

It's time

JKVS 91/008

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This communications programme has been prepared by a newly formed communication group which is made up of the Jones Knowles Group of Hansen-Rubensohn-McCann-Erickson, Spectrum International Marketing Services Pty. Ltd. (Researchers), and Tony Stevenson. The group is responsible to, and under the direction of, Mr. Sim Rubensohn, Chairman of H.R. McCann.

At the time of writing, the only persons involved in preparing this proposal, are all directors of their respective companies. This was self-imposed for security reasons.

The report submits communications proposals for the A.L.P. for the forthcoming Federal Election. It shows how advertising, research and public relations blend to minimise communications overlap, thereby maximising the use of each available promotions dollar.

The plan assumes a House of Representatives election in either April or May and is costed at \$100,000.00. It could be quickly expanded for a later election date.

It would be possible for most of the tactics, and much of the material put forward in this plan, to be used nationally. However, all costings relate only to N.S.W.

For the plan to be totally successful this group will require maximum personal co-operation from and access to the Leader, his personal staff, the Federal Campaign Director, certain shadow ministers and Party advisers. Mr. Rubensohn, of course, has had such access for numerous years. The others requiring it are as follows:

From Hansen-Rubensohn-McCann-Erickson, Mike Shirley and Paul Jones.

From Spectrum International Marketing Services, Wayne Young
and Peter Shenstone.

And Tony Stevenson.

CURRENT SITUATION AS JUDGED ON NOVEMBER 22ND, 1971.

Value judgement indicates that the so-called mini campaign has helped generate a significant change of attitude in certain segments of the electorate. Additionally, it appears to have favourably heightened awareness of the Party and the Leader with a great number of voters. Although changes in attitudes and opinions can only be accurately measured by valid research techniques, it is perceived that certain attitude shifts seem to have occurred with some middle echelon businessmen.

The \$50 a head dinner witnessed several traditional and noteworthy Liberal supporters openly admitting to 'wanting to be seen mixing with the next government' well in advance. Business executives, at all levels, seem to have watched the progress of the campaign as eagerly as they once listened for the next exciting episode of their favourite wireless serial.

It is perceived that a growing number of people are coming to believe that it is time for change. This is not to say that Labor have produced this feeling, it has obviously occurred at the Government's own hand. What the campaign has probably done is to have gotten it out of their minds and talked about, via showing the A.L.P. as an aggressive, alternate Government. Despite the industrial relations reversal, it did demonstrate that the A.L.P. weren't as soft on trade unions as the business community previously suspected, and that they had a comprehensive plan.

Among other things, the mid-term campaign was originally designed to influence public opinion on difficult to absorb and comprehend matters. Counting on the fact that the election (at that time) was 12 to 18 months away, it wanted to achieve maximum publicity for the details which make-up Labor's policy on such complex matters as: economics (how Labor proposed to afford some of its more expensive policies) defence and industrial relations.

It was hoped that opinion leaders, in the various fields covered by the campaign, would have ample opportunity to digest the information, form a favourable attitude and influence others. The theory being that, if we could influence enough opinion leaders, they in turn could influence a significant proportion of the electorate by word of mouth, over the ensuing months.

The other part of the campaign attempted to permanently erase specific negatives about the A.L.P. with simple black and white surface statements. These negatives were: 'is Mr. Hawke really running the party', 'the communist riddled accusation', 'the fear that Labor wasn't afraid of the Chinese syndrome' and that 'Labor couldn't afford its policies'.

It would be an illusion to say that the Hawke negative has been removed. Mr. Whitlam's and Mr. Cameron's original statements on industrial relations did demonstrate however, that Mr. Hawke certainly wasn't running the Labor Party. The subject of communism within the Labor Party was not directly attempted, but events in the United Nations during the campaign have probably helped show Labor's China policy to be more realistic and farsighted. The inability to effectively communicate 'how Labor could afford to implement its programme' was without doubt the most singular failure of the campaign.

The subject of Immigration was, and is a potential disaster area for Labor. The campaign aimed to convert the attitude which was beginning to emerge: "Labor will open the floodgates" and "Vote Labor and get a nigger for a neighbour" were becoming particularly popular in South Australia.

It was planned to counter this by repeating, as often as possible, that an A.L.P. Government would allow less Asian migrants into the country than the Government.

This statement did make headlines, but not in enough papers.

The true attitudes of the electors, on this subject, urgently need to be measured.

This public misunderstanding will no doubt be further exploited by the Government during the election.

The relative successfulness of the campaign can also be measured by other criteria. Whether the Labor Party itself (without the aid of research) believed the campaign successful or not, the Government seems to have viewed it as a Labor success.

It seems to have had the effect of further demoralising them to the point where some senior cabinet ministers are alleged to be currently jockeying for the position of Leader of the Opposition. They have not been able to salve their wounds of doubt with reassurance from Canberra's political press gallery, because for the first time in a couple of decades almost all of those correspondents openly (not in the press) state their belief that Labor has a real chance of winning the next election.

Although the Government has publicly gotten as much mileage as possible out of the November 13 Gallup Poll, it is unlikely that they would place any reliability on it privately.

It seems reasonable to say that there is more public discontent with the Government today than at most times in the last 22 years. We must, however, ask ourselves a question: "Does this necessarily wax well for Labor?".

The discontented Liberal/Country Party voters just may do again what they have done on previous occasions, to wit, register their concern by voting D.L.P. The fact that they may do it this time in larger numbers will be of little value to the A.L.P. It will need a substantial swing to Labor and away from both the Government and the D.L.P. to ensure a comfortable majority.

What stops people from voting Labor?

The mini campaign attempted to confront some of the more important inhibiting factors. Qualitative research had pointed out that the Leader, the policies, and the party had serious personality problems. Where an asterisk appears beside an opinion, it indicates where the campaign may have begun to turn an unfavourable attitude around.

Encapsuled opinions were defined as follows:

Mr. Whitlam:

- * He ignores questions, and is evasive.
 - * Justifies too much.
 - * Cold, distant, not human.
 - * Gives impotent answers to potent questions.
- Never seen with women.
- * Oily, irritating voice (but better than McMahon's)
- Intelligent, intellectual, loner.

Talks and qualifies too much.

Always knocking the Government.

Not what he says, but the way he says it.

* Doesn't hold attention.

Bends over backward not to offend.

Not rugged or manly.

* Since Hawke, he seems to have retired.

Sorry for him ... seems to be in the wrong party.

* Don't trust him.

Doesn't come across strong.

Of the Party:

Old fashioned.

Communist influenced.

* Cannot restrain unions.

* Losers' party.

Disunity.

Doesn't represent the people.

Faceless men.

* Only talks to itself.

On the policies and on issues:

* Education: emotion charged.

ALP couldn't afford better.

* Law & Order: would probably win votes
for the Government. Is only an issue
if it is in focus.

* Hawke: A negative for the ALP. Blue
collar wives will vote against Labor if
there's union trouble.

Rural: Neither the Government, nor the
ALP has the answer.

Defence: No conception of what sort of defence Australia should have.

National Superannuation: Seems like a good idea to those few who have heard of it.

Centralism: A non-issue except when related to education. Everyone feels that the Federal Government should be more directly involved.

Pensions: A political foot ball.

Urban Affairs: Only of interest if related to the individual.

Special issues: quality of life, aboriginal land rights, anti-tariff, environment, cities, divorce, abortion, law reform, and race relations are of interest predominantly to Australia Party voters.

These attitudes reflect many of the electorates' inhibitions about the Labor Party, without one respondent mentioning the real problem. To the marketing eye, however, the real problem lies exposed. Image is the disaster area. Lack of charisma, pizzazz. Whatever the language of each age group is for it, it just isn't there.

Image is not what something really is. It's what a thing is thought to be: if people acted, purchased or voted only on what really is, there would be real chaos in the market place. For example, Johnny Walker sells half the Scotch Whisky sold in Australia. 102 brands of Scotch compete for the market, and on taste tests, people can't tell one from the other. However, most people believe Johnny Walker to be superior, because it is perceived to be the best ... what they really perceive, is not the whisky in the bottle, but what is imagined to be in the bottle.

Image is our single inhibiting factor.

The objective:

To achieve a minimum of 26 seats from N.S.W. in the House of Representatives.

This aim should be achieved by:

- (A) Concentrating activities in the seven winnable seats: Phillip (1), Evans (2), Parramatta (3), Mitchell (4), Macarthur (5), Hume (6), and Gwydir (7).

- (B) Using research, in these electorates, to determine local issues and produce guide-lines on how to interpret policy to match the electorate's desires.

- (C) Using professional public relations counsel to advise each candidate in the seven marginal electorates to communicate more effectively through mass media publicity and personal influence.
- (D) Using public relations techniques to win credibility for the economic viability of Labor's policies and to win acceptance for these policies.
- (E) Using existing research to determine the target markets.
- (F) Creating a first phase advertising campaign which projects pure image equations.
- (G) Creating a second phase advertising campaign which uses the (by then) new image as a bridge over which to disseminate more logical policy information.

- (H) Being prepared to counter Government attacks with public relations techniques and/or advertising, and/or using research information as the ammunition. Affordability of policy, immigration and law and order in the form of union disobedience, are high on the probability scale.
- (I) Using research counsel to professionally interpret Gallup Poll information so that party spokesmen use the information, to advantage, in public statements.
- (J) Employing public relations techniques to win favourable acceptance for Mrs. Margaret Whitlam and to use Mrs. Whitlam to win acceptance for Labor with women voters.

- (K) Media plans being carefully aimed at the various target markets, and suitably varying the creative content to achieve optimum delivery to the target groups.
- (L) Recommending that all potentially controversial statements be made by Party hatchet men. The Leader's image must be preserved.
- (M) Ensuring the effectiveness of advertising before committing it to media, by pre-testing all creative material.
- (N) Using public announcement style advertising to point out to the Liberal protest voter that by voting D.L.P. he is not protesting effectively.

- (O) Running a separate campaign inviting people to join the Labor Party, or send a dollar to help them win.

- (P) Producing material which projects the continuous image in the final hours at the polling booths.

A. Concentrated effort on seven seats:

The winning of Phillip, Evans, Parramatta, Mitchell, Macarthur, Hume and Gwydir is critical in achieving our objective. Each of these seats would only require a good, solid push to move to Labor.

Although it is planned that State-wide promotional activity will be effective on all of these seats, it is considered critical that they receive tangible aid.

For the candidates to optimise their chances, they must be aware of local opinion. It is no longer good enough, and there is too much at stake, for guesswork.

It is assumed that none of the candidates are professional communicators. Therefore, they should be given professional help to assist in closing the communications gap.

In short, they must know who they are talking to; specifically, what they should be saying; and the most effective way in which it should be said.

B. How to accurately determine the local issues and
attitudes in the critical seven:

Basically what we need to know from these seven seats are the various attitudes, motivations and opinions of the voters which result in fickle voting patterns. There must be some attitudinal key in the minds of the public in these areas which makes them neither definitely Labor nor Liberal in the majority but leaves them teetering on the brink of indecision. Market research techniques can uncover the underlying motivations and attitudes behind voters in these electorates.

What we need to know first of all, is what sort of people live in these seven individual electorates and what makes them tick. Creative psychological and marketing research will allow us to better understand the nature of the voter in these areas and, consequently, will allow the formation of

advertising and public relations strategy which then can be aimed at the right target audience in a way which will have the desired effect on them. By uncovering the way people feel about political issues, images and ideas, we can ensure that the Labor Party's campaign is put to them in the way the audience wants to hear it. This will have the best possible chance of influencing the voter in favour of Labor.

Swinging Seat Research Method

Ideally, we would conduct a full study in each of the seven electorates but both time and budget preclude this. We therefore propose to take one area first up and research it in depth. We would then set up hypotheses which would be checked out in a minimum of three of the remaining six crucial seats, but possibly in all six if the follow-up check could be kept to sufficiently low cost to allow such a wide coverage.

Unfortunately, we feel this is doubtful and estimate that only three extra seats could be covered. In the first electorate chosen, we would be aiming to find out:

- how are the voters segmented into various types of people defined by life-style.
- is their main interest in parochial issues from their local district.
- if so, what are their attitudes to local issues, local leaders, local institutions, etc.
- are their main interests in a more general state or federal sphere.

- if so, what are their attitudes to Federal issues, political parties and Federal personalities - how do they regard Whitlam, McMahon and Anthony.

- what is their image of the three main parties.

- what is life like in their area - what are their expectations, aspirations, hopes and fears.

- how do they imagine life would be under a Labor Government.

- what do they feel would be the best and worst things about living under Labor.

The research method we propose using is that of focus group discussions, this involves getting together six to eight people at a time for what appears on the surface to be a casual conversation amongst people from common interest groups.

In fact it is a recognised technique of assessing underlying motivations and attitudes. It is a method widely accepted in the U.S.A. and is fast gaining acceptance in Australia. We have used it successfully for a number of large Australian organisations such as B.H.P., T.A.A. and Avis, General Electric, Union Carbide and Chrysler.

We would propose conducting a series of focus groups in the first swinging seat, possibly up to ten group discussions in all. These would be supported if necessary by limited polling, probably in the streets, if there were specific questions on which we found we required a quantitative evaluation.

The basic part of the research, however, would be the focus group discussions which would be conducted with common interest groups such as:

- those who switched to Labor for the first time last year.

- those who switched to Liberal or Country Party for the first time last year.
- those who voted for the first time last year.
- those who refrained from voting last year.
- Civic leaders, regardless of their vote.
- local personalities (e.g. sporting), regardless of their vote.
- staunch Labor supporters.
- staunch Liberal and Country Party supporters.

At the conclusion of the series of group discussions, a number of hypotheses would be set up by looking at each critical area from the number of different angles allowed by the different common interest groups.

These hypotheses would provide the basis for examining the other swinging seats, which would be done in much less detail but, nevertheless, would be an accurate assessment given the in-depth experience of the test swinging seat research.

C. How to communicate the right message to the
right people in the critical seven seats:

Research and practice in mass communication and political sociology make it painfully clear that political influence in the electorate filters down a pyramid structure from the most politically aware through various stages of political awareness to those, with no awareness, who represent the majority of the electorate.

We believe that independent, professional public relations consultants should help locate political opinion leaders or influencers on a state-wide basis, but even more importantly in the seven winnable, marginal New South Wales electorates.

Tying in closely with the opinion research programme, these influencers must be approached by an objective, apparently independent team of interviewers to determine:

- what they think of each of the Federal political party leaders;
- what they think of the A.L.P. Leader and his team; and
- how they intend to vote.

Having located or isolated them, and determined the above factors, public relations counsel should then advise the Party how to influence them, through personal influence, publicity, etc., to support Labor and encourage those they influence to do so too.

Such opinion leaders, we envisage would most likely include media editors and personalities, business and civic leaders, union leaders, academics and other politically aware people.

Public relations counsel should also help seek out the key local issues and advise local candidates how best to achieve favourable publicity.

We envisage that consultants from a professional public relations firm not known to anyone but key State Party officials and (perhaps) the local candidate, should make as many visits as practical to the electorates to provide continual surveillance of public opinion and communication.

It must be understood that budget and time limitations may restrict the local help to less than would be desirable under different conditions.

D. Third person endorsement in a massive effort
to close Labor's economics credibility gap:

Every time Labor says, "free education", or "free hospitals", or "free anything", one may rely on the Government, within hours, to say \$500,000,000.00, a billion dollars, or some other equally long collection of digits preceded by a dollar sign. Because the government is in a position of authority, they tend to be believed, and therefore, effectively destroy the credibility of the A.L.P.'s most imaginative platforms.

This has been happening since Arthur Calwell's days, and public opinion shows that history could be repeated if the credibility gap is not significantly closed.

The real problem of the past, is that Labor has never satisfactorily explained how the economy could produce the resources needed for such expensive projects, without substantial tax increases.

On the occasions when half-hearted attempts have been made, they have usually been discussed on the A.B.C. to minority audiences who are, predominantly, 'silver-tailed'.

Or, it has been attempted in advertising, which is a basic error of philosophy. When the A.L.P. promises say "free education" and the Government says it will cost \$500 million, and A.L.P. credibility is destroyed, there is no point in coming back and endorsing it with advertising. Because advertising is the A.L.P. speaking. What is needed, is authoritative endorsement from apparently unbiased and independent sources.

A public relations programme should be designed to achieve credibility for the economic viability of Labor's programme.

The key to its success will be finding and working closely with some apparently objective, professionally able economists who are willing to offer third person, public endorsement for Labor's programme.

The source of such comment - that is the economists themselves - must be credible to the public.

Two sources of such comment should be considered.

Firstly, the Leader should consider appointing a semi-formal group of leading economists to advise him on economic matters, much like President Kennedy's council of economic advisors. There should be political advantage in tackling our economic ills in such a positive way.

Naturally the advice should be exploited publicly in public statements.

Secondly, there should be available a group of independent economists, professionally prepared to support Labor's programme, who should be encouraged to make independent comment, publicly, from time to time. Independent, professional public relations counsel should help in liaison.

E. Confirming the target markets to maximise the probability of influencing the swing vote:

Value judgement and early qualitative research indicate that certain groups in the electorate offer greater opportunities for conversion to ALP voting than others.

This is not to say that the campaign would alienate current ALP voters, but it would significantly slant its point of view precisely towards the primary targets. If these groups (generically), and their counterparts in the critical seats, can be effectively influenced, the results in New South Wales are probably assured.

The Spectrum study of July/August revealed the following:

1. Swinging ALP voters:

"Many ALP voters tend to be less unequivocal in their support for the ALP than their Liberal counterparts.

This, in part, may be due to the fact that a proportion of ALP support at the last elections, occurred due to the polarising influence of Gorton. Under the current circumstances, some of this support may swing back to the LCP, or to the Australia Party, which is perceived as being more truly "middle of the road" liberal. This is expressed by swinging ALP supporters as "keeping their options open", in view of perceived negatives of the ALP. The first job of the ALP must be to consolidate its support among this target group. It cannot be assumed that '69 support will automatically flow on to '72.

(2) Women voters across all age and socio-economic groups:

This appears from both quantitative (Gallup) and qualitative (Spectrum) research, to be the single most important problem/opportunity area, and therefore, possibly the most important target group.

(3) Dissatisfied Liberal voters:

Voting trends suggest, and our reserach confirms loss of favour of the Liberal Party. People who regard themselves as "Liberal voters", but who registered a protest vote in favour of an alternative at the last election (or intend to register one at the next election), have taken a major step away from the Libs: the opportunity exists to induce them to take a step towards the A.L.P.

In these circumstances, they represent an important target. These include:

- some Australia Party supporters.
- unaware D.L.P. voters.
- conscious informal voters.

(4) First time voters:

By definition, this section must rate as a vitally important target group.

(5) Undecided and/or Swinging Voters:

Our research suggests lack of awareness, interest and involvement on the part of many people, as a result of the generally negative and poor presentation of both major political groups. Under these circumstances, an opportunity exists to win a high proportion of undecideds to the ALP cause, with standard marketing and advertising techniques. As such, these voters represent a useful target group.

SECONDARY TARGET GROUP

The Business Factor

Businesssector support is essential in two ways:

- (a) votes
- (b) financial support

We are not naive enough to believe, in the short time available, and against the historical image and background of the ALP, in businessmen's minds, that significant changes can be effected in the voting patterns of the business sector. However, we do firmly believe that the unique strength of the ALP now should be capitalised upon to enlist bet-hedging financial support from that direction. Specific communication should be aimed at the business sector, and all ALP promotional activity likely to come to the notice of businessmen, should be evaluated, bearing in mind that this target group will see it."

F. Advertising the image - not the agonising
reality. Phase 1:

This phase of the advertising will commence in February, and will be sustained for about three-quarters of the period, from then, until election time. It will not disappear in the last quarter, but will be reduced to allow policy information to be communicated.

This first phase will be image advertising. It will advertise the ALP, the way we want the people to believe it is as they themselves perhaps would wish some party would be.

Professor McLuhan alleged in February 1970:

"Mr. Agnew's unawareness of the function of war in spinning the webs of peace, is matched by President Nixon's ignorance of the need for the flexibility of a playful costume and mask, as a means of "putting on" his public, and taking up the leadership role."

Image is only a "put-on", a mask. It may sound a little deceitful, but in reality, it is normal, human behaviour, translated into a corporate situation. The nature of man is to put on many masks, one for each of the various levels of social intercourse which he encounters. He does this to project the personal image that he wishes different people to perceive. But, unlike the individual, we are in a position to measure how others view this mirrored reflection.

Firstly, we will produce a song with hit qualities. Pat Aulton has been selected as the music writer and producer. Aulton is one of Australia's foremost writer/producers of popular music. He has been responsible for most of Coca-Cola's award winning music, Fancy Nancy, and has written and produced for Normie Rowe and Johnny Farnham.

Melbourne's Bruce Woodly is also being considered. Woodly became quite famous as one of the original 'Seekers'. Since his return to Australia he has had several hits.

A final decision would be made after receiving audition tapes from both.

(rough demonstration tape should be listened to at this point).

As soon as it is produced as a single, the agency, P.R. counsel, and certain members of Mr. Whitlam's staff will attempt to force air-play, by influencing certain radio personalities, who are generally sympathetic to the cause.

Taking one stanza of the song at a time for the subject matter, a series of 60 second and 30 second television commercials will be produced to give visual dimension to the message. These commercials will build individual, discontinuous mosaics, which project an involving and continuous image.

Based on the most elementary forms of travel, the ALP personality cannot remain unchanged by photographic television images which will daily invade the sensory and imaginative lives of the active electorate.

G. Phase 2 advertising - sending a little
logic over the emotional bridge:

It is probably necessary, at this point, to make a media observation, so that both phases of the advertising programme may be seen in true perspective.

Television: invades and intrudes. Transmits visual information more effectively than other media. (Most people learn as much as 80% of all knowledge visually). When it is seen on television, it is known. Not just heard of.

Television induces multi-sensory response. It leaves much to, and demands much of the imagination. It is integrated and inclusive. Has high personal involvement. Is excellent for creating high awareness and conditioning attitudes.

Radio: has more difficulty intruding than T.V., but can induce multi-sensory response. When well used, can create visual images. These images are usually better than the reality. This factor can often lead to great disappointment, e.g. beautiful voice of singer is later found to come from someone who is unattractive. The medium is inclusive and demands much of the imagination. Can have high personal involvement.

Print: is an automatic, mathematical, synthesised extension of speech. Is fragmented, exclusive and leaves little to the imagination. Is excellent for disseminating 'print logical' information, and demanding urgent action.

Phase one's role is therefore clear. It is conditioning attitudes, and relies on the electorates' imaginations to re-position opinions and images.

Phase two will ask for urgent response and appeal more (but not wholly) to the logic of the electorate. Print will come into play, but not to the exclusion of T.V. and radio. (See media schedules later).

The print advertising will rely on the fact that people wishing to read political advertising are serious about the subject. Ads will treat the reader seriously by imparting to him a great deal of information on a given subject.

They will bear the recognisable stamp of the overall continuous mosaic, although each ad will only be a discontinuous piece of the whole.

Each "big" subject will be reduced to a human equation. It won't deal with urban affairs for instance. It will deal with, "stopping the local county council from coming the bite on you so often".

The copy will be serious and expansive. Emotive, but containing hard facts.

The style is best described by being viewed:

(show layouts)

H. Prefabricating ammunition to counter
Government attacks on our flanks:

These attacks will most likely come in our soft spots:
Affordability of policy, immigration, and law and order,
in the form of union disobedience.

Research will give us a clearer picture of our true
position, and help guide the ALP and its advisers in
deciding whether head-on attacks are still needed for
the latter two, or not.

The public relations campaign for the former, will only
work by constant repetition, working on the principle
that truth is that which most people say is truth. The
attacks should not be effective at the end of the campaign
but must be countered during it. P.R. counsel should
have up-to-date standby material with which party
authorities may make counter-statements at any time.

Central reference on issues

A library of factual situation or position papers should be prepared and distributed to all party workers, especially candidates, giving the stand on important issues. They should be written in a readable interesting and interpretative style.

Such documents could also supply consistent comment on key issues for inclusion in candidate's brochures, speeches etc.

Some of the more important issues should be promoted in brochures for more general distribution. Here, layout and writing are important to ensure interest and readership and professional public relations counsel should be employed.

I. Professional interpretation of Gallup Polls
to give candidates a wide-awake look:

Opinion Polls of all types are extremely expensive and are not recommended as original research for the A.L.P. unless we have the luxury of large budgets and plenty of time.

During the course of the campaign polls will come out continually from the Gallup Poll Organisation and from Australian National Opinion Polls, a subsidiary of News Limited. For this current campaign there is not much we can usefully do in analysing results of polls for long term planning. In any case this is a somewhat doubtful exercise as many of the questions in the two polls are skewed by the wording of the questions.

We do believe, however, that there is political mileage to be gained by analysing the two polls as they come out so that Mr. Whitlam and other spokesmen for the party can use the results of the poll in statements to the press. They would either question the Government's stance on an issue or add support to a Labor Party policy or idea. Either way this would be one way of Labor keeping the initiative and putting across the general image of being on the ball, wide-awake and willing to go into print on issues examined by the polls.

The polls are supposed to examine the opinions of the people. It is therefore worthwhile for the Labor party to get the message across that they are interested in the opinions of the population as expressed by the polls.

J. Public Relations can help Margaret
Whitlam to help catch women voters:

Sonia McMahon is of immeasurable help to her husband's image, despite the fact that she is not noted for her high I.Q.

Mrs. Whitlam, on the other hand, is very intelligent. Her qualities, if properly communicated, could achieve a latter-day Eleanor Roosevelt image, with an Australian character.

Aside from the fact that many women will undoubtedly identify with her, respect her and listen to her point of view, this idea has other important functions.

Firstly, it shows one of our primary target groups that the Leader is not a political automat, but has a wife and a family. Additionally, it will show that the Whitlam family is a tight-knit unit, a factor which most women will support. By virtue of some of the things that Mrs. Whitlam would inevitably say on talk-back shows and interviews, she will show that the Leader is a fallible human being (but not too fallible).

Anonymous discussions with public affairs editors in Sydney radio stations indicate that Mrs. Whitlam is considered "good news". She comments willingly and meaningfully on public issues and she projects well via the radio medium.

There would be merit in attempting to establish Mrs. Whitlam as a radio columnist/commentator who regularly is willing to make short comments on public and political issues with an interpretation that means something to the housewife.

She is already doing this well when called on to comment. Professional public relations counsel should ensure that she is invited more often, by continually demonstrating her newsworthiness to radio people and by feeding her with ideas for such commentary. In addition, negotiations should be made with radio and/or daily press to accept, without charge, a regular daily, weekly or monthly column. In addition, Mrs. Whitlam should be encouraged to get out and meet as many women as possible. She relates well with women in person. No doubt Mrs. Whitlam attends many such functions already. However, public relations counsel should help her indirectly to deliberately seek more such opportunities. One such avenue would be to encourage local A.L.P. branches to have 'Meet Margaret Whitlam' tea parties.

Her active meet-the-people campaign would, because of the inherent news value, and because of her stepping up of public comment, attract news coverage without too much extra effort.

K. Media: A combination of high-powered rifles
and scatter guns to hit the various targets:

For the forthcoming campaign, our media mix is, for the greater part, decided upon by our creative approach. With several varying target audiences, it is of prime importance that we utilise media with viewing/listening/reaching profile sympathetic to the specific audience we seek.

Our media selection has been governed by this consideration and our initial media mix could be analysed as follows:

1. Television:

Has been accorded the greater part of the available budget because of its ability as an image medium and because of its considerable reach potential (i.e. 95% of N.S.W.).

2. Radio:

Will be primarily directed toward the female segment of the population because of its ability to involve these people with the medium. Radio is a far more personalised medium than television and we feel this point is a definite plus.

3. Press:

Can be used for general impact as it can be expected to achieve significant penetration of all target demographics. The medium provides the means of presenting a tangible message for an unlimited period of time, to the general public.

4. Cinema:

With its affinity to the younger age groups, the medium presents us with the opportunity for colour impact in a captive audience situation. We would recommend the campaign be committed to Drive-In theatres in order to minimise wastage.

5. Magazines:

Will also be female orientated. Our chosen vehicles provide us with the potential of reaching over half of the States' female population within a sympathetic environment provided by leisuretime reading.

Campaign Specifics

Our per media budgets as supplied, i.e.

Television	:	\$41,000
Cinema	:	\$ 6,000
Radio	:	\$11,620
Print	:	\$11,620
		<hr/>
		\$70,240
		<hr/>

have been further broken down in relation to the distribution of the States' voting population by electoral areas. By this means, we arrived at each electorates media budget and from this, we developed our plans. It became obvious that the proportion of the budget provided for the Sydney area

was insufficient to provide meaningful media impact, and we, therefore, appropriated the funds originally set aside for the Provincial Cinema campaign and added these to the Sydney television budget.

In all electorates, we have commenced the television plan six to seven weeks prior to the suspected election week. We consider it critical to commence our image campaign at this time to take full advantage of its cumulative effect. To start it later would tend to make it appear simply a desperate rush to win voters and we would prefer a gentle increase in impact and believability.

At this time, we suggest that all Night Time television be bought in a Fixed Programme basis as by this, we can guarantee a uniformly high average audience . Our Off/Peak announcements, we would suggest could well be scheduled in a Weekend Daytime situation in order to achieve a balanced impact against the Male and Female demographics and also to provide us with the facility for creating frequency against a significant proportion of the working population.

When we approach the point of commitment, these suggestions should obviously be reviewed in the light of later survey information, and we would suggest that this placement be considered provisional and subject to later discussion and evaluations.

Similarly, with Metropolitan station selecting, we consider that this is best left until nearer the time of campaign commencement.

ANALYSIS OF REACH/FREQUENCY

TELEVISION

<u>Market</u>	<u>No. of Weeks</u>	<u>G.R.P.</u>	<u>T.V. Homes Est. Reach weekly</u>	<u>Ave. Freq.</u>
Sydney	7	190	75%	2.5
Provincial	Various			
	2 anncts.	80	65%	1.3
	3 anncts.	120	80%	1.5
	4 anncts.	160	85%	1.9

With the exception of the fund raising campaign, which features several insertions in Sydney and Newcastle during the initial week of activity, all other media have been restricted to the final three weeks of the campaign.

In the Metropolitan area, Radio will, as mentioned earlier, be used as a primarily female effect medium. We envisage the use of probably four stations, though this is subject to negotiations. We have used all Radio stations in the Provincial areas, as their largely unduplicated audience plus local loyalties preclude any exclusions.

With the Press medium, we have selected those vehicles which have demonstratively the greatest penetration in each given area. In each electorate, we developed a short list of effective media and bought those which the budget would allow.

Cinema, we suggest only for the Metropolitan area for reasons of cost while for Magazines we have selected those which will provide us with the greatest potential Reach.

S	DU	DE	S	UNIT CC	TOTAL \$	Week							TOTAL \$	
						1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
<u>SHORTLAND</u>														
<u>TELEVISION</u> ($\frac{1}{4}$ Share - Newcastle, Paterson, Hunter)														
<u>NBN-3 NEWCASTLE</u>														
				18 x 30 secs. Night	41.00			3	3	3	3	3	3	738.00
<u>RADIO</u> ($\frac{1}{8}$ Share - Shortland, Hunter)														
<u>2HD NEWCASTLE</u>														
				21 x 30 secs. Breakfast	3.00									63.00
<u>2KO NEWCASTLE</u>														
				21 x 30 secs. Breakfast	4.00									84.00
<u>2NX BOLWARRA</u>														
				21 x 30 secs. Breakfast	3.00									63.00
														<u>210.00</u>
<u>PRESS</u> ($\frac{1}{8}$ Share - Newcastle, Hunter)														
<u>NEWCASTLE HERALD</u>														
				1 - 14" x 7 cols.	114.00									114.00
				1 - 10" x 4 cols.	46.00									46.00
								1						
<u>NEWCASTLE SUN</u>														
				1 - 14" x 7 cols.	63.00									63.00
				1 - 10" x 4 cols.	25.00									25.00
								1						<u>248.00</u>
														<u>\$1,196.00</u>
Total (Inc. Service Fee)														<u>\$1,256.00</u>

L . The Leader must preserve his image and never
be the one who says the unpleasant things
which may need to be said:

In any campaign every Party finds that there are
unpleasant, at times unkind, and certainly
controversial things which must be said publicly.

When these occasions arise they should not be said
by the Leader, even if it is the Leader who wants
it said. Such statements are better made by the
Shadow Ministers for the subject at hand, or if it
is power politics, by the Deputy Leader.

M. Pre-testing of ads is an insurance
policy for media spending:

We believe it is absolutely vital that every aspect of the total communication package should be tested before it is released to the general public. This is normal practice with sophisticated marketing companies. There should also be limited post release testing of the most important parts of the communication package, such as the basic television commercials and press ads. Post testing of the initial part of the campaign will ensure it is on the right track in case it advances too far with something disadvantageous in its make-up.

The basic need for testing advertising material before release is to be sure it is communicating the right message to the right target audience. The campaign would be based on the research, conducted previously for Gough Whitlam, but it will not have the advantage of any further research before being implemented.

This makes it even more necessary that we check that individual target audiences are, in fact, receiving the desired message in the terms in which they want to hear it.

The normal method of testing television commercials, press ads, posters and radio ads amounts to presenting the individual advertising pieces to individual members of the selected target audience. About 40 are interviewed altogether for each test. After discussing the simple communication and comprehension of the ad, we then interview respondents, in depth, to assess their attitudes towards the basic message in the advertising and to examine any motivation which may have been produced by the specific advertising piece.

This form of research is basically insurance that your campaign is not getting off the tracks. In this way we can ensure that your limited budget is not wasted and is doing the best possible job in the time allowed.

More importantly, it will allow the advertising agency to make any necessary changes before the material actually goes to air or into the press if it was found that there was any aggravating or off-putting message which might lose voters rather than win them.

N. A liberal voter who protests by voting
D.L.P, isn't protesting at all:

The Government stocks, as we know, are at an all time low. When this is considered against the fact that in the 1969 election significant numbers of Liberal voters protested by voting D.L.P. and Informal, the 1972 election could expect to see this trend increase.

It is also supposed that many of these people believe that the country really needs a change. Also it is known that most people don't understand how preferences work.

Taking all of these factors into account, it seems that the following idea would have the ability to plant an idea in many of the voters' minds.

It takes the form of a campaign within a campaign. Timing is important, and it is planned that it would take place in the few weeks immediately prior to the policy speeches. If it is successful in its mission of planting an idea, these voters will look at the policy speeches through new eyes.

Posters, television, radio and press will point out:

"If you want to use your vote as a protest - the A.L.P. is your only alternative".

That isn't purporting to be the copy. Rather, it is the point of view of the creative approach.

(see layouts herewith)

O. Join the A.L.P. or send a
dollar to help them win:

This is a very small campaign within the campaign.
It has three essential functions: (a) to show that
the A.L.P. is not the closed club it is thought to
be, (b) to attempt to raise additional funds by new
membership, and (c) to raise funds by donation.

(see layouts and media plan)

P. Continuity of image at the polling booths:

The A.L.P., via its communications, will indisputably 'look' the best throughout the campaign.

It must also maintain that image on that critical of days, at the polling booth.

(see layout and diagrams)

THE POLICY SPEECH AND OTHER TELEVISION

ANNOUNCEMENTS ON THE A.B.C.

The agency will lend its expertise to the Leader and his staff in the production of the policy speech and other talks on the A.B.C.

The A.B.C. is notoriously bureaucratic in allowing outsiders to participate in their productions. However, we will attempt, as far as possible, to control the quality of the production so that continuity of image is maintained.

It is recommended, that where the Party is given option on length and quantity of these appearances, that the principle of the maximum number of the shortest length be followed. This will aid reach and frequency and reduce the possibility of producing political boredom.

ADDENDUM TO THE P.R. PLAN

Organisation

Two levels of organisation are envisaged, apart from the Leader's regular staff engaged in press liaison and publicity.

They are the consulting level and the operational level for implementation.

For practical purposes they must be distinctly separate entities, to the knowledge of all concerned in the campaign, apart from the very senior people.

The consulting level, which public relations counsel would provide, should operate to the advantage of the party only if the public and press is not aware of the connection.

This consulting arm would advise on overall communication strategy, isolate opinion leaders and advise on the persuasion of opinion leaders.

The operational level would put into effect the persuasive and information programme.

ADDENDUM TO THE RESEARCH PLAN

The research proposal is written on the assumption that the next Federal election will be held sometime during the period from March to May, 1972. If this is so, the total advertising budget would be limited to \$100,000.00 out of which research would not be allowed to exceed \$12,000.00.

This sum obviously would not be sufficient to carry out the considerable amount of basic attitudinal and image research which should be completed before the advertising campaign was put together and before the Labor Party's Federal campaign began.

We have taken the view that, due to limited time and budget, our research efforts should be concentrated into the three very specific efforts previously mentioned.

ADDENDUM TO THE ADVERTISING PLAN

As the arbiter in budgeting for the plan, the agency has attempted to balance the ideal with the reality of the available funds.

It should be stated, however, that the plan can only be considered as thin in all areas. Conversely, the point of view and structure of the plan is considered strong, and could be beneficially built onto quickly with additional funds.

MEDIA: SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURE BY VOTERS

<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Target %age</u>	<u>Expenditure</u> \$	<u>Actual %</u>
Calare	1.9	1,139	1.6
Cowper	1.9	1,113	1.6
Cunningham	2.4	1,402	2.0
Darling	1.8	1,055	1.5
Eden-Monaro	2.0	1,176	1.7
Farrer	2.1	1,282	1.8
Gwydir	2.0	1,182	1.7
Hughes	2.1		*
Hume	1.9	1,147	1.6
Hunter	2.2	1,256	1.8
Lyne	1.9	1,143	1.6
Macarthur	2.2	1,376	2.0
Macquarie	2.4	1,421	2.0
Mitchell	2.4		*

Newcastle	2.3	1,256	1.8
New England	2.1	1,218	1.8
Paterson	2.0	1,184	1.7
Richmond	2.0	1,168	1.7
Riverina	1.9	1,138	1.6
Robertson	2.2	485	1.7 *
Shortland	2.1	1,256	1.8
Metropolitan	56.2	47,313	68.0
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>\$69,710</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

* All or portion of budget has been allocated to Sydney market because of its media coverage.

SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURE BY ELECTORATE/BY MEDIA

(Not Incl. S/Fee)

<u>Electorate</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>					<u>TOTAL</u>
	<u>Television</u>	<u>Cinema</u>	<u>Radio</u>	<u>Press</u>	<u>Magazines</u>	
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
Calare	770		131	184		1,085
Cowper	660		90	310		1,060
Cunningham	750		300	285		1,335
Darling	621		99	285		1,005
Eden-Monaro	750		210	160		1,120
Farrer	736		140	345		1,221
Gwydir	720		156	250		1,126
Hughes						
Hume	736		96	260		1,092

Hunter	738		210	248		1,196
Lyne	720		74	295		1,089
Macarthur	750		240	320		1,310
Macquarie	770		258	325		1,353
Mitchell						
Newcastle	738		210	248		1,196
New England	720		210	248		1,196
Paterson	738		60	330		1,128
Richmond	660		162	290		1,112
Riverina	624		200	260		1,084
Robertson			240	222		462
Shortland	738		210	248		1,196
Sydney	<u>23,170</u>	<u>3,600</u>	<u>7,200</u>	<u>6,490</u>	<u>4,600</u>	<u>45,060</u>
	<u>36,109</u>	<u>3,600</u>	<u>10,556</u>	<u>11,525</u>	<u>4,600</u>	<u>66,390</u>

SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURE

Basic components:

Research	\$12,000.00
Public Relations	\$10,000.00
Television production	\$ 9,219.00
Writing & producing music	\$ 2,000.00
Cinema production	\$ 3,129.00
Print production	\$ 5,000.00
Radio production	\$ 1,000.00
Media expenditure	<u>\$69,710.00</u>

\$112,058.00

* Not included in budget - the production of 6 x 30 secs. Whitlam policy/issue television commercials, or television and cinema prints.

N.B. The plan relies on the other States contributing to the cost of initial material: i.e. research and production.