significant negative shift at the time the budget was released last February. From the last January poll to the second February poll, the President's ratings on general job rating dropped 8 points; the economy 10 points; right track/wrong track 13 points; and economic help/hurt 12 points.
- The only factor where there is a significant male/female difference in the disapproval ratings stems from women feeling that inflation is not getting better. There are no other clearly differentiated male/female issues in the disapproval rating.

The second conclusion is based on a path analysis. The first step in the analysis is to identify all of the issues and personal characteristic factors that relate significantly to a person's disapproving the job President Reagan is doing. As Chart 1/6 illustrates, there are 6 important factors but none of these are male/female related. The three most important factors are:

- 1) Reagan's not concerned about the poor/elderly,
- 2) Disapprove Reagan's handling of foreign affairs and
- 3) Reagan's economic program won't reduce inflation.

When a similar type of analysis is done for "disapproval of Reagan's handling of foreign affairs", we find no significant male/female differential; the most differentials are party identification with the democratic party and the individual's personal situation is worse. (See Chart 2/6) When the issue of compassion/"feel Reagan doesn't care about poor/elderly" - is examined, far in away the most significant factor (See Chart 3/6) is party identification; no sex distinctions are apparent.

However, an interesting situation emerges when you go two steps behind the opinion "Reagan's economic program won't reduce inflation." In the first step behind that opinion, you find that the key factors are the opinion "inflation is not better", to the "personal situation is worse" and "party identification." (See Chart 4/6)

Then you take the second step and look behind the opinion "inflation is not better" you find a strong correlation between females and the opinion that inflation is not better. Party identification, education and personal situation worse are other factors which have significant correlation to the opinion that "inflation is not better."

Thus, in Chart 5/6, you can see that the issue of greater significance to women than men runs from being female, to "inflation not better", to "Reagan's economic program won't reduce inflation" to "disapproval of Reagan."

A more complete diagram of the path analysis can be found in Chart 6/6 which illustrates the only significant sex differentiated issue is "inflation not better." What is especially interesting is that the secondary relationship between those who feel "inflation is not better" and those are concerned about President's lack of compassion ("Reagan doesn't feel about poor/elderly") is a relatively weak relationship.

Why women feel that "inflation is not better" probably relates to their being the primary most frequent shopper for the family.

Interestingly, people in general do believe that inflation is slowing but it may all depend on how the question is asked. For example, when the question is put this way, "Even though prices are still increasing, they aren't going up as fast as they were a year ago," 65 percent of the people agree and only 33 percent disagree. However, when it is suggested, "Because of tax cuts and lower inflation rates, the average American family will have about \$1,500 more in buying power this year..." only 37 percent of those surveyed find that argument even somewhat believable.

All of this suggests that the most important message we need to get across to women is that even though prices are still increasing, they aren't going up as fast as they were a year ago before the President's program began to take hold.

# RR JOB RATING: GENERAL

| TRACKING: | I    | II   | III  | IV   | V    | VI   | VII  | R 1  | R 2  | R 3  | R 4  | R 5  | R 6  | R 7  | R 8  | R 9  | R 10 | R 11 |
|-----------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| STUDY:    | 3211 | 3221 | 3231 | 3241 | 3251 | 3271 | 3281 | 5511 | 5521 | 5531 | 5541 | 5551 | 5561 | 5571 | 5581 | 5601 | 5611 | 5621 |
| DATE:     | SEPT | OCT  | OCT  | NOV  | DEC  | DEC  | DEC  | JAN  | JAN  | FEB  | FEB  | MAR  | APR  | APR  | MAY  | MAY  | JUNE | JULY |

|           |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|-----------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| LEGATE: + | 61 | 67 | 65 | 61 | 60 | 60 | 59 | 60 | 58 | 51 | 52 | 49 | 53 | 50 | 48 | 52 | 52 | 52 |
| -         | 32 | 25 | 29 | 33 | 32 | 35 | 35 | 33 | 34 | 43 | 41 | 44 | 42 | 42 | 43 | 42 | 40 | 42 |

|          |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|----------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| WOMEN: + | 53 | 63 | 63 | 59 | 57 | 54 | 54 | 56 | 52 | 45 | 44 | 43 | 47 | 46 | 43 | 46 | 47 | 46 |
| -        | 40 | 28 | 32 | 36 | 34 | 41 | 39 | 37 | 38 | 49 | 48 | 50 | 48 | 44 | 47 | 49 | 45 | 46 |

|           |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |    |    |     |    |    |    |     |
|-----------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|----|-----|
| BLACKS: + | 22 | 23 | 21 | 24 | 19 | 15 | 15 | 21* | 16 | 14 | 14 | 16 | ** | 27* | 12 | 18 | 16 | 26* |
| -         | 56 | 67 | 70 | 51 | 71 | 77 | 77 | 71  | 79 | 78 | 74 | 78 | ** | 68  | 73 | 76 | 74 | 73  |

\* Small Sample Problems?  
- No Op'n. included?

| SMALL BUSINESS: |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |       |
|-----------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-------|
| Work: +         | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | 54 | 48 | ** | 56 | ** | ** | 60 | 51    |
| -               | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | 40 | 44 | ** | 39 | ** | ** | 33 | 43    |
| Manage: +       | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | 56 | 62 | ** | 82 | ** | ** | 65 | 60    |
| -               | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | 35 | 35 | ** | 11 | ** | ** | 35 | 60-38 |
| Own: +          | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | 56 | 64 | ** | 68 | ** | ** | 66 | 66    |
| -               | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | ** | 34 | 28 | ** | 28 | ** | ** | 27 | 29    |

\*\* Data not collected at that time.

# RR JOB RATING: ECONOMY

| TRACKING:       | I           | II         | III        | IV         | V          | VI         | VII        | R 1        | R 2        | R 3        | R 4        | R 5        | R 6        | R 7        | R 8        | R 9        | R 10        | R 11        |
|-----------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| STUDY:          | 3211        | 3221       | 3231       | 3241       | 3251       | 3271       | 3281       | 5511       | 5521       | 5531       | 5541       | 5551       | 5561       | 5571       | 5581       | 5601       | 5611        | 5621        |
| DATE:           | <u>SEPT</u> | <u>OCT</u> | <u>OCT</u> | <u>NOV</u> | <u>DEC</u> | <u>DEC</u> | <u>DEC</u> | <u>JAN</u> | <u>JAN</u> | <u>FEB</u> | <u>FEB</u> | <u>MAR</u> | <u>APR</u> | <u>APR</u> | <u>MAY</u> | <u>MAY</u> | <u>JUNE</u> | <u>JULY</u> |
| AGGREGATE: +    | **          | **         | 65         | 58         | 58         | 52         | 51         | 57         | **         | **         | 47         | 46         | 48         | 46         | 47         | 46         | 45          | 42          |
| -               | **          | **         | 31         | 36         | 37         | 43         | 45         | 41         | **         | **         | 49         | 49         | 48         | 51         | 49         | 50         | 51          | 53          |
| WOMEN: +        | **          | **         | 62         | 55         | 54         | 47         | 48         | 52         | **         | **         | 42         | 39         | 41         | 42         | 42         | 39         | 39          | 36          |
| -               | **          | **         | 32         | 40         | 38         | 49         | 49         | 45         | **         | **         | 52         | 54         | 54         | 54         | 54         | 56         | 56          | 58          |
| BLACKS: +       | **          | 30         | 27         | 24         | 22         | 16         | 13         | 13         | **         | **         | 17         | 17         | **         | 22         | 16         | 14         | 10          | 17          |
| -               | **          | 61         | 69         | 67         | 72         | 81         | 87         | 85         | **         | **         | 80         | 80         | **         | 75         | 78         | 80         | 82          | 74          |
| SMALL BUSINESS: |             |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |             |             |
| Work: +         | **          | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | 48         | 41         | **         | 51         | **         | **         | 48          | 43          |
| -               | **          | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | 47         | 54         | **         | 49         | **         | **         | 50          | 53          |
| Manage: +       | **          | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | 54         | 56         | **         | 80         | **         | **         | 59          | 51          |
| -               | **          | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | 42         | 41         | **         | 20         | **         | **         | 36          | 47          |
| Own: +          | **          | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | 57         | 65         | **         | 57         | **         | **         | 62          | 55          |
| -               | **          | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | 38         | 32         | **         | 41         | **         | **         | 36          | 43          |

\*\* Data not collected  
at that time

# PARTY IDENTIFICATION

| TRACKING:         | I    | II   | III  | IV   | V    | VI   | VII  | R 1  | R 2  | R 3  | R 4  | R 5  | R 6  | R 7  | R 8  | R 9  | R 10 | R 11 |
|-------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| STUDY:            | 3211 | 3221 | 3231 | 3241 | 3251 | 3271 | 3281 | 5511 | 5521 | 5531 | 5541 | 5551 | 5561 | 5571 | 5581 | 5601 | 5611 | 5621 |
| DATE:             | SEPT | OCT  | OCT  | NOV  | DEC  | DEC  | DEC  | JAN  | JAN  | FEB  | FEB  | MAR  | APR  | APR  | MAY  | MAY  | JUNE | JULY |
| SEGREGATE: +      | 40   | 35   | 32   | 40   | 36   | 35   | 36   | 33   | 37   | 35   | 35   | 37   | 35   | 33   | 34   | 35   | 35   | 35   |
| -                 | 40   | 48   | 46   | 43   | 46   | 44   | 42   | 46   | 45   | 45   | 47   | 48   | 50   | 52   | 53   | 46   | 52   | 51   |
| WOMEN: + GOP      | **   | **   | 39   | 35   | 34   | **   | 31   | 34   | 34   | 38   | 38   | 32   | **   | **   | 33   | **   | 34   | 37   |
| - Dem             | **   | **   | 42   | 49   | 49   | **   | 48   | 47   | 52   | 41   | 40   | 54   | **   | **   | 51   | **   | 55   | 46   |
| BLACKS: + GOP     | 5    | 10   | **   | 6    | 10   | **   | 6    | 9    | 7    | 13   | 12   | 8    | **   | **   | 10   | **   | 12   | 10   |
| - Dem             | 86   | 81   | **   | 79   | 81   | **   | 80   | 80   | 84   | 75   | 78   | 77   | **   | **   | 75   | **   | 86   | 76   |
| SMALL BUSINESS: * |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Work: +           | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | 40   | 31   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | 35   |
| -                 | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | 47   | 51   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | 47   |
| Manage: +         | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | 44   | 43   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | 43   |
| -                 | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | 42   | 34   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | 38   |
| Own: +            | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | 43   | 35   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | 43   |
| -                 | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | 43   | 49   | **   | **   | **   | **   | **   | 38   |

\*\* Data not collected at that time.

# RIGHT DIRECTION/WRONG TRACK

| TRACKING:       | I           | II         | III        | IV         | V          | VI         | VII        | R 1        | R 2        | R 3        | R 4        | R 5        | R 6        | R 7        | R 8        | R 9        | R 10        | R 11        |
|-----------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| STUDY:          | 3211        | 3221       | 3231       | 3241       | 3251       | 3271       | 3281       | 5511       | 5521       | 5531       | 5541       | 5551       | 5561       | 5571       | 5581       | 5601       | 5611        | 5621        |
| DATE:           | <u>SEPT</u> | <u>OCT</u> | <u>OCT</u> | <u>NOV</u> | <u>DEC</u> | <u>DEC</u> | <u>DEC</u> | <u>JAN</u> | <u>JAN</u> | <u>FEB</u> | <u>FEB</u> | <u>MAR</u> | <u>APR</u> | <u>APR</u> | <u>MAY</u> | <u>MAY</u> | <u>JUNE</u> | <u>JULY</u> |
| AGGREGATE: +    | 46          | 53         | 50         | 46         | 46         | 50         | 40         | 50         | 50         | 45         | 36         | 36         | 39         | 29         | 33         | 31         | 32          | 31          |
| -               | 46          | 39         | 44         | 46         | 47         | 43         | 51         | 45         | 45         | 49         | 59         | 58         | 54         | 67         | 60         | 64         | 62          | 65          |
| WOMEN: +        | 40          | 45         | 46         | 41         | 43         | 36         | 35         | 45         | 43         | 37         | 30         | 30         | 32         | 23         | 26         | 26         | 28          | 27          |
| -               | 52          | 46         | 47         | 51         | 50         | 56         | 56         | 51         | 51         | 57         | 66         | 64         | 61         | 72         | 66         | 69         | 66          | 69          |
| BLACKS: +       | 24          | 23         | 16         | 27         | **         | 16         | 12         | 14         | 12         | 13         | 11         | 12         | **         | 8          | 7          | 8          | 6           | 14          |
| -               | 67          | 69         | 79         | 64         | **         | 81         | 84         | 79         | 84         | 85         | 86         | 85         | **         | 85         | 89         | 92         | 87          | 82          |
| SMALL BUSINESS: |             |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |             |             |
| Work: +         | **          | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | 38         | 27         | **         | 31         | **         | **         | **          | 25          |
| -               | **          | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | 57         | 67         | **         | 63         | **         | **         | **          | 71          |
| Manage: +       | **          | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | 41         | 48         | **         | 52         | **         | **         | **          | 37          |
| -               | **          | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | 59         | 44         | **         | 44         | **         | **         | **          | 55          |
| Own: +          | **          | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | 46         | 46         | **         | 38         | **         | **         | **          | 33          |
| -               | **          | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | 48         | 45         | **         | 69         | **         | **         | **          | 62          |

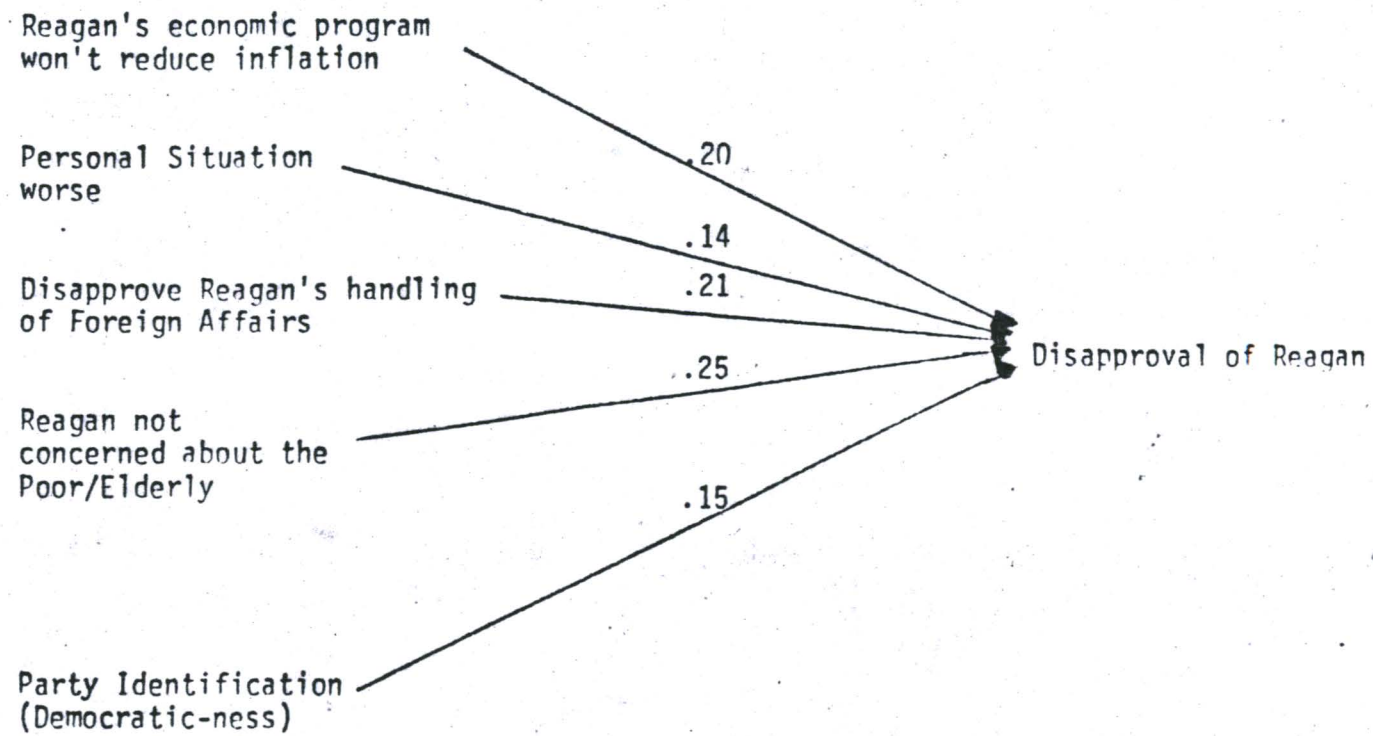
\*\* Data not collected at that time.

# ECONOMIC PROGRAM (HELP/HURT)

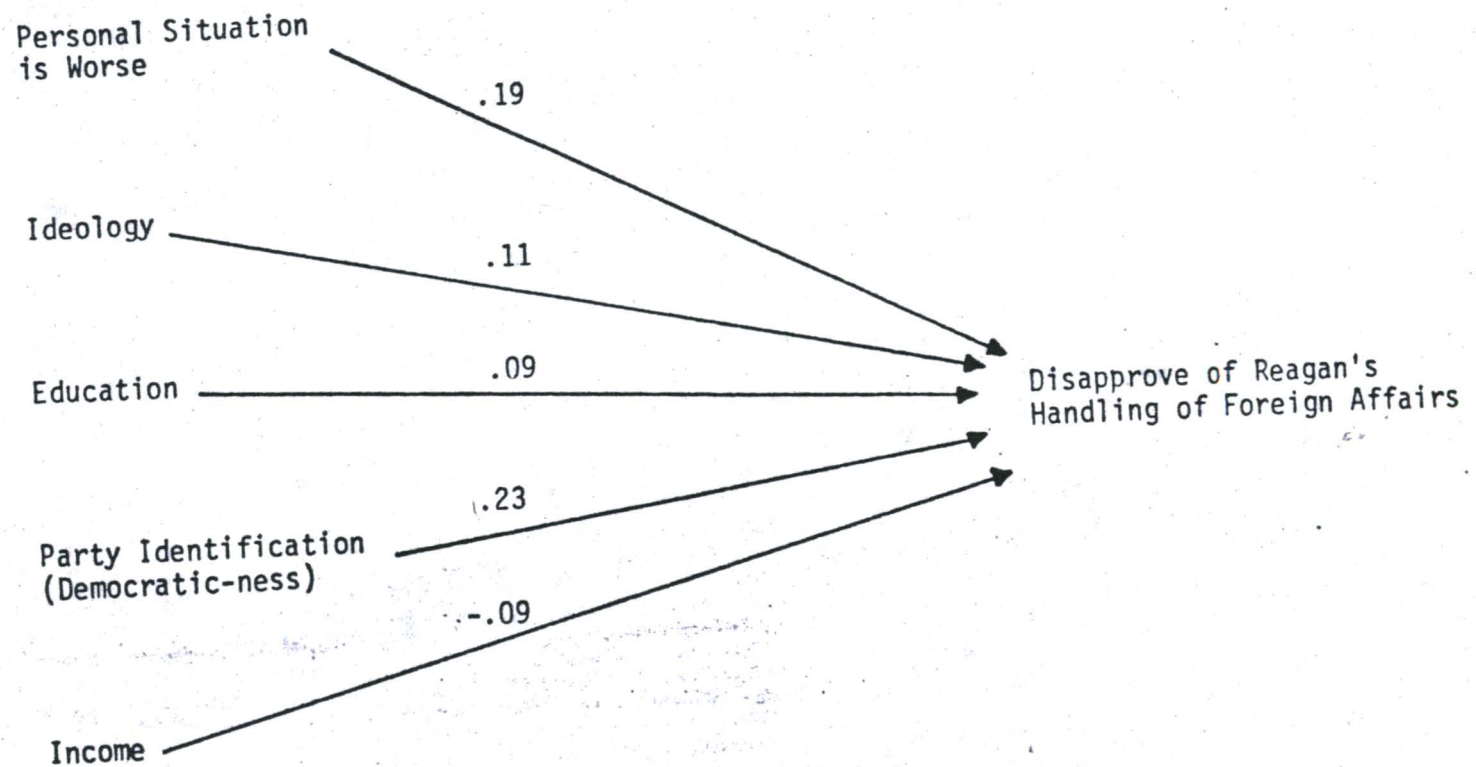
| TRACKING:       | I           | II         | III        | IV         | V          | VI         | VII        | R 1        | R 2        | R 3        | R 4        | R 5        | R 6        | R 7        | R 8        | R 9        | R 10        | R 11        |
|-----------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| STUDY:          | 3211        | 3221       | 3231       | 3241       | 3251       | 3271       | 3281       | 5511       | 5521       | 5531       | 5541       | 5551       | 5561       | 5571       | 5581       | 5601       | 5611        | 5621        |
| DATE:           | <u>SEPT</u> | <u>OCT</u> | <u>OCT</u> | <u>NOV</u> | <u>DEC</u> | <u>DEC</u> | <u>DEC</u> | <u>JAN</u> | <u>JAN</u> | <u>FEB</u> | <u>FEB</u> | <u>MAR</u> | <u>APR</u> | <u>APR</u> | <u>MAY</u> | <u>MAY</u> | <u>JUNE</u> | <u>JULY</u> |
| DISREGATE:      |             |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |             |             |
| +Help           | **          | 65         | 69         | 59         | 59         | **         | **         | 59 ✓       | **         | **         | 50         | 49         | **         | 54         | 50         | 56         | 51          | 47 ✓        |
| -Hurt           | **          | 26         | 23         | 32         | 31         | **         | **         | 32 ✓       | **         | **         | 42         | 43         | **         | 36         | 42         | 37         | 41          | 42 ✓        |
| WOMEN: +        | **          | 60         | 66         | 53         | 54         | **         | **         | 56         | **         | **         | 44         | 45         | **         | 48         | 45         | 49         | 46          | 41          |
| -               | **          | 29         | 25         | 36         | 35         | **         | **         | 33         | **         | **         | 47         | 47         | **         | 41         | 46         | 44         | 45          | 50          |
| BLACKS: +       | **          | 27         | 36         | 24         | 28         | **         | **         | 22         | **         | **         | 14         | 18         | **         | 31         | **         | 25         | 15          | 23          |
| -               | **          | 67         | 55         | 67         | 63         | **         | **         | 74         | **         | **         | 74         | 75         | **         | 58         | **         | 67         | 77          | 75          |
| SMALL BUSINESS: |             |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |            |             |             |
| Work: +         | **          | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | 54         | 45         | **         | 56         | **         | **         | **          | 46          |
| -               | **          | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | 40         | 47         | **         | 36         | **         | **         | **          | 42          |
| Manage: +       | **          | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | 56         | 62         | **         | 81         | **         | **         | **          | 59          |
| -               | **          | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | 35         | 28         | **         | 19         | **         | **         | **          | 35          |
| Own: +          | **          | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | 56         | 69         | **         | 74         | **         | **         | **          | 67          |
| -               | **          | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | **         | 34         | 24         | **         | 23         | **         | **         | **          | 28          |

\*\* Data not collected  
at that time.

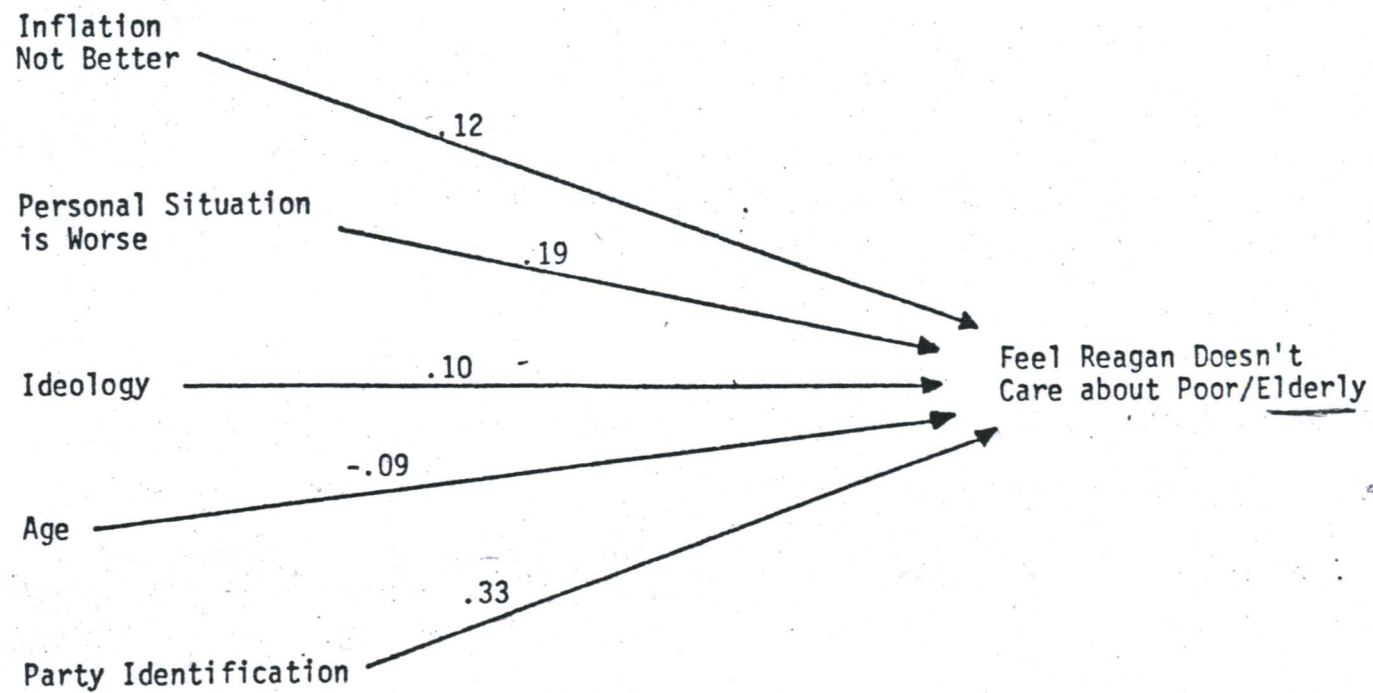
FACTORS DIRECTLY AFFECTING  
DISAPPROVAL OF REAGAN



FACTORS DIRECTLY AFFECTING VIEWS  
OF REAGAN'S HANDLING OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

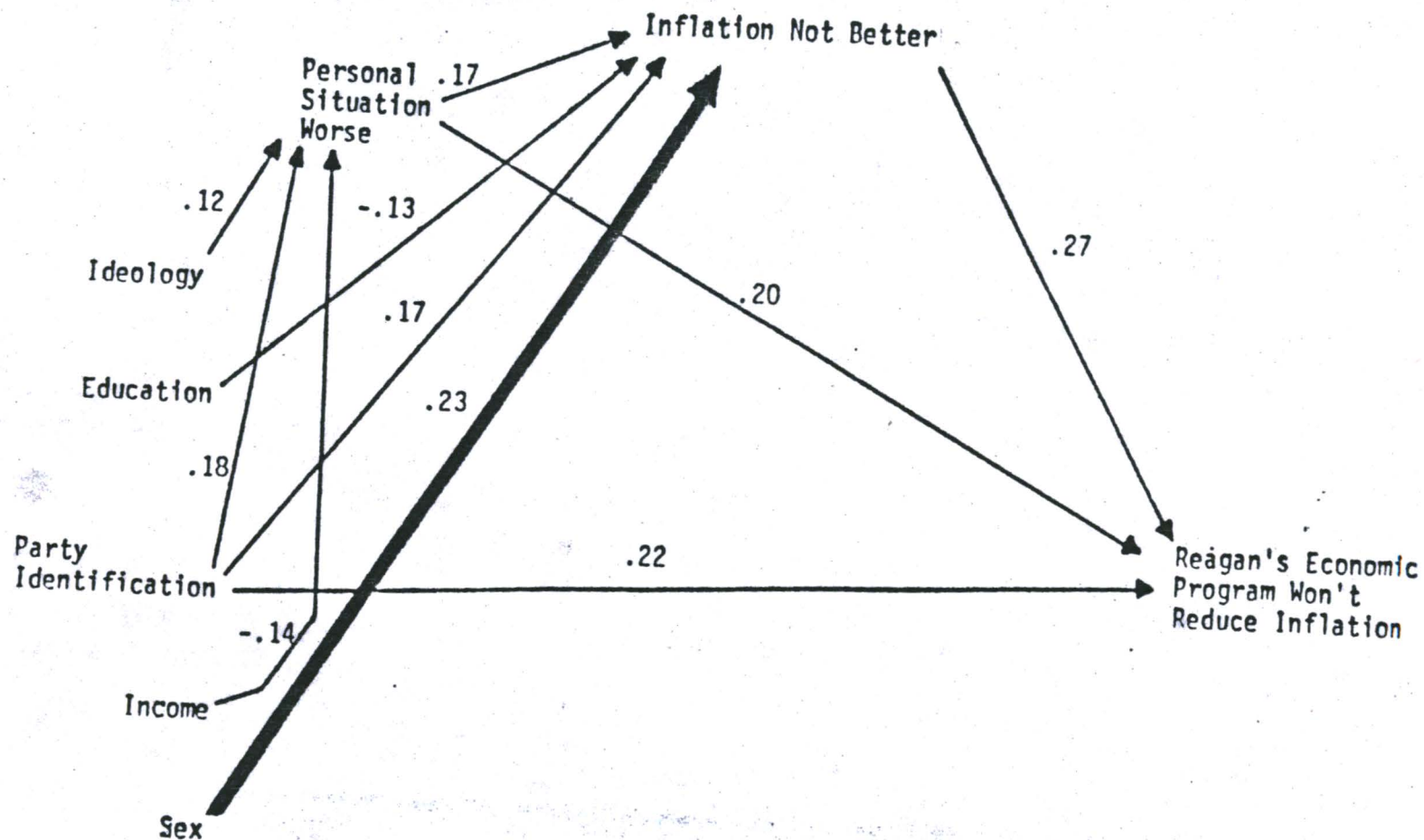


FACTORS DIRECTLY AFFECTING VIEWS ON  
CARE FOR THE POOR AND ELDERLY

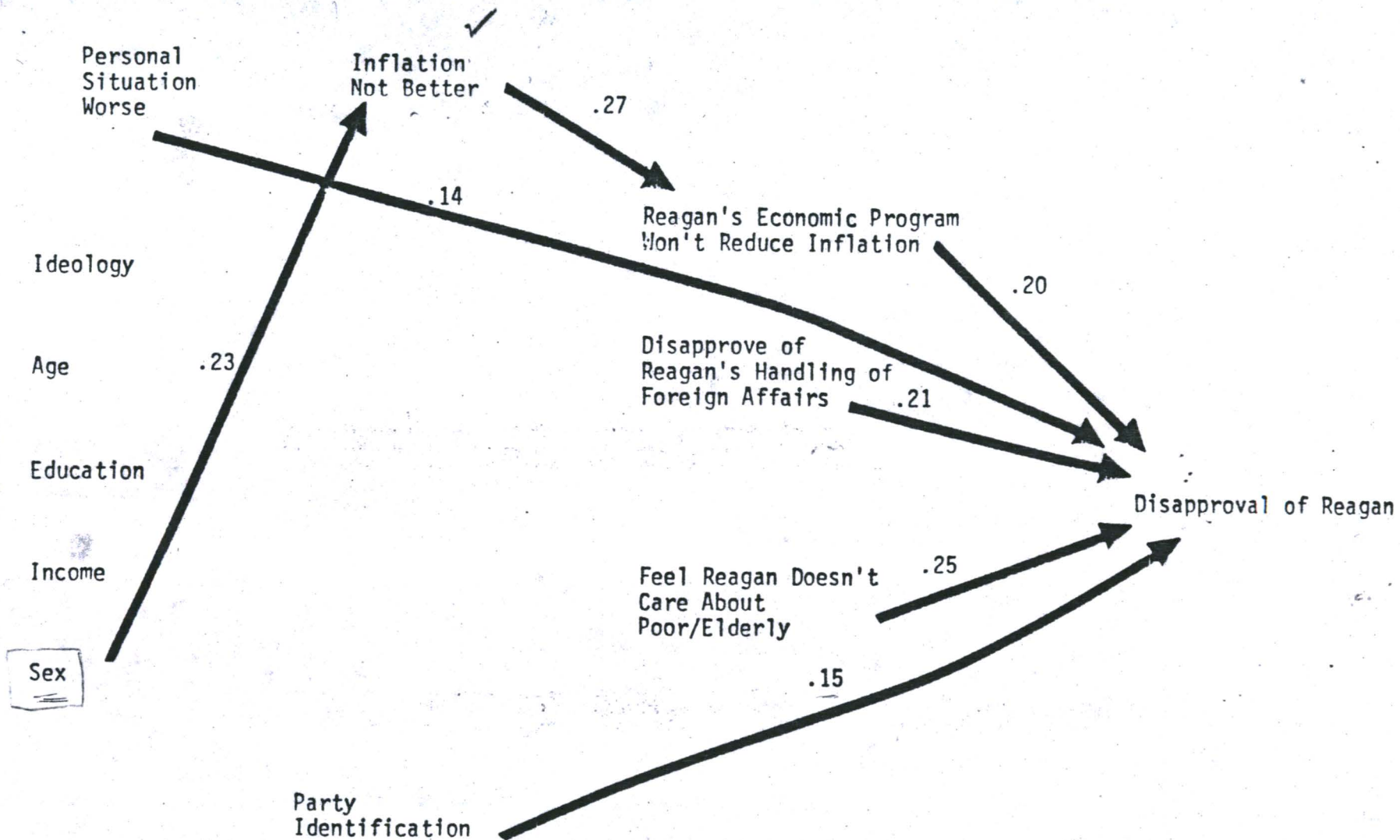


FACTORS DIRECTLY AND INDIRECTLY AFFECTING  
VIEWS ON REAGAN'S ECONOMIC PROGRAM

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# DISAPPROVAL OF REAGAN: A PATH ANALYSIS OF SOME KEY FACTORS



# DISAPPROVAL OF REAGAN: A PATH ANALYSIS OF SOME KEY FACTORS

