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*THE CALIFORNIA SINGLE-PAYER DEBATE,  
THE DEFEAT OF PROPOSITION 186*

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On November 8, 1994, by a vote of 73 percent to 27 percent, California voters overwhelmingly rejected Proposition 186, which proposed a state-run "single-payer" health insurance system. Drawing on four independent surveys conducted before, during, and after the Proposition 186 debate, as well as an analysis of the proponents' and opponents' media campaigns, we conclude that the proposition's defeat was largely the result of voters' attitudes against "big government" and higher taxes -- attitudes effectively tapped by the opponents of Proposition 186. Opponents made strong negative statements about the initiative in the California voters pamphlet and waged a well-financed, sophisticated media campaign that the proposition's proponents could not counter. While it is possible that proponents might have done better with more money, Proposition 186 was an idea that found itself in the wrong place at the wrong time, given the rising anti-government sentiment expressed so powerfully on election eve.

#### LAUNCHING THE CAMPAIGNS

In January 1993, member organizations of Health Access (a statewide consumer coalition dedicated to enacting universal health care, including the California Physicians' Alliance, California Congress of Senior Citizens and Neighbor to Neighbor<sup>1</sup>), formed a committee to draft a single-payer health care initiative<sup>2</sup> for consideration on the November 1994 California ballot called the "California Health Security Act".<sup>3</sup>

Ballot initiatives in California give voters the opportunity to enact statutes and to amend the State Constitution, thus bypassing the state legislature. For the past twenty years Californians have used the ballot

process to pass sweeping proposals affecting a variety of issues, including property taxes, automobile insurance, and most recently, government services for illegal immigrants. To qualify for the 1994 ballot, sponsors of a constitutional amendment had to collect at least 615,958 signatures, representing eight percent of the votes cast for all gubernatorial candidates in the previous election.<sup>4</sup>

The single-payer measure drafted by the committee proposed a health-care system under which the state would replace private health insurers in California. All California residents would be covered by a defined comprehensive benefits package that would include preventive and primary care, prescription drugs, long-term care, mental health coverage and some dental coverage. The state system would be headed by an elected Health Commissioner whose responsibilities would include establishing a global budget and provider fee schedules, and approving capital expansions. The system would be financed by new taxes levied on employers, individuals, and tobacco products. The taxes were designed to replace current health care premiums, copayments, and out-of-pocket expenses of businesses and individuals.<sup>5</sup>

The authors of Proposition 186 believed that adoption of the proposal would result in much less paperwork and bureaucracy than exists under the current system of private health insurance, and that savings from reductions in administrative complexity and cost-containment measures would be sufficient to finance both coverage of the uninsured and the generous benefits package. They also believed that patient care would be improved because doctors would be able to make medical decisions without interference from private insurance



companies, patient choice of providers would be increased, and a much wider range of services would be covered than under most current private health insurance plans. The authors also envisioned a more accountable health-care system, because the voters would have the authority to elect the Health Commissioner every four years.

Opponents of Proposition 186 would counter that the proposal meant an unprecedented government takeover of health care, that too many decisions would be made by government bureaucrats, and that the Health Commissioner would be a "Czar," wielding too much control over the health system.<sup>6</sup> They argued that costs would greatly exceed the proposed revenues, and that huge tax hikes and/or rationing of services would be necessary in order to pay for the new system. According to the opponents, these factors would lead to a reduction in the quality of care for California citizens.

In November 1993, the initiative's authors established a coalition called "Californians for Health Security" -- primarily organizations representing consumers, seniors, and labor. By the time the single-payer campaign was in full swing, prominent members of the coalition included Health Access, Neighbor to Neighbor, Consumers Union (publishers of Consumer Reports), California Physicians' Alliance, California Nurses Association, Service Employees International Union, California Teachers' Association, League of Women Voters, Congress of California Seniors and the American Association of Retired Persons/California. The same month, coalition members set out to collect ballot signatures.

As the coalition formed, some organizations traditionally supportive of single-payer, including member organizations of Health Access and some labor groups, expressed concern that it was a bad time to pursue reform through a ballot initiative, citing among other reasons the uncertain fate of national health care reform, the proponents' limited resources, and the need to better educate the public regarding the single-payer approach.<sup>7</sup> Buttressing these concerns, a 1991 survey conducted by Health Access showed a majority of California voters were so "disgusted" with the state government that they hesitate to put health care in the hands of politicians (58%) and believed that their taxes would increase under a single-payer system (59%).<sup>8</sup>

Concerns regarding the timeliness of the single-payer initiative were also echoed by the California Medical Association (CMA).<sup>9</sup> A 1992 survey conducted by the CMA showed that any proposal including new taxes and an expanded role for government would meet stiff opposition.<sup>10</sup> The same year, the CMA sponsored Proposition 166, a far more moderate approach to reform that would have built on the current system through employer mandates and insurance reforms. California voters rejected it by a two to one vote.<sup>11</sup>

Despite concerns over timing, by April 1994 the proponents succeeded in collecting over one million signatures, an unexpected show of strength, and the "California Health Security Act" was certified for the November ballot as Proposition 186 on June 20, 1994. The coalition had spent \$600,000 of the approximately \$812,000 raised in December of 1993 through June of 1994 to collect the required 615,958 signatures.<sup>12</sup>

In May 1994, when it was certain that the single-payer initiative would be on the California ballot, an opposition coalition formed called "Taxpayers Against the Government Takeover -- No on 186." It was made up primarily of insurers, businesses, and hospitals. Members of the coalition's steering committee included the Health Insurance Association of America (HIAA), California Chamber of Commerce, California Association of Hospitals and Health Systems, the California Taxpayers' Association, and the California Manufacturers Association. Between May and June, the newly established "Taxpayers Against the Government Takeover -- No on 186" raised approximately \$569,000.<sup>13</sup>

In California, a ballot pamphlet providing impartial analysis of each proposal before the electorate, as well as arguments and rebuttals to those arguments submitted by the proponents and opponents, is sent to each registered voter. In July 1994, the opponents, concerned by the description of the initiative approved by the State on the petitions circulated to collect signatures, wrote to the Attorney General in order to secure changes in the description of Proposition 186 prior to its publication in the California Ballot Pamphlet. The Attorney General revised the summary to make clear, most notably, that the single-payer system would replace existing health insurance and to give estimates of how many dollars would be raised in new taxes on employers and individuals.

The opponents believed the changes secured were significant. After the electoral defeat of Proposition 186, Bill McInturff of Public Opinion Strategies, a Republican polling firm that represented the opponents of the

initiative, reported that in August his firm had tested the pro and con arguments presented in the California Ballot Pamphlet: "Guess what happened? After they heard both sides...the 'yes' vote dropped by 8 percent [and] the 'no' vote went up by 16 [percent]."<sup>14</sup> These results were confirmed by focus groups convened by the opponents to test potential ad themes presented by both sides of the debate.<sup>15</sup>

Also in July, the Kaiser Family Foundation commenced a four part project designed to inform the debate over the single-payer proposal. It included two analyses of the single-payer approach (one to study the administrative feasibility and structure, the other to study the economic impact on families and business), an analysis of the advertisements (incorporated in this report), and four public opinion surveys conducted in partnership with Harvard University to assess attitudes toward Proposition 186 and health reform generally. The Kaiser/Harvard surveys questioned California voters on July 31 and October 23 and voters nationwide and in California after the polls closed on election eve.

The first Kaiser/Harvard survey, conducted between July 26-31, showed less than one third of California voters had heard of Proposition 186 -- only 29 percent of the voters said that they were familiar with the Proposition. After hearing the single-payer plan described in terms of arguments used to support it ("cuts down on administrative costs, preserves peoples' choice, freedom to choose their own doctor, breaks increasing power of the insurance companies to determine the care people get") and against it ("too radical..., would not adequately control health costs, will put too much interference in

health care, would lead to delays and even rationing of care, and would eventually blunt American medicine's edge in technological innovation"), 38 percent of the respondents said that they would vote for Proposition 186, 34 percent said that they would vote against it, and 26 percent said they were undecided.<sup>16</sup>

Although the July Kaiser/Harvard survey showed a slight plurality for Proposition 186, it also showed that Californians were troubled by the "big government" implications of a single-payer system. When asked about state government running the health insurance system instead of private health insurance companies:

- 62 percent said there would be too much government involvement;
- 51 percent expected that they would have to spend more for medical coverage under 186;
- 37 percent thought they would be worse off if 186 passed, versus 25 percent who thought they would be better off and 24 percent who expected little or no effect; and
- 45 percent expected the quality of health care to decline.

Reflecting public concern about government involvement in health care, the survey found that Californians' main worries were that such involvement would result in too much government bureaucracy (38 percent), less choice of doctors or hospitals (19 percent), a decline in the quality of health care (16 percent), and increased taxes (16 percent).

## THE MEDIA CAMPAIGNS

### Opponents' Media Campaign

In mid-August, armed with polling data showing a decline in support for the initiative based on the arguments presented in the ballot pamphlet and sufficient financial resources (primarily from the insurance industry), "Taxpayers Against the Government Takeover" began its paid media campaign -- two full months before the proponents.

The \$569,000 raised by "Taxpayers Against the Government Takeover" in May and June grew to over \$5.7 million by the end of September, and to over \$9 million by election day. At least \$5.4 million of the total contributions to the opponents came from the insurance industry, with at least \$3 million of that from out of state insurers. Other large contributors included health providers (\$2.5 million) and business interests (\$675,000). A total of \$3.4 million in contributions came from out of state. (See Figure 1) Effectively using coalition members, the opponents employed grassroots techniques, including mailings to individuals affiliated with organizations in the coalition. They spent over \$1.2 million in in-kind contributions on such mailings.<sup>17</sup>

Over the course of the campaign, "Taxpayers Against the Government Takeover" would purchase more than \$4 million in advertising (approximately \$3 million on television and \$1 million on radio). Blanketing the state with ads, the opponents reached an estimated 96 percent of the state in September and through to election day. The estimated frequency of the ads, i.e. the number of times an ad aired in a particular market, ranged between an average

of 9.2 and 26.6. (See Figure 2)<sup>18</sup> While Proposition 186 opponents consider their expenditures modest when compared to past high-profile California initiative campaigns, they would outspend the proponents in paid media by more than four to one (\$4 million to \$898,555) by the end of their campaign.<sup>19</sup>

Analysis of the media strategy shows that the opponents targeted "opinion leaders," defined as highly informed policy oriented adults between the ages of 35 to 64. Between 65 and 70 percent of their television advertising aired during news broadcasts and 15 percent aired during the early morning programs such as the *Today Show*, *Good Morning America* and *CBS This Morning*. An additional 15 percent aired in the "Prime Access" time slot during programs such as *Jeopardy* and *Wheel of Fortune* and 5 percent were aired during programs such as *20/20*, *Nightline*, and *Rush Limbaugh*<sup>20</sup>.

The Kaiser/Harvard California election night survey found that the opponents' target audience did ultimately oppose Proposition 186. Eighty-six percent of voters between 50-64 years voted against the initiative, as did 82 percent of voters with household income of more than \$50,000.<sup>21</sup>

Choosing Goddard Claussen/First Tuesday to produce their ads (the same consulting firm that produced the Health Insurance Association of America's "Harry and Louise" ads), "Taxpayers Against the Government Takeover" drew on existing negative attitudes toward "big government" solutions to health reform, generated in part by the national health care debate. The subsequent campaign tapped public sentiment by vilifying "big government" and capitalized on anti-tax sentiment, concern over the economy and potential job losses, and

concern over perceived diminished provider choice and quality of care. The advertisements also cited third party sources to lend credibility to the opponents' position, used images representing groups such as senior citizens and nurses to influence voter decisions (and counter the endorsements of groups supporting Proposition 186 such as the California Nurses Association and the AARP), and directed criticism at specific provisions in the proposal.<sup>22</sup>

One of the first television ads aired by the opponents features a nurse and illustrates the opponents' anti-government theme and certain techniques, such as using images to represent groups and quotes to justify claims. The ad begins in a medical office or hospital. A nurse in uniform is speaking:

Nurse: *Believe me, we know health reform is critical...*

Text on Screen: Jane Claire Walsh, R.N.

Nurse: *...but Proposition 186 isn't the reform we need.  
186 will force most of us to give up our private health coverage  
and push us into a government run health bureaucracy controlled by  
an elected politician, not a doctor or nurse.*

A document shown on the screen identified as a "Government Election" handbook is being flipped through.

Text on Screen: GOVERNMENT HEALTH CARE TAKEOVER  
SOURCE: CA. BALLOT PAMPHLET

Text on Screen: HEALTH "CZAR" CONTROLS HEALTH CARE  
SOURCE: CA. BALLOT PAMPHLET

Nurse: *We need reform that guarantees everyone coverage, but this type of government takeover is bad medicine for California.*

Announcer: *California says "no" to government run health care.*

(At bottom of screen under the nurse in fine print.)



PAID FOR BY TAXPAYERS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT TAKEOVER - NO ON 186.  
A COALITION OF NURSES, BUSINESS, SENIORS, TAXPAYERS, INSURERS, AND  
HOSPITALS. CA ID NO 941682.

(While disclaimer continues at the bottom of the screen, a  
headline runs at the top of the screen.)

Text on Screen: NO ON 186

(Followed by scrolling list of organizations)

CALIFORNIA ORGANIZATION OF NURSE EXECUTIVES  
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS/CALIFORNIA  
CALIFORNIA TAXPAYERS' ASSOCIATION  
THE SENIORS COALITION

This ad illustrates the basic strategy used by opponents to capitalize on public concern about government, characterizing Proposition 186 as "...a government-run health bureaucracy controlled by an elected politician, not a doctor or nurse," "GOVERNMENT HEALTH CARE TAKEOVER", and "HEALTH CZAR CONTROLS HEALTH CARE". This dominant theme and the commitment to it is further illustrated by the opposition coalition name, "Taxpayers Against the Government Takeover."

This ad also illustrates the use of images. The image of a nurse in a hospital setting speaking in the first person plural "we" could lead the viewer to conclude that most nurses oppose Proposition 186. While implying that "we" refers to the Organization of Nurse Executives (ONE-C) by listing ONE-C (representing 1,100 nurses primarily in administrative positions) as a member of the opposition coalition, the ad did not inform the viewer that the California Nurses Association, which represents 25,000 nurses who work primarily in patient care, supported and sponsored the initiative.

This technique also was used at the end of the ad by listing the Seniors Coalition as a member of the opposition coalition. While accurately representing the Seniors Coalition's position against the initiative, the ad did not inform the viewer that many California senior organizations actively supported Proposition 186, including the AARP and the Congress of California Seniors.<sup>23</sup>

Another technique used in the ads was to cite seemingly objective sources to lend credibility to the arguments. While quotes "GOVERNMENT HEALTH CARE TAKEOVER" and "HEALTH 'CZAR' CONTROLS HEALTH CARE" were in the California Ballot Pamphlet as the ad indicates, the ad does not inform the viewer that the quotes were taken from arguments in the ballot pamphlet submitted by the opponents of Proposition 186, which, as the pamphlet states, were not checked for accuracy.

Another television ad featuring a business owner played on public concern regarding the California economy and jobs. Set in an office, a woman says:

**Woman:** *I thought California was the land of opportunity. So I went for it. I worked hard and I built all this from scratch. Now proposition 186 could just shut me down. It forces us into a massive, new government-run bureaucracy, financed by \$40 billion in new taxes on individuals and businesses like mine. I want health care reform, but 186 says California doesn't want my business.*

**Announcer:** *California should help small businesses, not drive them out of state. No on 186.*

The statement that "...Proposition 186 could just shut me down...  
...California should help small business, not drive them out of state"

illustrates the use of the economy and jobs theme. It was a strategic theme as California took initial steps toward recovery after four years of recession.<sup>24</sup> The Harvard/Kaiser election night survey found that the theme resonated with business; 80 percent of "business people" voted against the initiative.

This ad also capitalized on public opposition to new taxes by making reference to "\$40 billion in new taxes on individuals and businesses like mine" and omitting key information regarding the effect of the tax on individual households and businesses in the context of household expenses. For persons and businesses with current health expenses, the cost of the tax would be fully or partially offset by savings in health benefit expenditures.<sup>25</sup>

Several advertisements also capitalized on public concern for choice and quality of care under the proposed system. This tactic capitalized on both the public's concern about health care coverage and quality and their distrust of government's ability to effectively reform the system. A radio ad, for example, featured two consultants drafting a campaign slogan for a Health Commissioner who plans to run for reelection. The announcer states: "Proposition 186 puts your family's health in the hands of a bureaucrat -- a health czar who doesn't even have to be a doctor. A politician who can limit your options, ration your care and restrict your access to treatment... Protect the quality of your family's care. Vote no on Proposition 186."

### Proponents' Media Campaign

In contrast to the opponents, limited resources meant the proponents of Proposition 186, "Californians for Health Security," could not afford to buy radio spots until October 15 and television time until November 1, (one week before the election day and two months after the opponents' ads began to air). By October 31 the proponents had raised almost \$2.7 million (of which \$600,000 had been spent to collect petition signatures) as compared with the opponents over \$9 million. The bulk of the contributions were from individuals. Large contributors included organized labor groups, such as the California Nurses Association, (\$728,000), consumer groups (\$205,000) and individual providers (\$203,000).<sup>26</sup> (See Figure 3)

"Californians for Health Security" spent a total of \$898,555 on paid media (\$727,610 on television and \$170,945 on radio broadcasts), running two television ads and four radio spots compared to the opponents' five television ads and two radio spots.<sup>27</sup> While the television ads of the proponents targeted similar programming audiences as the opponents' ads, the impact of the proponents' message was minimal due to the lateness of the ads and the very low overall expenditure in the one week the ads aired. For example, while the proponents first television ad reached approximately 90 percent of the state, it is estimated that the ad aired an average of only five times in Los Angeles, the largest media market in California.<sup>28</sup> (See Figure 2) On radio, the proponents' ads aired in the largest markets, but in only one half the markets reached by the opponents' ads.<sup>29</sup> (See Figure 4)

Recognizing their limited ability to purchase media, the proponents pursued low-cost grassroots strategies such as phone banking and house parties throughout the state to educate the electorate and raise money. Almost 1,500 house parties, each averaging approximately \$750 in contributions, were held and raised over \$1 million.<sup>30</sup> During the last two weeks of the campaign, the proponents also used their radio advertising to solicit contributions. They also tried to boost free media coverage by conducting public demonstrations.

In their paid advertising campaign, the proponents chose to make Proposition 186 a referendum on the insurance industry. Vilifying the insurance industry, the advertisements capitalized on public dislike for certain alleged industry practices, such as denying coverage for certain health problems and the risk of losing coverage or falling victim to catastrophic health expenses. The ads also used worst case/best case scenarios to justify arguments and relied on the strength of public confidence in key coalition member organizations.

The following advertisement, in which two men are talking, illustrates targeting the insurance industry as a theme:

Male 1:       *Shall we go over it one more time, Ralph?*

Ralph:       *One more time.*

Male 1:       *Okay. We Californians are not getting the health care we're paying for.*

Ralph:       *That's correct.*

Male 1:       *And the reason we're not getting what we pay for...*

Ralph: *...is that the insurance companies pocket as much as 30 cents of every dollar.*

Male 1: *And then when we need our insurance...*

Ralph: *Thank you and adios.*

Male 1: *But Proposition 186 will stop this insurance rip-off?*

Ralph: *Check. It'll give us the complete health care we're paying for.*

Male 1: *Health care for the rest of our lives?*

Ralph: *Absolutely.*

Male 1: *And the League of Women Voters is for it?*

Ralph: *And the California Nurses Association and the California AARP.*

Male 1: *And now the insurance companies want to stop 186?*

Ralph: *They're spending millions.*

Male 1: *Now that's really sneaky.*

Ralph: *Sneaky?*

Male 1: *Well, they're spending our money to try to keep us from getting the health care we're paying for.*

Ralph: *Sneaky.*

Announcer: *Please join the California Nurses Association; the California A.A.R.P., Consumers Union, non-profit publisher of Consumer Reports; and the California League of Women Voters in supporting Proposition 186. This was paid for by Californians for Health Security, who urge you to vote 186 Yes.*

While it is true that the insurance industry spent millions to defeat 186 (at least \$5.4 million), the proponents impugned the insurance industries motives for opposing the initiative with statements such as "they're spending our money to try to keep us from getting the health care we're paying for" and by characterizing the industry as "sneaky."

The ad also used a worst case scenario to support the premise that the insurance industry is wasteful with the statement, "insurance companies pocket as much as 30 cents of every dollar." The phrase "pocket as much as 30 cents of every dollar" (emphasis added) means that only a single company needs to spend that much on overhead expenses for the statement to be accurate -- it does not inform the listener about the average overhead expenses for the industry, which is 14 percent for administrative costs<sup>31</sup>.

This ad also employed a technique used by the opponents. By listing supporting organizations, the proponents hoped to influence voters in favor of the initiative based on the groups represented in the ad. This technique also was used in a television ad which prominently featured representatives from the California Nurses Association, Consumers Union, the California AARP, and the League of Woman Voters, identified as such.

Another central theme in the proponents' advertisements was to capitalize on the public's sense of vulnerability about health security. The ads reiterated the need for comprehensive, affordable and portable coverage and highlighted the risks of losing coverage as illustrated in the following radio ad in which a woman is speaking:

*Part of the American dream is freedom from worry about health care. And the dream is alive here in California, with Proposition 186. 186 will give Californians the best shot we'll ever get for real health reform: our choice of doctors, coverage we keep if we lose or change our job - freedom from worry for the rest of our lives. And now the insurance companies are spending millions to try to kill 186. They're using the money they took from our insurance premiums to try to keep us from getting the complete health care we're paying for. Without 186, we are all at risk, and now it's up to us...*

While Proposition 186 was designed to guarantee every California resident health care for life as long as the person lived in the state, statements such as "we are all risk" and "we are not getting the complete health care we're paying for" make a subjective judgment regarding private health coverage and generalize about how health insurance is perceived by Californians. While such claims ring true for some, for others, they do not. This tactic over-estimated the extent of public dissatisfaction with private insurance. On election day, only 15 percent of California voters supporting the initiative identified the desire to eliminate the role of private insurance companies as the main reason for supporting the initiative.<sup>32</sup>

#### Independent Studies

October 29, the Kaiser Family Foundation held a media forum in San Francisco to release the two independent analyses of Proposition 186 commissioned in the summer and to provide an interim analysis of the advertisements. Representatives from both sides of the debate were present to respond to the reports and to answer questions from the media.

A report, prepared by the National Academy of Social Insurance, examined the administrative changes likely to occur when changing from a private insurance system to a single-payer system. It concluded that the proposal would result in net administrative savings, but that considerable political will would be necessary to fully implement the proposed system.<sup>33</sup>

Another analysis by KPMG Peat Marwick examined the potential economic effects of the initiative on California households and businesses. The



analysis found that the proposal would result in a cumulative five-year financing shortfall of \$72 billion between 1996 and 2000. The shortfall would require that the state reduce the health benefits offered, raise taxes, and/or implement stringent cost containment measures envisioned by initiative authors, but not explicitly defined in the bill so not scored. However, it also found that total health care expenditures would decline by \$13 billion in 1996, (a 10% decrease) and by \$51 billion or 6 percent over the five-year period 1996 through 2000, and that average family expenditures for health would be reduced by 60 percent or \$550 per person in 1998 (the first year of full-system operation). Also in 1998, 70 percent of all firms (mostly small to mid-size) would experience increased costs because they would be required to pay taxes for coverage of their employees for the first time. However, for businesses as a whole, the elimination of health insurance premium payments would reduce net health costs by about \$2 billion despite the increased taxes required by the initiative.<sup>34</sup>

At the media forum, the opponents maintained that the KPMG Peat Marwick analysis vindicated their claim that Proposition 186 would create a tremendous deficit in California and adversely affect jobs. The proponents countered that the reports supported their contention that administrative savings would be significant and health care costs would go down for most families and businesses that provide health care. The budget shortfall, the proponents argued, could be addressed through cost containment measures permitted by the proposal. Subsequent editorials both in support of and in opposition to the initiative cited the studies.

### Effect of Media Campaigns

The opponents' use of the ballot pamphlet and the media was effective. By election day, all major newspaper editorial boards in California opposed the initiative. According to the opponents' own surveys, 42 percent of the public supported the initiative and 42 percent opposed the initiative in May, but by September, after changing the summary of the initiative printed in the ballot pamphlet and after their first wave of radio and television ads aired, 59 percent of prospective voters opposed the proposition, 22 percent supported it, and 19 percent were undecided. By mid-October, opposition to the proposition had risen to 64 percent. It then fell to 58 percent in late October, but rose to 73 percent by election day to soundly defeat the initiative. (See Figure 5)<sup>35</sup>

According to the same surveys, the proponents' low point of support was 20 percent in mid-October just before it began its media campaign. Support for Proposition 186 rose to 26 percent at the end of the month and reached 27 percent on election day.

The Kaiser/Harvard surveys conducted in July and October backed up the opponents' findings. The Kaiser/Harvard surveys showed that the opponents' arguments seemed to influence the voters. Support for Proposition 186 fell from 38 percent to 29 percent and opposition rose from 34 percent to 50 percent between July and October. Other results from the Kaiser/Harvard October survey amplified the negatives the public attached to Proposition 186:

- 57 percent of respondents said that a single-payer system would have too much government involvement (62 percent in July);

- 38 percent thought they would be worse off in such a system compared to 29 percent who thought they would be better off (37 percent versus 25 percent in July);
- 37 percent of the respondents said they expected the quality of health care available to them to decline, while 19 percent expected it to improve (45 percent versus 15 percent in July);
- 46 percent expected that they would have spent more for medical coverage under Proposition 186, while 21 percent expected that they would have spent less (51 percent versus 20 percent in July); and
- 38 percent thought they would have less choice of doctors and hospitals versus 25 percent who expected greater choice (48 percent versus 17 percent in July).

A third Kaiser/Harvard survey, conducted on election night, shows how strongly themes in the opponents' ad campaigns resonated with the voters. The election night survey found that the principal reason voters rejected the single-payer initiative was their concern that it would give government too much control of the health system. Among respondents who voted against the initiative, 57 percent cited too much government involvement as the primary reason for their vote. Approximately one-third of those who voted against the initiative thought the proposal would decrease the quality of their medical care (15%) or would increase the cost of their health care (14%) -- all themes highlighted by the opponents. (See Figure 6)<sup>36</sup>

Among those who voted for Proposition 186, the election night survey found most did so because reform would provide everyone in the state with insurance (39%), but, as stated, few named eliminating the role of insurance companies, a prominent theme in the proponents' ads, as the primary reason for their vote (15%). Other reasons given for voting for the initiative included the belief that the health care system would be fairer (16%) and "the health

care system is broken" (14%). (See Figure 7) The proponents' media campaign, which focused primarily on a "greedy" insurance industry, did not address the public's concern about an expanded role for government, new taxes, and the effect of reform on the California economy and quality of care.

The Kaiser/Harvard election night survey also found that the opponents had a more influential coalition, comprised primarily of business and insurers. Among those who said the position of business was important in making their decision, 82 percent voted against the initiative. Similarly, 73 percent of those who said the position of the insurance industry and 71 percent who said the position of doctors' groups was important in making their decision voted against Proposition 186. The position taken by the League of Women Voters had the most influence on those who voted for the initiative: 75 percent of those who said the League's position was important in making their decision voted for Proposition 186. Other members of the proponents' coalition were less influential: 54 percent of those who said the position of AARP and only 29 percent who said the position of labor unions was important in making their decision voted for the initiative. Eighty-three percent of voters said they had seen the anti-Proposition 186 ads. Of those who had seen those ads, 65 percent correctly identified the insurance industry as the group that spend the most money to oppose the initiative, and 32 percent said the ads influenced their vote. (See Figure 8)

The findings in the California election night survey echo the results from the Kaiser/Harvard national election night survey, which shows a broad anti-government mood in the country. Nationwide, thirty-one percent of voters

surveyed said they were less supportive of major health reform than six months before, with half of those citing their belief that the government would not do a good job reforming the system as the primary reason for their opposition. More voters now want Congress to make modest changes in the health care system (41%), rather than enacting a major reform bill (25%). One in four voters now favor leaving the system as it is.

Consistent with the anti-government theme employed by the "No on 186" campaign, a majority of voters nationwide (55%) believed that it was better to have the health insurance system run by private health insurance companies than by the government. When asked what worries them most about health care reform, a plurality said they worry that there would be too much bureaucracy (36%), while nearly one in four were concerned that the quality of care would decline (22%). Voters were split over whether the priority should be guaranteeing universal coverage -- a goal of 186 advocates -- or making an incremental start. (Thirty-eight percent supported guaranteeing health insurance to all Americans and 36% supported starting by covering some groups who do not have health insurance.)

The national election night survey also found broad opposition to taxes among the electorate. When asked about what Congress should do about the federal deficit in the next session, two thirds of voters (67%) preferred cuts in major spending programs to raising taxes (10%) or "not dealing with the deficit" (10%).

## CONCLUSION

Rather than riding the crest of reform as originally envisioned by the authors of the "California Health Security Act," the initiative came before an angry electorate that had lost faith in government's ability to reform the system and was unwilling to pay higher taxes to guarantee universal access to care. The experience in California and the results of the Kaiser/Harvard election night surveys in California and nationwide indicate that while health care continues to be a primary concern, today's voters reject a major overhaul of the system. Instead, they favor other approaches that do not require substantial government expansion and new taxes. While the opponents ran a well financed and choreographed campaign with a message that tapped public frustration toward government, it is unlikely that a single-payer initiative could have passed in the anti-government environment of 1994 even if the proponents had comparable funding.

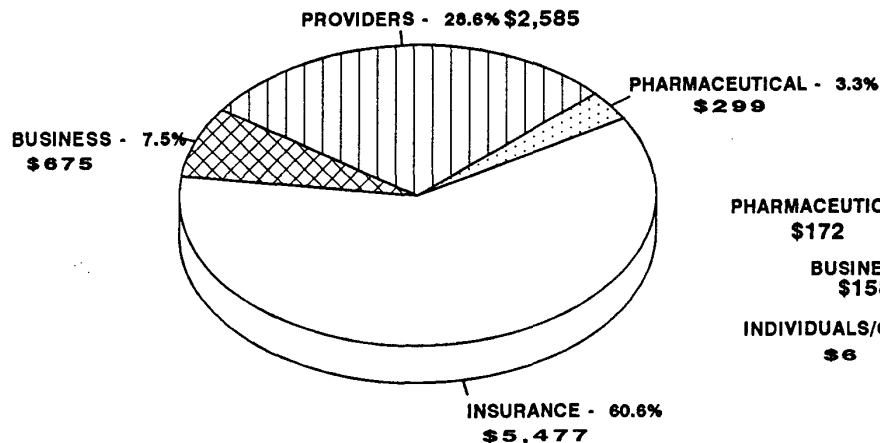
The Proposition 186 experience, as well as the experience nationally, also shows the capacity of interest groups to mount sophisticated media campaigns to sway public opinion using techniques previously reserved for political campaigns. This is likely to be the norm in years ahead.

# FIGURE 1

## TAXPAYERS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT TAKEOVER

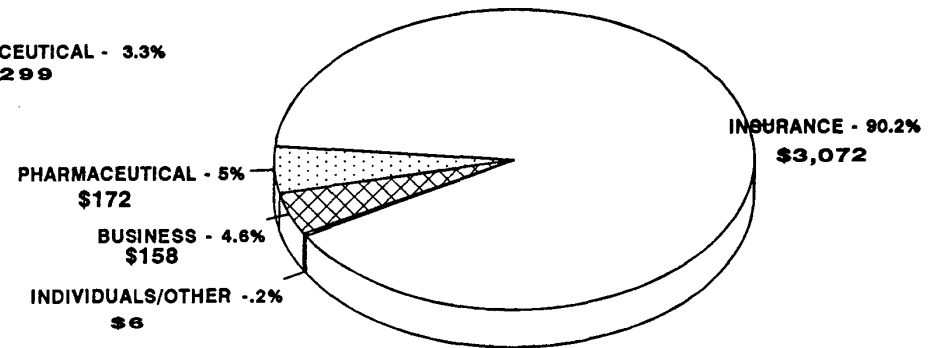
### Contributions (Cash and In Kind) in Thousands\*

**TOTAL RAISED**



**TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS = \$9.043 million**

**OUT-OF-STATE**



**TOTAL OUT-OF-STATE = \$3.408 million**

Source: California Secretary of State (January 1 through October 31, 1994, Form 419 Reporting Statements and Late Contribution Reports)

\*Numbers rounded to nearest thousand

**FIGURE 2**

**TELEVISION SUMMARY OF ADVERTISING DOLLARS SPENT ON PROP. 186**

**Analysis covers September 1st - November 8th**

**Cumulative Spending For "Taxpayers Against a Government Takeover"**

Media Market	% of Calif.	Expenditure	# of Spots	Estimated P25+ GRP's*	Estimated % Reach	Estimated Frequency
Los Angeles	47%	\$1,779,707	831	2,656	98.4	26.6
San Francisco	21%	\$562,813	811	1,251	97.0	12.5
San Diego	8%	\$210,647	418	916	94.4	9.2
Sacramento	10%	\$178,523	542	1,384	96.1	13.8
Fresno	4%	\$82,995	788	1,383	95.4	13.8
Santa Barbara	2%	\$62,712	534	1,307	93.3	13.1
Monterey/Salinas	2%	\$87,665	511	1,252	96.3	12.5
Bakersfield	2%	\$42,620	520	1,375	98.2	13.7
Percent of State:	96%					
Total:		\$3,007,682				

**Analysis covers September 1st - November 8th**

**Cumulative Spending For "Yes on Prop. 186"**

Media Market	% of Calif.	Expenditure	# of Spots	Estimated P25+ GRP's*	Estimated % Reach	Estimated Frequency
Los Angeles	47%	\$336,450	177	502	88.1	5.0
San Francisco	21%	\$227,590	189	506	88.7	5.1
San Diego	8%	\$68,875	123	299	74.9	3.0
Sacramento	10%	\$69,400	140	538	89.7	5.4
Fresno	4%	\$25,295	167	422	81.1	4.2
Percent of State:	90%					
Total:		\$727,610				

\* Gross Rating Points (GRP's) are the sum total of the ratings for individual announcements during a program. For example one rating point represents 1% of the coverage base.

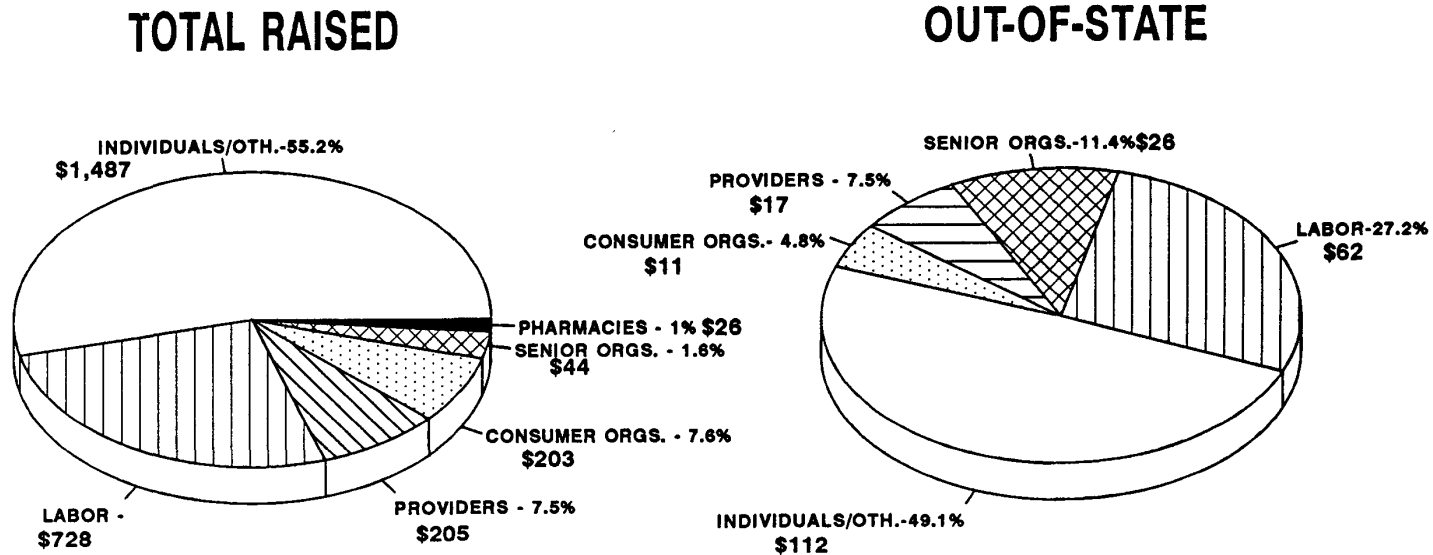
Note: The above (GRP) calculations are estimated on Persons 25 and older. The Reach and Frequency estimates are based on the average impact of the corresponding television buy. This information should be interpreted as a general guide in analyzing the different media strategies.



# FIGURE 3

## CALIFORNIANS FOR HEALTH SECURITY

### Contributions (Cash and In Kind) in Thousands\*



TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS = \$2.693 million

TOTAL OUT-OF-STATE = \$228 thousands

Source: California Secretary of State (January 1, 1993, through October 31, 1994, Form 419 Reporting Statements and Late Contribution Reports)

\*Numbers rounded to nearest thousand

**FIGURE 4**

**RADIO ADVERTISEMENTS**

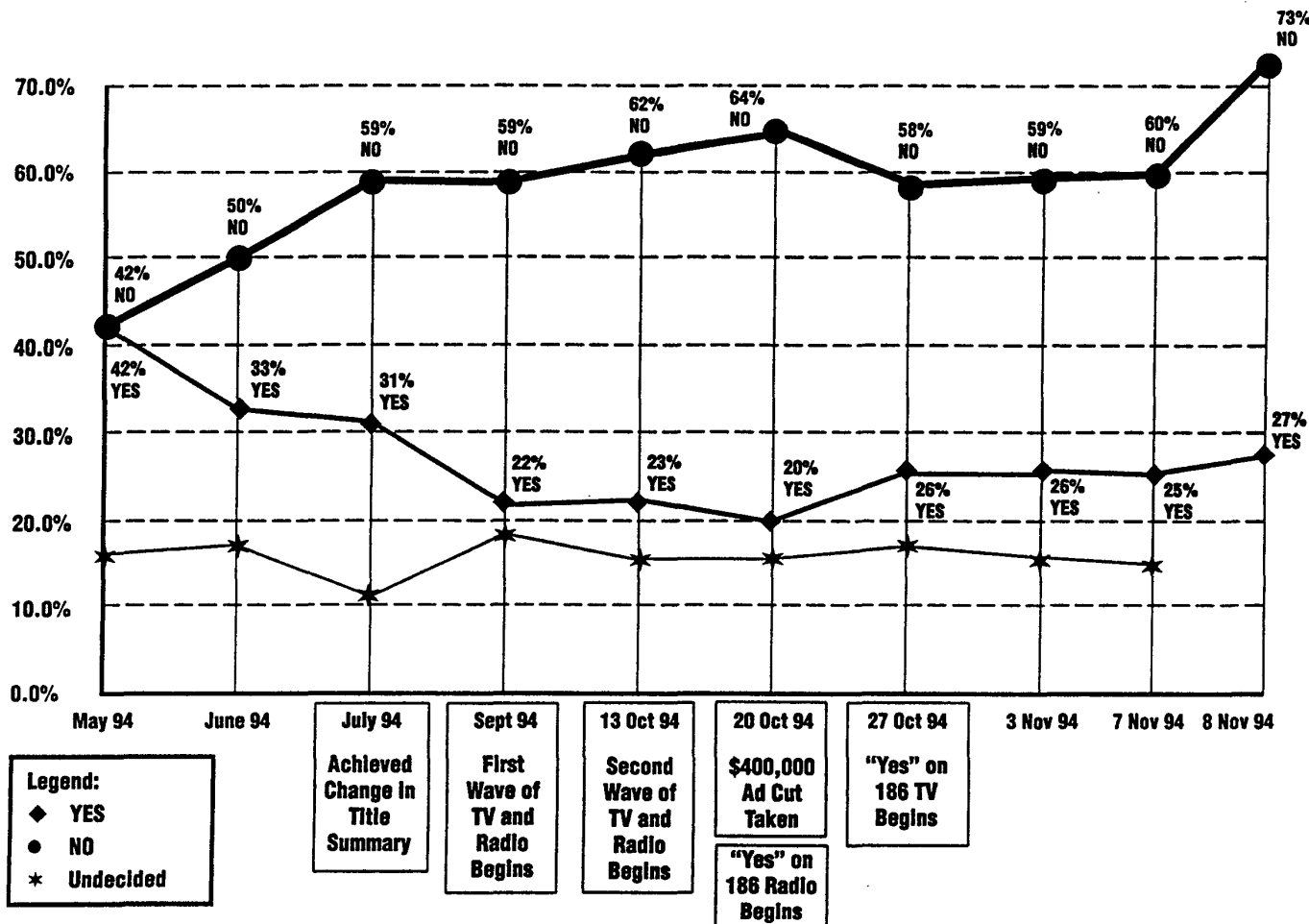
**Summary of Radio Advertising Dollars Spent on Proposition 186**

<b>MEDIA MARKET</b>	<b>TAXPAYERS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT TAKEOVER (August 15-Sept. 30)</b>	<b>CALIFORNIANS FOR HEALTH SECURITY (October 15-Nov. 8)</b>
<b>Los Angeles</b>	<b>\$481,609</b>	<b>\$72,270</b>
<b>San Francisco</b>	<b>\$235,494</b>	<b>\$38,245</b>
<b>San Diego</b>	<b>\$113,296</b>	<b>\$25,180</b>
<b>Sacramento</b>	<b>\$111,976</b>	<b>\$21,230</b>
<b>Fresno</b>	<b>\$31,357</b>	<b>\$14,020</b>
<b>Chico/Redding</b>	<b>\$18,860</b>	<b>N/A</b>
<b>Santa Barbara</b>	<b>\$10,271</b>	<b>N/A</b>
<b>Monterey/Salinas</b>	<b>\$8,925</b>	<b>N/A</b>
<b>Palm Springs</b>	<b>\$5,777</b>	<b>N/A</b>
<b>Bakersfield</b>	<b>\$4,947</b>	<b>N/A</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$1,022,512</b>	<b>\$170,945</b>

**Source: "Taxpayers Against the Government Takeover" expenditure statements submitted to the California Secretary of State and facsimile from Paul Milne, "Californians for Health Security."**

# FIGURE 5

## TAXPAYERS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT TAKEOVER PROPOSITION 186 VOTER SURVEY RESULTS



**FIGURE 6**  
**PRIMARY REASON THAT CALIFORNIANS**  
**VOTED AGAINST PROPOSITION 186**

WOULD BE TOO MUCH INVOLVEMENT BY GOVERNMENT	57%
QUALITY OF OWN MEDICAL CARE WOULD DECLINE	15%
COSTS OF OWN HEALTH CARE WOULD GO UP	14%
WOULD HAVE FEWER CHOICES (DOCTORS/MED. CARE)	9%
OTHER (volunteered)	5%
TOTAL	100%

Source: Kaiser/Harvard California Election Night Survey 1994

**FIGURE 7**  
**PRIMARY REASON THAT CALIFORNIANS**  
**VOTED FOR PROPOSITION 186**

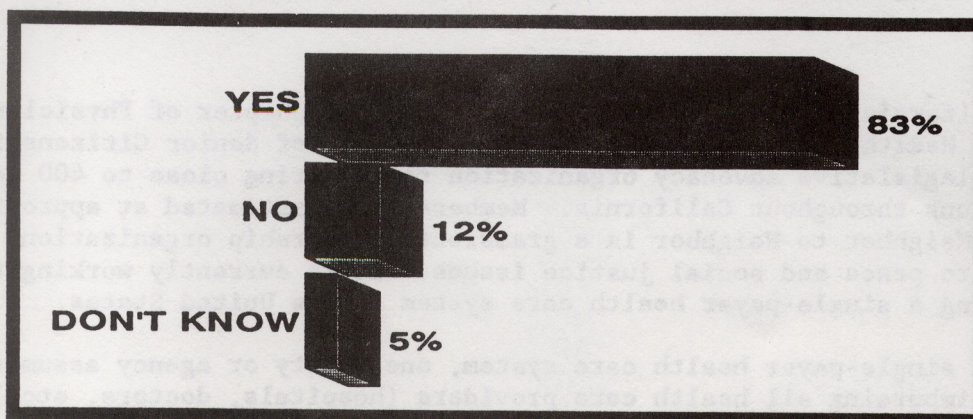
IF ENACTED, EVERYONE IN STATE WILL HAVE HEALTH INSURANCE	39%
HEALTH CARE SYSTEM WILL BE FAIRER	16%
WOULD ELIMINATE ROLE OF INSURANCE COMPANIES	15%
HEALTH CARE SYSTEM IS BROKEN -- NEED TO FIX IT	14%
OTHER (volunteered)	9%
COST OF OWN HEALTH CARE WOULD GO DOWN	7%
TOTAL	100%

Source: Kaiser/Harvard California Election Night Survey 1994

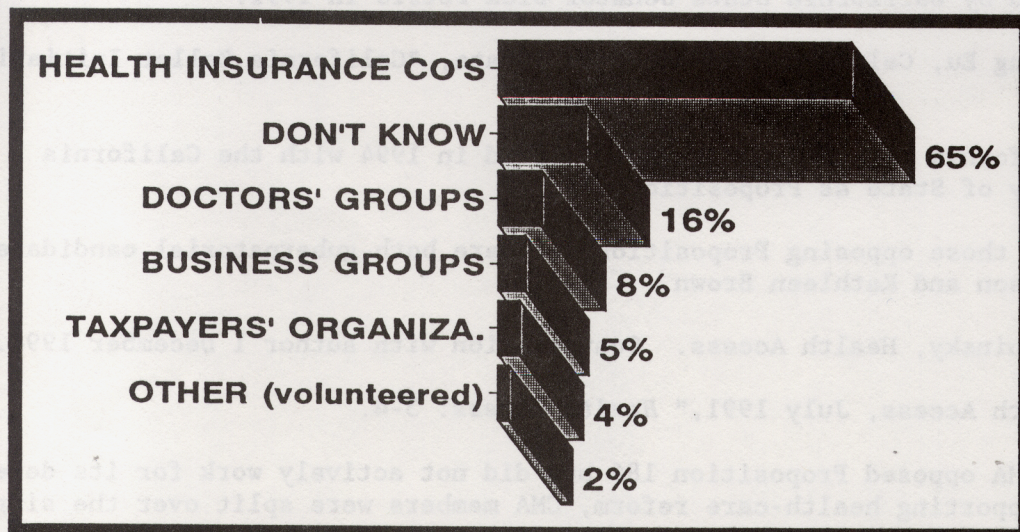


**FIGURE 8**

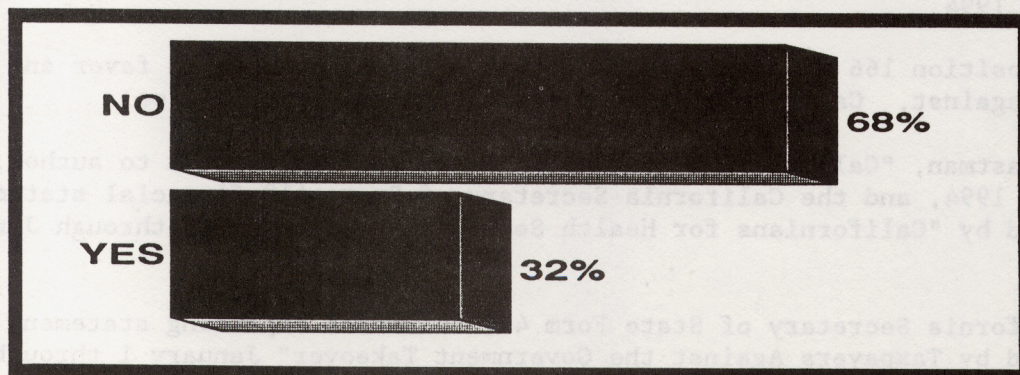
**DURING PAST SIX MONTHS, DID YOU SEE OR HEAR ANY ADVERTISEMENTS AGAINST PROPOSITION 186 ON TV OR RADIO, IN NEWSPAPERS OR MAGAZINES?**



**IF YES, WHICH ONE GROUP DO YOU BELIEVE PUT UP THE MOST MONEY TO OPPOSE PROPOSITION 186?**



**DID THOSE ADVERTISEMENTS HELP YOU DECIDE HOW TO VOTE ON PROPOSITION 186?**



**Source: Kaiser/Harvard California Election Night Survey 1994**



1. The California Physicians' Alliance is the state chapter of Physicians for a National Health Program. The California Congress of Senior Citizens is a statewide legislative advocacy organization representing close to 400 seniors' organizations throughout California. Membership is estimated at approximately 500,000. Neighbor to Neighbor is a grassroots membership organization committed to peace and social justice issues. It is currently working toward establishing a single-payer health care system in the United States.
2. Under a single-payer health care system, one entity or agency assumes the role of reimbursing all health care providers (hospitals, doctors, etc.) for a defined set of services in a geographic region. The reimbursement rates are generally set by the reimbursing agency and the funds used to support the system are generally raised by taxes.
3. The "California Health Security Act" was based on a single-payer proposal sponsored by California State Senator Dick Petris in 1991.
4. M. Fong Eu, California Secretary of State, "California Ballot Initiatives": 4.
5. "California Health Security Act," filed in 1994 with the California Secretary of State as Proposition 186.
6. Among those opposing Proposition 186 were both gubernatorial candidates, Pete Wilson and Kathleen Brown.
7. T. Hobinsky, Health Access. Conversation with author 1 December 1994.
8. "Health Access, July 1991," *Health Access*: 3-4.
9. The CMA opposed Proposition 186 but did not actively work for its defeat. While supporting health-care reform, CMA members were split over the single-payer approach. Steve Thompson, Vice President of Government Affairs, California Medical Association. Conversation with author 30 November 1994.
10. D. Walters, California Medical Association. Conversation with author December 1994.
11. Proposition 166 was defeated by a vote of 30.81 percent in favor and 69.19 percent against. California Secretary of State Elections Office.
12. L. Eastman, "Californians for Health Security." Memorandum to author, 21 November 1994, and the California Secretary of State 419 financial statements submitted by "Californians for Health Security" December 1993 through June 1994.
13. California Secretary of State Form 419 financial reporting statement submitted by Taxpayers Against the Government Takeover" January 1 through June 30, 1994.

14. B. McInturff, transcript from "The American Voters' Health Care Agenda for the 104th Congress: What Do They Want? What Will They Support?" A post election media forum presented by The Kaiser Family Foundation and American Health Line, 15 November 1994, Washington D.C.

15. T. Quinn, "Taxpayers Against the Government Takeover". Conversation with the author 28 November 1994.

16. "Kaiser/Harvard California Survey," *The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation* (July 1994).

17. California Secretary of State Form 419 financial reporting statements submitted January 1, through October 22, 1994, (figures include late contributions of \$1,000 and over, submitted through to October 31, 1994, after the October 22, 1994, filing date). The final reporting statement, due at the end of December 1994, was not available during the drafting of this report.

18. The Kaiser Single-Payer Project. Broadcast Data Systems conducted advertisement tracking through Mid-Flight Media Intelligence (MMI) which detected the air play of a commercials through pattern "recognition" technology.

19. L. Eastman, "Californians for Health Security" and California Secretary of State.

20. The Kaiser Single-Payer Project/Broadcast Data Systems.

21. Kaiser/Harvard/KRC, "California Election Night Survey," *The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation* (November 1994).

22. There were a total of five television and two radio ads. For the text of those ads, see appendix.

23. Seniors' groups supporting Proposition 186 included the American Association of Retired Persons/California affiliate which has 3 million members and the Congress of California Seniors which has approximately 500,000 affiliate members. The Seniors Coalition, based in Fairfax, Virginia, reports two million members nationwide.

24. J. E. Cutler, "Pacific: California the Exception to Western Growth," *The Bureau of National Affairs*, (Special Report, 7 September 1994): S21-S24.

25. KPMG Peat Marwick LLP, "Analysis of the California Health Security System (Proposition 186)," *The Henry J. Kaiser Foundation* (26 October 1994): x.

26. California Secretary of State Form 419 reporting statements from January 1, 1993, through October 22, 1994 (figures include late contributions of \$1,000 and over submitted through to October 31, 1994, after the October 22, 1994, filing date. The final filing due December 31, 1994, was not available during the drafting of this report.

27. P. Milne, "Californians for Health Security," Memorandum to author, 21 December 1994.
28. Kaiser Single-Payer Project/Broadcast Data Systems.
29. P. Milne, "Californians for Health Security," Memorandum to author, 21 December 1994, and California Secretary of State Form 419 reporting statements.
30. L. Eastman, "Californians for Health Security. Memorandum to author, 22 November 1994.
31. The Health Care Financing Administration estimated in 1991 that administrative costs accounted for about 14 percent of expenditures in private health plans compared to less than 3 percent for public plans. Administrative costs, however, vary by size of the group covered due to costs for marketing, underwriting, and administering coverage. The Congressional Research Service showed that for the smallest plans, administrative expenses are about 40 percent of claims; for the largest plans they are about 5.5 percent of claims. "Administrative Costs and Health Reform," *General Accounting Office*, GAO/HEHS-94-158 (May 1994): 8 and 35.
32. A plurality (39%) listed the need to provide everyone in the state with coverage. Kaiser/Harvard/KRC "California Election Night Survey," (November 1994).
33. R. Friedland and A. Evans, "California Health Security Act: A Look at the Administrative Issues," *The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation* (October 1994).
34. KPMG Peat Marwick, LLP, "Analysis of the California Health Security System (Proposition 186)," *The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation* (October 1994).
35. "Taxpayers Against the Government Takeover." Surveys conducted by Public Opinion Strategies, Hamilton and staff, and Charlton Research.
36. These results are consistent with the reasons voters rejected Proposition 166, proposed by the California Medical Association two years earlier. A 1992 Kaiser/Harris election night survey of California voters revealed that of those who voted against the initiative:
- 50 percent felt that Proposition 166 would put many small employers out of business;
  - 14 percent said they felt the initiative would cause a loss of jobs or cut wages; and
  - 10 percent were concerned that it would not control health-care costs.
- "Economic Fears Defeated Health Care Initiative," *The Henry J. Kaiser Foundation* (5 November 1992) press release.



## APPENDIX

### TAXPAYERS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT TAKEOVER

#### "WALSH"

A 30 Second Television Advertisement

**Scene:** A tilted live action shot over full-screen background. Medical office or hospital. Nurse in scrubs is speaking...

**Walsh:** *Believe me, we know health reform is critical...*

**Text on Screen:** Jane Claire Walsh, R.N.

**Walsh:** *...but proposition 186 isn't the reform we need.*

*186 will force most of us to give up our private health coverage and push us into a government run health bureaucracy controlled by an elected politician, not a doctor or nurse.*

**Scene:** Over a background, a live action "hand held" shot of a document (identified as a "Government Election" handbook) is being flipped through.

**Text on Screen:** GOVERNMENT HEALTH CARE TAKEOVER  
SOURCE: CA. BALLOT PAMPHLET

**Text on Screen:** HEALTH "CZAR" CONTROLS HEALTH CARE  
SOURCE: CA. BALLOT PAMPHLET

**Scene:** Tight close up of Walsh.

**Walsh:** *We need reforms that guarantee everyone coverage, but this type of government takeover is bad medicine for California.*

**Announcer:** *California says no to government run health care.*

**Text on Screen:** At the bottom of the screen under Walsh in fine print.

PAID FOR BY TAXPAYERS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT TAKEOVER - NO ON 186. A COALITION OF NURSES, BUSINESS, SENIORS, TAXPAYERS, INSURERS, AND HOSPITALS. CA ID NO 941682.

**Scene:** While disclaimer continues at the bottom of the screen, a headline runs at the top of the screen.

**Text on Screen:** NO ON 186

(Followed by scrolling list of organizations)

CALIFORNIA ORGANIZATION OF NURSE EXECUTIVES

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS/CALIFORNIA

CALIFORNIA TAXPAYERS' ASSOCIATION

THE SENIORS COALITION

**TAXPAYERS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT TAKEOVER**

**"SMALL BUSINESS"**

A 30 Second Television Advertisement

**Scene:** Over a background, two separate shots appear; a woman working at a computer in an office and a man entering an office.

**Man:** *Working late?*

**Woman:** *Yeah.*

**Man:** *Must mean we have some new business...*

**Scene:** Their two separate shots are united to reveal they are in the same office. She hands him a document.

**Woman:** *If this passes, we could be out of business.*

**Man:** *Proposition 186. Health care reform. Don't we want that?*

**Woman:** *Health reform, yes. Proposition 186, no.*

**Scene:** As she continues speaking, a full screen background with a tilted, "hand-held" shot of a document (identified as "Government Election") is being flipped through.

**Text on Screen:** GOVERNMENT HEALTH CARE TAKEOVER  
SOURCE: CA BALLOT PAMPHLET

**Text on Screen:** \$40 BILLION IN NEW TAXES  
SOURCE: STATE LEGISLATIVE ANALYST

**Woman:** *This forces us out of our health plan and into a government run system paid for with \$40 billion in new taxes on individuals and businesses like ours.*

**Scene:** Tight close-up of man looking at the document she handed him.

**Man:** *That's bad medicine for us and our employees.*

**Announcer:** *California says no government run health care.*

**Text on Screen:** At the bottom of the screen in fine print.

PAID FOR BY TAXPAYERS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT TAKEOVER - NO ON 186. A COALITION OF NURSES, BUSINESS, SENIORS, TAXPAYERS, INSURERS, AND HOSPITALS, CA ID NO 941682.

**Scene:** While disclaimer continues at the bottom of the screen, a headline runs at the top of the screen.

**Text on Screen:** NO ON 186  
  
(Followed by scrolling list of organizations)  
  
CALIFORNIA ORGANIZATION OF NURSE EXECUTIVES  
  
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS/CALIFORNIA  
  
CALIFORNIA TAXPAYERS' COALITION  
  
THE SENIORS COALITION

**TAXPAYERS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT TAKEOVER**

**"FAMILIES"**

A 30 Second Television Advertisement

**Scene:** An African-American woman approaches the camera as her husband, son, and daughter play on swings in the background. As she begins to talk, boxes in the screen isolate shots of the daughter, then the husband, then the son.

**Woman:** *Like most families, we support health care reform. But we can't support this Proposition 186.*

*It would take away our private coverage and force us into a government run system...*

**Text on Screen:** Californians Lose Private Health Coverage  
Source: California Election Pamphlet

**Woman:** *...headed by an elected politician.*

*Under 186, our family's California income tax would nearly double...*

**Text on Screen:** 92.47% Personal Income Tax Increase

*(Family of Four. \$50,000 Income. Standard Deductions.)*  
Source: California Taxpayers' Association

**Woman:** *...and there are no limits to how high it could go.*

*We can't afford that.*

**Scene:** Switches to a screen with "NO ON 186" across the top.

*(Scrolling list organization names in middle of the screen.)*

CALIFORNIA ORGANIZATION OF NURSE EXECUTIVES

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS/CALIFORNIA

CALIFORNIA TAXPAYERS' ASSOCIATION

THE SENIORS COALITION

*(Fine print across the bottom of the screen.)*

PAID FOR BY TAXPAYERS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT TAKEOVER - NO ON 186. A COALITION OF NURSES, BUSINESS, SENIORS, TAXPAYERS, INSURERS, AND HOSPITALS. CA ID NO 941682.

**Announcer:** *Proposition 186 is bad medicine for California consumers, taxpayers, and families. No on 186.*

**TAXPAYERS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT TAKEOVER**

**"NO BUSINESS"**

A 30 Second Television Advertisement

**Scene:** Three live action shots float across the screen: A poster for "Miller Travel;" documents that include travel brochures and a California Ballot Pamphlet; and a woman enters an office through a door marked "J. Miller." As Miller begins speaking, the other images move away leaving her as the sole image.

**Miller:** *I thought California was the land of opportunity. So I went for it. I worked hard and I built all this from scratch.*

**Scene:** She is seated at a desk in her office.

**Miller:** *Now proposition 186 could just shut me down.*

**Scene:** A shot of the California Ballot Pamphlet.

**Text on Screen:** **GOVERNMENT HEALTH CARE TAKEOVER  
SOURCE: CALIFORNIA BALLOT PAMPHLET**

**Miller:** *It forces us into a massive, new government-run bureaucracy, financed by \$40 billion in new taxes on individuals and businesses like mine.*

*I want health care reform, but 186 says California doesn't want my business.*

**Announcer:** *California should help small businesses, not drive them out of state. No on 186.*

**Text on Screen:** **Headline at top of screen "NO ON 186."**

**(In fine print on bottom of screen)**

**PAID FOR BY TAXPAYERS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT TAKEOVER- NO ON 186. A COALITION OF NURSES, BUSINESS, SENIORS, TAXPAYERS, INSURERS, AND HOSPITALS. CA IN NO 941682.**

**(Organization names scrolling through the middle of screen.)**

**CALIFORNIA TAXPAYERS' ASSOCIATION**

**ORGANIZATION OF NURSE EXECUTIVES/CALIFORNIA**

**NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS/CALIFORNIA**

**CALIFORNIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE**

**TAXPAYERS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT TAKEOVER**

**"POLITICIAN"**

A 30 Second Television Advertisement

**Scene:** A tilted live action shot of a man representing the Health Commissioner in an office with two staff, a man and a woman, who are holding folders labeled "Approved Medical Procedures" and "Polling Data."

**Text on Screen:** Life Under Prop. 186

**Announcer:** *Proposition 186 lets an elected politician limit your options, restrict your access to treatment and ration your health care...*

**Text on Screen:** "Health Czar (has) authority to reduce benefits"  
San Francisco Chronicle 10/10/94

**Announcer:** *...medical decisions made by a politician, for political reasons.*

**Scene:** Fade back to reveal stereotypical "politician" flanked by male and female aides.

**Female Aide:** *However, we did go over budget on the administration building and we're going to have to cut something, or raise taxes.*

**Male Aide:** *Here, hip replacements, we'll only lose a few thousand votes there.*

**Announcer:** *A political bureaucracy making decisions about your health care, however they choose.*

**Text on Screen:** (In fine print at bottom of screen.)

**Paid for by Taxpayers Against the Government Takeover. A coalition of nurses, business, seniors, taxpayers, insurers, and hospitals. CA. ID #941682.**

(Bold print at top of screen.)

**NO ON 186**

(Followed by scrolling list of newspapers.)

**SACRAMENTO BEE**

**LOS ANGELES TIMES**

**SAN DIEGO UNION**

**SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE**

**Announcer:** *186 is bad medicine for California.*

**TAXPAYERS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT TAKEOVER**

**"PEOPLE SAY"**

A 60 Second Radio Advertisement

**Scene:** Sounds in a hospital.

**Announcer:** California people are concerned about health care reform.

**Nurse 1:** Helen, you're our floor health care reform expert. Have you looked into Proposition 186?

**Helen:** Yeah, but it's not the reform we want.

**Nurse 1:** How's that?

**Helen:** It pushes most people out of their private health care plans and into a government system run by an elected health commissioner.

**Nurse 1:** Politicians don't know what kind of health care people need!

**Announcer:** But many nurses do, and that's why the California Organization of Nurse Executives says:

**Both Nurses:** No on 186.

**Scene:** Sounds of an office.

**Woman:** Accounting department...Uh-huh. We've looked at it. We need reform, but 186 could break us. It piles \$40 billion in new taxes on individuals and businesses. It's too much government and too many taxes.

**Announcer:** The California Chamber of Commerce, the National Federation of Independent Business/California, California Taxpayers' Association and the Seniors Coalition all say:

**Voices:** No on 186.

**Announcer:** Paid for by Taxpayers Against the Government Takeover, a coalition of nurses, business, seniors, taxpayers, insurers, and hospitals.

**TAXPAYERS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT TAKEOVER**

**"THE CONSULTANTS"**

A 60 Second Radio Advertisement

**Scene:** Paper shuffling. A brainstorming session with political consultants.

**Female:** *Okay, Okay. Think! Think!*

**Male:** *I got it! I got it! Smith for Health Commissioner -- Your life may depend on it.*

**Female:** *Yeah. No. Listen...People are dying to vote for Commissioner Smith.*

**Male:** *It's too subliminal.*

**Female:** *Wait a minute. How about...Have a heart....operation... Smith for Health Commissioner.*

**Male:** *No. No. No. Don't just lie there.*

**Female:** *Good!*

**Male:** *Vote for Smith for Health Commissioner.*

**Female:** *I got it! Smith for Health Commissioner...He won't make you sick!*

*It's good, isn't it!*

**Male:** *That's it! Perfect!*

**Announcer:** *Proposition 186 puts your family's health in the hand of a bureaucrat -- a health czar who doesn't even have to be a doctor. A politician who can limit your options, ration your care and restrict your access to treatment -- and run for office, just like they always do. And Proposition 186 forces you out of your private health care plan and into a czar-controlled government run system. Protect the quality of your family's care. Vote no on Proposition 186.*

**Male:** *How about it: Take two aspirin and vote for Smith in the morning.*

**Female:** *That's good too.*

**Male:** *It is good!*

**Announcer:** *Paid for by Taxpayers Against the Government Takeover.*

**CALIFORNIANS FOR HEALTH SECURITY**

**"YES ON 186"**

**A 30 Second Television Advertisement**

**Scene:** A woman is standing before a plain background speaking to the camera. To her left is an American flag. There is text in the upper left corner of the screen throughout the ad.

**Text on Screen:** 186 YES

**Text on Screen:** **KIT COSTELLO**  
**CALIFORNIA NURSES ASSOCIATION**

**Costello:** *Proposition 186 will give each of us complete health care that can never be taken away...*

**Scene:** Costello fades out during the last four words and a second image, a person in the same position, replaces the image saying the same words and continuing the sentence.

**Text on Screen:** **JEANNE FINBERG**  
**Consumers Union, non-profit publishers of**  
**CONSUMER REPORTS**

**Finberg:** *...never be taken away. It was put on the ballot by a million Californians and it is support by...*

**Scene:** Finberg's image dissolves as Chuck Ayala's image appears.

**Text on Screen:** **CHUCK AYALA**  
**CALIFORNIA A.A.R.P.**

**Ayala:** *...is supported by millions more. The insurance companies are spending millions of dollars to kill 186. What will...*

**Scene:** Ayala's image dissolves as Fran Packard's image appears.

**Text on Screen:** **FRAN PACKARD**  
**California**  
**LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS**

**Packard:** *...What will prove more powerful on election day, millions of dollars, or millions of Californians.*

**Scene:** All speakers in the ad appear together.

**All:** *Vote yes on 186.*

**Text on Screen:** (Fine print at bottom of screen)  
  
**Paid for by Californians for Health Security**



**CALIFORNIANS FOR HEALTH SECURITY**

**"CHILDREN"**

A 30 Second Television Advertisement

**Scene:** Children are playing in a park. Scene begins with two young girls holding hands. A woman's voice narrates.

**Announcer:** *What will happen to our children?*

**Scene:** A series of shots of children playing.

**Announcer:** *Thousands of us are learning every day that our medical insurance is not there when we need it.*

**Scene:** A child in a wheel chair being pushed by a friend.

**Announcer:** *We are all at risk.*

**Text on Screen:** (Superimposed on screen)  
186 YES

**Announcer:** *Proposition 186 will give us each complete health care that can never be taken away.*

**Text on Screen:** HEALTH CARE  
THAT CAN NEVER  
BE TAKEN AWAY

**Scene:** Kids playing in a sand box.

**Announcer:** *The insurance companies are spending millions to kill it and put us all risk. They must not succeed.*

**Scene:** Children in a hospital.

**Text on Screen:** 186 YES

**Announcer:** *What will happen to our children? Please vote 186 yes.*

**Text on Screen:** (Superimposed in small letters at the bottom of the screen.)

**Scene:** Child running toward the camera.

**Disclaimer:** Paid for by Californians for Health Security

**CALIFORNIANS FOR HEALTH SECURITY**

**"SNEAKY"**

**A 60 Second Radio Advertisement**

**Scene:** Two man are talking, one identified as Ralph. There are no background sounds.

**Male 1:** *Shall we go over it one more time Ralph?*

**Ralph:** *One more time.*

**Male 1:** *Okay. We Californians are not getting the health care we're paying for.*

**Ralph:** *That's correct.*

**Male 1:** *And the reason we're not getting what we pay for...*

**Ralph:** *...is that the insurance companies pocket as much as 30 cents of every dollar.*

**Male 1:** *And then when we need our insurance...*

**Ralph:** *Thank you and adios.*

**Male 1:** *But Proposition 186 will stop this insurance rip-off?*

**Ralph:** *Check. It'll give use the complete health care we're paying for.*

**Male 1:** *Health care for the rest of our lives?*

**Ralph:** *Absolutely.*

**Male 1:** *And the League of Women Voters is for it?*

**Ralph:** *And the California Nurses Association and the California AARP.*

**Male 1:** *And now the insurance companies want to stop 186?*

**Ralph:** *They're spending millions.*

**Male 1:** *Now that's really sneaky.*

**Ralph:** *Sneaky?*

**Male 1:** *Well, they're spending our money to try to keep us form getting the health care we're paying for.*

**Ralph:** *Sneaky.*

**Announcer:** *Please join the California Nurses Association; the California A.A.R.P., Consumers Union, non-profit publisher of Consumer Reports; and the California League of Women Voters in supporting Proposition 186. This was paid for by Californians for Health Security, who urge you to vote 186 Yes.*

CALIFORNIANS FOR HEALTH SECURITY

"POWER"

A 60 Second Radio Advertisement

**Scene:** A woman is speaking. There are no background sounds.

**Woman:** *The insurance companies are very rich and very powerful. Now, they are spending millions to try to kill Proposition 186. Today, we are all at risk. Many of us have already lost our medical insurance. 186 will give each of us health care that can never be taken away, even if we lose or change our job; we'll get our own choice of doctors; freedom from health care worries forever. The insurance companies are spending a fortune to try to kill 186. When you hear their ads remember, they're spending your insurance premiums to try to deny you the complete health care you're paying for. Now it's up to us. We need urgently to get the people's message on TV. And time is very short. Please call 1-800-PASS-186. 1-800-PASS-186. This was paid for by Californians for Health Security, who ask you to join the people's crusade for 186.*

CALIFORNIANS FOR HEALTH SECURITY

**"EXPLAINER"**

A 60 Second Radio Advertisement

**Scene:** Sound effects of a cocktail party, a male, identified as Harry, and female are talking.

**Female:** *So tell me Harry...*

**Harry:** *Uhhh.*

**Female:** *What do you do?*

**Harry:** *Me, oh, I'm an explainer?*

**Female:** *You're an explainer?*

**Harry:** *Yea, I work for an insurance company. You see I explain why we won't pay medical claims.*

**Female:** *Won't pay?*

**Harry:** *Oh no, say you come in with a big hospital bill...*

**Female:** *Then you explain?*

**Harry:** *Well, I show you the fine print that says we decide what is medically necessary.*

**Female:** *Not the doctor?*

**Harry:** *Doctor schmocker. We're a bottom-line business.*

**Female:** *I see.*

**Harry:** *And there's always the old pre-existing condition, say like when you were a child and were ever bitten by an Aardvark...*

**Announcer:** *Insurance companies are spending our medical insurance dollars to try to confuse us about Proposition 186. The simple truth is Proposition 186 will give us the complete health care that can never be taken away - for any reason. Is that really the truth? Ask the California Nurses Association, California A.A.R.P., Consumers Union, non profit publishers of Consumer Reports, the California League of Women Voters. They're all part of Californians for Health Security, who paid for this message to urge you to vote 186 Yes.*

CALIFORNIANS FOR HEALTH SECURITY

"DREAM"

A 60 Second Radio Advertisement

**Scene:** A woman is speaking. There are no background sounds.

**Woman:** *Part of the American dream is freedom from worry about health care. And the dream is alive here in California, with Proposition 186. 186 will give Californians the best shot we'll ever get for real health reform: our choice of doctors, coverage we keep if we lose or change our job - freedom from worry for the rest of our lives. And now the insurance companies are spending millions to try to kill 186. They're using the money they took from our insurance premiums to try to keep us from getting the complete health care we're paying for. Without 186, we are all at risk, and now it's up to us. We need urgently to get our message on TV, and time is very short. Please, call 1-800-PASS-186. 1-800-PASS-186. Join the League of Women Voters in supporting 186. This was paid for by Californians for Health Security, who urge you to join the people's crusade for 186.*