



**CALIFORNIANS FOR  
STATEWIDE SMOKING  
RESTRICTIONS**

**Campaign Plan  
Working Draft**

**May 23, 1994**

**2065532017**

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## Overview

### Status of Initiative Qualification

County Registrars of Voters have until June 30 to verify that the California Uniform Tobacco Control Initiative has the requisite 474,000 valid voter signatures to qualify for the November 1994 ballot. Despite posturing by the acting Secretary of State Tony Miller, it is likely that the initiative will in fact qualify for the November ballot.

### Opposition

The opposition campaign to the initiative is called Coalition for a Healthy California. The coalition is comprised of health interest groups, including heart, lung and cancer associations, as well as elected officials. The opposition is likely to be professionally run and well-organized. Jack Nicholl, who managed the 1988 YES on Proposition 99 campaign, is heading the opposition. The opposition is likely to be better organized than funded. It is unlikely that they will be funded beyond the \$1 - \$1.5 million level and will concentrate on generating earned media opportunities.

### Assessment of Political Climate

Despite signs the economy is beginning to improve, California voters are still in a fairly negative mood. In recent surveys, trend questions indicate that close to 70 percent of the electorate believe that California is still headed off on the wrong track.

In terms of competition for voters' attention, this election will more closely resemble 1992 when there were three statewide candidate campaigns and only a handful of initiatives than 1990 when there were a dozen highly visible and contentious initiatives on the ballot. At this writing, the only initiative qualified for the November ballot is "Three Strikes." Other initiatives which are likely to qualify for the November ballot include a 4 percent gas tax to pay for mass transit, and "Single Payer," a measure to overhaul the health care system. One week after CSSR turned in petition signatures, sponsors of an immigration control measure called "Save Our State" turned in 800,000 signatures of their own. It is not certain at this time whether the "Save Our State" measure will qualify in time for the November ballot. Of these initiatives, only "Single Payer" will be highly controversial and receive considerable press attention. It may also indirectly impact our campaign in that an increase in the tobacco tax is a central feature of the "Single Payer" measure.

The other relevant dimension of the overall political climate is the ongoing media coverage of Congressional hearings on tobacco company activities and the public's general distrust of tobacco companies. While the campaign can control the initial framing of the initiative to a degree, it can exercise little, if any, influence over the overall political context.

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## Campaign Strategy Synopsis

The initiative campaign may be divided into three distinct, but overlapping, phases. The following synopsis of these three phases serves as an outline of the entire initiative campaign.

### Phase I: Nothing To Hide/Read It for Yourself

**Timing:** Phase I will last from early June through the first week of August.

**Objective:** Define the initiative and related campaign issues for the voters.

**Themes:** The principal themes Phase I will establish are:

- "openness" theme to defuse the "smoke and mirrors" argument;
- substantive reasons for Philip Morris sponsoring the initiative;
- "read it for yourself".

**Elements:** Phase I would be comprised of the following components:

- research, including focus groups and a benchmark survey;
- newspaper advertising;
- outdoor advertising/COG signs;
- direct mail;
- organization.

### Phase II: Secure Our Base/Broaden Statewide Support Organization

**Timing:** August through the end of the campaign.

**Objectives:** Phase II will be the organization phase of the campaign designed to:

- broaden the statewide organization that was started in the qualification phase of the initiative effort;
- broaden the support base for the initiative by collecting endorsements;
- identifying and recruiting spokespeople for the initiative;
- generate earned media.

**Elements:** The basic component of the organization effort will be a limited campaign staff which will identify and recruit supporters, distribute campaign materials, and orchestrate press coverage of local business involvement in the effort in targeted districts/areas in the state.

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### Phase III: Sell Initiative Elements/Win Undecided Voters

**Timing:** The final five weeks of the campaign.

**Elements:** Phase III will focus on paid media and will include the following elements:

- direct mail;
- slate mailers;
- radio advertising;
- television advertising;
- outdoor advertising;
- newspaper advertising;
- public opinion research to test media messages.

The following campaign plan explains more fully the purpose of each of these campaign elements and their relationship to other campaign components.

Potential Themes

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## Creating a Campaign Model and Identifying Target Voters

The conceptual framework for the targeting process is outlined below along with a detailed description of the research required to construct an election model.

### Votes Needed to Win

A successful campaign strategy is founded upon a clear understanding of how many votes it takes to win and from where those votes are likely to come. The first step in this campaign modeling process is to project total voter registration, turnout, and the percentage of votes cast by absentee ballot. For example:

Registered Voters	14,850,000	
Projected Turnout	62%	
Total Votes Cast	9,207,000	
<b>Votes Needed to Win</b>	<b>4,603,501</b>	
Precinct Votes	7,410,000	(81.5%)
Absentee Ballots	1,797,000	(19.5%)
2+Voter H/H	3,300,000	(53.1%)
Single Voter H/H	<u>2,905,000</u>	(46.9%)
<b>Total Voter Households</b>	<b>6,205,000</b>	

In terms of voter households, the projected 4,603,501 votes needed to win represents approximately 3,500,000 households.

### Election Model

Since initiatives seldom have a predictable partisan or ideological base, the campaign's initial benchmark and *push* questions will be used to establish vote goals. An algorithm will also be prepared against which tracking polls may be used to measure campaign progress. In all likelihood, the only demographic variable that will provide a measurable degree of distinction between supporters and opponents of the initiative is level of education. The significant differences between potential YES voters and NO voters are most apt to be attitudinal, such as favoring some restrictions as opposed to a total ban on smoking in public places.

If subsequent tracking polls show that the ratio of YES votes to NO votes among a particular subgroup is significantly greater than the model's projections, then the campaign would target the appropriate subgroup for special attention.

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## Target Audiences

It is not anticipated that any demographic variables other than level of education will be particularly useful in identifying the campaign's target audiences. However, the campaign will continue to monitor ballot strength among key demographic audiences in the event one or more of our target messages becomes especially effective with that subgroup. These principal demographic variables include:

- gender
- age
- marital status
- income
- length of residence
- home ownership
- occupational status
- union membership.

The second major criterion in the targeting process is geography. In all probability, there will be two geographic variables:

### Current Local Law

- no restrictions
- some restrictions
- total ban

### Population Density

- urban
- suburban
- small town/rural

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## What Past Elections Teach Us

If this campaign follows the same patterns as found in both past smoking restriction campaigns -- 1978's Proposition 5 and 1980's Proposition 10 -- our target audiences will be defined attitudinally, not demographically or geographically. In short, the greatest distinction between supporters and opponents on the initiative will be measured according to broad philosophical attitudes toward the idea of government regulating smoking in public places. Examples of such attitudinal questions include:

Favor uniform statewide law?

-or-

Favor local option?

Favor no restrictions?

-or-

Favor some restrictions?

-or-

Favor total ban?

Don't care about smoking in public?

-or-

Care somewhat about smoking in public?

-or-

Care a great deal about smoking in public?

The fourth and final criterion in the overall targeting process is the semi-subjective variable of susceptibility to campaign messages and/or techniques. Those target audiences without a personal stake in the outcome of the initiative and who historically have been highly persuadable include:

- voters with only a high school education;
- single women age 60+;
- Independents age 50+;
- voters with less than \$20,000/year income;
- moderate to low propensity voters;
- African-Americans;
- Hispanics;
- late deciders.

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# Research

We recommend that the campaign conduct a strong ongoing public opinion research effort throughout all three phases of the campaign. Research elements of the program would include a series of benchmark surveys; focus groups; direct mail testing other media testing; and tracking surveys.

## Phase I Research Requirements

### Focus Groups

To assist the campaign in shaping its initial messages and confirming its targets, we recommend that a focus group series be conducted immediately.

### Quantitative Benchmark

We recommend conducting a quantitative benchmark survey to help shape the ballot arguments, test possible signators for the arguments, and assist in constructing an election model. This research must be conducted in June.

The quantitative research needed to construct an election model for this campaign can be divided into two categories: 1) a number of demographic questions; and 2) some very basic attitudinal questions toward smoking in general. Both of these series of questions may be included in the next benchmark survey. Even though the additional demographic questions may not help distinguish supporters from opponents, they need to be tested to confirm the hypothesis that the only significant demographic variable for targeting purposes is level of education.

We recommend that the following demographic categories be tested in a June quantitative benchmark:

- ideology
- length of residence
- ever voted by absentee ballot
- occupational status
- homeowner or renter
- self-described environmentalist
- level of smoking restrictions in community.

*Indep/Perot voter*

*self-described "regulator"*

*Favor/oppose mandatory use of:*

- seat belts
- m/c helmets

≡

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*former smokers*

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In addition, the questions regarding smoking needs to be clarified to identify smokers in household as opposed to family members who smoke yet live outside the household.

The fundamental attitudinal questions dealing with the basic framing or defining of the initiative may originate in focus groups but still need to be tested in the benchmark survey. Suggestions to explore in the quantitative phase include:

- Should laws regulating smoking in public be enacted at the local level or should smoking be regulated by a single statewide law?
- Regarding smoking in public places: do you favor no restrictions, some restrictions, or a total ban?
- Should smoking in public be outlawed?
- How much do you care about regulating smoking in public: don't care; care somewhat; care a great deal?
- Is it believable that Philip Morris wants to restrict smoking rather than face a total ban?
- If non-smokers can be protected from second-hand smoke, smokers ought to be accommodated in separate sections?

### **Direct Mail Pre-Testing**

Since direct mail will play such a major role in addressing the sponsorship issue as well as initially framing the initiative, it is recommended that the first two mailings as well as the closing piece be pre-tested before they are mailed out to the entire target universe.

Using the methodology developed in the NO on Big Green campaign in 1990, the three aforementioned mail pieces will be tested in the following manner:

- Baseline study of n=400 to measure awareness, perceptions and ballot intentions.
- Mail 5,000 pieces to sample from target universe.
- Follow-up study of n=400 to measure mail recall, impression, increase in awareness and shifts in overall perceptions and ballot intentions.

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**Summary of Research Requirements in Phase I**

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<b>Summer Qualitative Benchmark</b> Six Focus Groups	May/June
<b>Summer Quantitative Benchmark</b> Ballot Arguments/Signators Survey n=1000/25 minutes	June
<b>Pre-Test Initial Direct Mail/ Newspaper Advertising</b> Four Focus Groups	June/July
<b>Direct Mail Testing</b> n=400	July

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