

**"Public Safety under attack-
the Ohio Experience"**

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"Public Safety under attack- the Ohio Experience"

- Where did this start? In Ohio, it started with the election of John Kasich as Governor. Kasich won by a mere 78,000 votes. He never asked the FOP for our endorsement, refused to screen with the FOP and did not attend our state conference (although every other statewide candidate did.)

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- Ohio is not alone in its attack on public employees.
- In fact, at the November of 2010 Republican Governor's Association meeting in San Diego, "Public employees are "over-benefited and overpaid," Minnesota Gov. and one time presidential hopeful Tim Pawlenty said.

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- Wisconsin Gov.-Elect Scott Walker said

"We cannot and should not maintain a system where public employees are the haves and the taxpayers footing the bill are the have-nots."

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- Former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, on a panel discussion titled "Saving America," included among his ideas setting salaries and benefits of state employees "within the framework of the taxpayers' capabilities."

* The quotes on the 3 previous slides come from the 10/19/2010 Los Angeles Times*

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- This video was taken on December 9, 2010, before John Kasich is sworn into office as Ohio's Governor and after attending the RGA meetings in San Diego

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- Add in video
- http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_detailpage&v=0a4l8iWWsg0

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- The Ohio FOP finds out State Senator Shannon Jones, an FOP endorsed politician, is going into introduce anti-collective bargaining legislation. She refuses to talk about specifics in her bill until it is introduced but confirms she intends on eliminating collective bargaining rights for state employees, eliminate the ability to bargain for health care, eliminate all supervisors from collective bargaining and eliminate binding arbitration for public safety professionals.

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- Senator Jones refuses to hold interested party meetings before introduction of the bill to get input from the stakeholders. Other Senators claim she will not even show them the bill. The Senate President Tom Neihaus (FOP endorsed politician) tells us to deal with Sen. Jones.

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- The Ohio FOP forms a coalition with other public safety unions in January of 2011. Included in this coalition are the major fire union and a splinter fire union and the competitors of the FOP in the law enforcement union business, the Ohio PBA and the IUPA affiliated Toledo Police Patrolmen's Association and the independents Cleveland Police Patrolmen's Association and the Ohio State Troopers Association to lobby against this proposed legislation.

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- The Ohio FOP, for the first time in anyone's memory, passes an emergency assessment of \$7 per member to fight against this proposed legislation.
- Many members think we were being overly dramatic and that this legislation was about the teachers unions and not about us

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- On February 1, 2011, Senate Bill 5 is introduced and seen by the public for the 1st time. It has 479 pages and over 140,000 words. Senators were given the bill for the first time at the initial hearing of SB 5. Governor Kasich comes onto the floor of the Senate during the sponsor testimony and speaks to the individual Republican Senators.

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- Senator Jones repeatedly says in sponsor testimony that she is just asking for public employees to “have a little skin in the game.” This, obviously, infuriates the thousands of police and fire members in the crowd.

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- SB 5 is heard before a committee of 12 Senators, 8 Republicans and 4 Democrats. The FOP is the 1st to testify in opposition to SB 5.
- You can see the testimony at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-C1BH9NQcwo>

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- SB 5 eliminates:
 - binding arbitration
 - collective bargaining rights for police supervisors
 - collective bargaining for all state employees,
 - requires merit pay for all public employees
 - mandates how much sick leave and vacation time public employees can have
 - eliminates bargaining for health care but mandates that public employees pay 15% for whatever healthcare they might get.
 - Only allows bargaining over wages, terms and conditions of employment.

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- On the floor of the Senate, it passes 17-16 with only one positive amendment. State employees are given back their rights to the same limited collective bargaining as the rest of us.

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- In the House, the bill gets worse. It eliminates the collection of "fair share fees"
- Multiple amendments to remove police and fire from this bill are shot down by the leadership.
- It passes the House on March 30 and is signed by the Governor on March 31.

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- The bill was introduced on February 1 and was signed into law on March 31.
- Why was this important to get it signed before April 1?

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- Ohio law allows citizens to collect signatures to place a law before the voters to affirm or reject it, if the citizens can collect the signatures equal to 3% of the total number of votes cast in the last gubernatorial election. In our case that number was 231,149. Laws passed after April 1 would go on the 2012 ballot and the republicans did not want this on a presidential ballot, plus they would all be on the ballot in 2012 as well

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- Immediately, a coalition is formed called "We Are Ohio" and it is made up of public and private sector unions primarily but also includes other interested parties including students, faith based groups, and other activists. The FOP has a spot on the Executive and Steering Committees of this coalition.

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- The Ohio FOP goes back and assesses its members again. This time for \$50 per member. The debate is less than the first assessment because we all know what we are facing.

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- We needed 231,149 signatures by June 30.
- On June 29, we held a parade to the Ohio Secretary of States office, led by a semi-truck carrying 1.1 million signatures.

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7000 people marched in this parade to hand in the signatures, the most signatures ever gathered by a referendum effort in Ohio

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- We knew this fight would be expensive, more expensive than any other fight we have ever been involved in.
- The National FOP contributed \$100,000 to the fight. Other State Lodges contributed. Local lodges contributed more than their assessments.

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- When the campaign was over, we had raised and spent over \$1.1 million.
- On November 8th, we were victorious with a 61% to 39% margin.
- We won almost every county in Ohio (82 of 88).

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What did
we do right?

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- It was determined early on that We Are Ohio would do the main communication with voters and member organizations would be the vehicle to communicate with their own membership.
- The FOP of Ohio also communicated with voters through radio and online advertising.

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- The FOP communicated with its members by:
 - Letters to the membership
 - Emails
 - Postcards / campaign flyers
 - Tele-town Halls
 - Robo-Calls
 - Facebook
 - National FOP Journal

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- Coalitions:
 - Forming a coalition with our competitors was difficult but it prevented one law enforcement group from saying one thing and another saying something else.
 - It allowed us to bundle resources and save a lot of money

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- Trusting in the professionals
 - This is not one guy with a cigar in a backroom deciding how campaigns are run anymore. It is truly a science.
 - We used scientific modeling to try determine what our win number was and likely people to get to that number based on a variety of factors

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- ⦿ We figured we needed 1.5 million people to vote NO on Issue 2 to win. There are 750,000 voters in union households in Ohio. There are 300,000 hardcore Democrats who would vote against the sky being blue if Republicans proposed it. That left about 500,000 other voters we needed to get to vote NO to win.

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- We knew we could not allow our campaign to become purely partisan. This was not a Democrat vs. Republican campaign. We stopped Democrat politicians from speaking for our campaign. We kept President Obama out of the fray, even though he wanted to come to Ohio and get in on the fight.

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- We tried not to refer to those who passed SB 5 as Republicans but instead we called them "extreme politicians."
- We even put together a website and Facebook page highlighting republicans who supported collective bargaining, www.stopissue2.com, that had videos like this one:

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- Add video from
<http://stopissue2.com/video/compilation.htm>
|

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- We used polling, focus groups and testing to determine our message. This was not always easy. Many members, including me, thought we ought to fight back when our opponents attacked us but we resisted and stuck to our plan. Here is what our opponents said about us:

Lessons Learned in Ohio – 10 Key Message Takeaways

1. We never forgot that, where voters are concerned, “It’s all about me.” Our campaign conversation about collective bargaining rights never once focused on wages and benefits. Instead, we talked about bargaining over SAFETY – safe staffing levels for nurses in hospitals, impacts of staffing on response times for EMTs and firefighters, and the need for teachers to negotiate for safe schools as well as class sizes and standardized tests.
2. Our strategic imperative was this: When Ohioans enter the voting booth and think “collective bargaining rights”...what image comes to mind? If it’s public employees bargaining for their own wages and benefits only to advantage themselves—it becomes “us versus them.” If it’s public employees bargaining for the things that keep me (voter) and my family safe—we are on strong ground.
3. In so doing, we elevated the public sector, calling upon the importance of having “their expertise” and “professional voices” heard. This along with the safety arguments helped to make allies with the middle class, so it was their fight, too.
4. “It doesn’t have to be this way” was an important mantra. Voters were more inclined to go along with these efforts if they believed it was a recessionary tactic that had to be done because there was no other choice. We aired ads making it clear that Governor Kasich had other options – and shouldn’t have given away hundreds of millions in tax breaks to special interests and corporate donors (who had given over \$3 million in campaign contributions to him).

Lessons Learned in Ohio – 10 Key Message Takeaways, Cont'd

5. We refused to be defensive. We knew voters rejected the premise that public employees were overpaid, so we did little to respond to attacks suggesting so. We did remind people in our closing ad, “Teachers, nurses and firefighters don’t take these jobs to get rich, they do it to serve the community.”
6. Similarly, we didn’t take the bait. When the other side aired ads attempting to reframe the debate to employee benefits and “reasonable reform” that asks them to pay a “fair amount”—the temptation to rebut those claims was great. However, we knew that to do so would simply create a lengthy dialogue about employee benefits, sucking up oxygen that should be feeding our safety message. So, instead of arguing on their playing field, we enforced message discipline and stayed true to our strategic imperative (creating a mental picture for voters that says “they’re protecting me...and Issue 2 undermines that”).
7. We also made it clear that sacrifices had already been made. The billion dollars in wage freezes, health care cuts and furlough days without pay was new information to voters and something they needed to hear—and served as the antidote to supporter ads that suggested this legislation was “reasonable reform.”

Lessons Learned in Ohio – 10 Key Message Takeaways, Cont'd

8. Values language won the day. “In Ohio, we don’t turn our backs on the people who watch ours,” is a line we used in two ads.
9. We knew voters would listen to Grandma. In the closing weeks, proponents made a grave strategic misstep. They took footage from one of our ads featuring Marlene Quinn, a feisty Cincinnati grandmother, and put it in their own campaign ad. Within 72 hours, the vast majority of the state’s TV stations had pulled the ad. Even before that, We Are Ohio had a second ad featuring Marlene expressing her outrage at having “her words stolen.” She was made available for TV conferences, appeared at a televised debate, recorded a robo call and spoke at the podium on election night. Perhaps most importantly, the ploy damaged the credibility of the Yes Campaign. After this volley, a majority of voters believed they were running an “intentionally misleading” campaign. This was a blessing because a number of their ads that followed were the best of the entire campaign. With their credibility damaged, these fell largely on deaf ears.
10. We used a bona fide hero to communicate about those who do heroic acts everyday. Polling showed that former astronaut and Ohio US Senator John Glenn was more popular among *Issue 2 supporters* than John Kasich was, so we featured the Senator in the closing days of the campaign. As Will Robinson likes to say, “He poured hero juice on our everyday heroes.” He also helped move some of our stubborn older voters still stuck on the fence.

1. Define the choice
2. Define the consequences
3. Counter their attack

SB5 is UNFAIR .

Politicians make special exceptions for themselves And upper management, while stripping the rights of middle class Ohioans.

Its not Ohio values to let firefighters, police, and teachers lose their rights and see their wages and benefits gutted, while the insiders and people at the top get big pay increases and bonuses.

1. Stop pro-SB5 politicians who only want to look out for themselves and their special interest friends, not the people they serve.

2. Stop the politicians who are willing to put your safety at risk.

3. Make politicians start serving We the People and stop blaming them.

Vote No on Issue 2 Unfair, Unsafe and Hurts Middle Class Families

SB5 HURTS US ALL:

SB5 hurts Ohio families and blames public employees for a mess caused by Wall Street's greed. Instead of serving We the People and working to create jobs, politicians like Gov. Kasich work harder for big corporate donors by offering them tax breaks and selling off our parks, prisons, and turnpikes. That doesn't create anything but a bigger hole in the budget.

SB5 is UNSAFE:

SB5 puts the safety of all our families at risk by making it illegal for nurses, teachers and emergency responders to fight for safer staffing levels, critical safety equipment and training that protects them and our communities.

Issue 2 Is Unfair, and the Wrong Values for Ohio

It hurts middle class families while benefitting those at the top.

- **Issue 2 is unfair.**
- By voting NO on Issue 2, we send a message to Kasich and the politicians who only want to look out for themselves and their special interest friends, not the people they serve.
- Issue 2 strips the rights of middle class Ohioans, breaking a promise to those who serve our communities—like teachers, nurses, and other public employees.
- But it has a loophole, making a special exception just for the politicians and upper management.
- So, while firefighters, police, and teachers see their wages and benefits gutted, the insiders and people at the top get big pay increases and bonuses.



EXAMPLE MESSAGE:

- The politicians in Columbus say that all must share in the sacrifice to get our state budget under control. But those same politicians wrote a loophole exempting themselves and upper management in government from having to comply with Senate Bill Five. So, while firefighters, police, and teachers see their wages and benefits gutted, the insiders and people at the top get big pay increases and bonuses.



Issue 2 Is Unfair, and the Wrong Values for Ohio

It hurts middle class families while benefitting those at the top.

- Issue 2 blames public employees for the mess caused by Wall Street's greed, and leaves Ohio's middle class families holding the bag.
- Gov. Kasich is using Issue 2 to pay back his big donors. He's selling our parks, prisons, and turnpikes and giving tax breaks to corporate special interests that don't create jobs and blow a hole in the budget.
- Send a message to politicians: Stop working for the special interests who fund your campaigns, and start working in the interests of "We the People."



EXAMPLE MESSAGE:

- It's clear that our political leaders have turned their backs on the middle class, ignoring that they work for "we the people" and instead working for the special interests who bankrolled their campaigns. We need to fix the real problem and hold Wall Street and the politicians accountable for the mess they made—not punish our police, firefighters, and teachers for Wall Street's greed and leave middle class families holding the bag.

Issue 2 Is Unfair, and the Wrong Values for Ohio

Ohio's public employees have already made great sacrifices.

- Ohio's public employees have made financial sacrifices that saved Ohio taxpayers \$250 million and an additional \$100 million in health care costs. They are doing their part to help government make ends meet by taking a pay freeze five times in nine years and taking furlough days off without pay.
- You don't become a law enforcement officer, firefighter, a nurse, or a teacher to get rich. You do it because you care about your community and the people you serve. That's why thousands of firefighters, police officers, nurses, teachers and other public employees across Ohio are voting no on issue 2—because it would make it harder for our everyday heroes to protect and serve our communities, which puts all Ohioans at risk.

Issue 2 Is Unsafe

It Puts Your Family and Your Community at Risk

- It puts the safety of all our families at risk.
- Makes it illegal for nurses to fight for safe staffing levels for their patients, and for teachers to push for school safety needs.
- Emergency responders like police and firefighters will no longer have a right to bargain collectively for critical training and equipment that keep them—and all of us—safe.

Example message:

- When there's a fire, a second is a lifetime, a minute an eternity. When a call comes in there isn't a moment to spare. The public needs to know that when they call, there are enough firefighters ready to come to their rescue and get the job done. But Issue Two makes it illegal to negotiate for enough firefighters to do the job. Fewer firefighters means slower response times—and that could be the difference between life and death. We just can't take the risk on Issue 2.



Words That Worked

Makes a special exception / has a loophole for upper management and politicians	Already sacrificed	Unfair
Takes away the rights of middle class Ohioans	Turns our backs on the people who watch ours—like teachers, nurses and firefighters	Unsafe
It didn't have to be this way	School safety	Politicians should keep their promises to Ohio's public employees
Response times for firefighters, police and paramedics	We the People	Tax breaks for big corporations
Hurts the middle class	Corporate special interests and their high-paid lobbyists	Critical safety equipment for firefighters
The wrong thing to do	Safe staffing levels for nurses	Flawed

Message Discipline

DIDN'T TAKE BAIT ON 10/15



Media Components

Broadcast: 9 Weeks Major Market
9 Weeks Major Market
7 Weeks Smaller Markets

Cable: 9 Weeks Major Market
7 Weeks Smaller Markets

Radio: 7 Weeks Minority Radio
2 Weeks Urban Radio
3 Weeks Rural/Unmetered

Online: 9 Weeks
7 Weeks Smaller Markets

WE ARE OHIO RADIO

Under-The-Radar Radio



33% of Radio
Budget
Dedicated to
Niche Audiences

**RADIO
ONE**
THE URBAN MEDIA SPECIALIST

FOP RADIO

- The FOP of Ohio did not give its message over to We Are Ohio. Instead, we complimented their message with ours. We used mainly radio advertising , focusing on stations that catered to an over 35 demographic. We ran 5603 radio spots at a cost of \$300,000. The POP coalition used the same focus, running \$100,000 worth of radio ads

“GRANNYGATE”

- **Add in video**



<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fua8XliZk1Q>

We Are Ohio

On Line Summary



- 126,108 Search clicks
- 70,705,180 Display impressions w/48,185 clicks



- 285,675+ users connected
- 264,644,691 impressions, 83,023,325 social
- 170,379 clicks, 91,856 social
- 59,438,812 impressions of weareohio.com content
- Facebook app, sponsored stories, sponsored



- 7.7+ million video views
- Promoted videos
- InVideo Banners
- Call-to-Action Overlays



- 29,639,695 impressions delivered to target voters
- 1.8MM ad interactions
- ~356K video starts, w/ a 31.7% completion rate

FOP of Ohio Online Summary

Channel	Impressions	Clicks	Click rate	\$ per click	Total
Facebook	30,359,134	8,221	.027%	\$1.57	\$12,889.37
Google	2,174,524	3,022	.14%	\$3.28	\$9,926.60
Pandora	7,902,506	61,454	1.37%	\$0.77	\$47,060.00

Facebook Had Reach

	Fans	Post Likes	Post Comments	Post Impressions	Likes/Post	Comments/Post	Impressions/Post
We Are Ohio	100,470	80,505	18,140	15,471,568	121.79	27.44	23,406.31
Stand Up for Ohio	130,129	122,696	39,602	46,404,878	165.81	53.37	62,709.29
Angry Buckeyes	20,730	22,207	5,175	4,240,910	64.56	15.04	12,328.23
Save Ohio Schools	34,346	10,982	2,530	2,239,782	62.4	14.38	12,726.03
	285,675	236,390	65,447	68,357,138			

Field Summary Numbers

- Pre-GOTV: 1.3 million knocks
- GOTV (last four days): 850,000 knocks
- Pre-GOTV: 2.6 million dials
- GOTV: 1.8 million dials
- Over 10,000 canvass shifts during last four days.

2011 Issue 2 Turnout Highlights

- 3,545,539 ballots counted on election day
- Total turnout of 3.6 to 3.7 million when additional absentee and provisional ballots are counted
- Record number of ballots for Ohio odd-year election
- Turnout close to 3.96 million cast in 2010
- Turnout gains strongest in Southeast and North Central regions
- Turnout weakest in Southwest and Miami Valley regions (Cincinnati and Dayton)

2011 Issue 2 No Vote Highlights

- 61.3% No Percent Statewide
- Carried 82 of 88 counties and every region of the state
- 2.15 million No votes (more than 300K votes more than Governor Kasich received in 2010)
- Strong majorities in all of the large urban counties:
 - Cuyahoga 68.9%, Summit 63.1%, Stark 61.4%
 - Franklin 63.9%, Lucas 67.4%
 - Hamilton 58.2%, Montgomery 61.4%, Butler 56.1%
- Southeast strongest region at 68.2% with 80.4% in Athens
- Huge gains in Cincinnati region over 2010 Strickland %

Post Election Polling Notes

- 66% of Ohio voters support collective bargaining rights
- 86% of Union Members voted NO
- 93% of African-Americans voted NO
- 66% of voters under 40 voted NO
- 58% of voters over 60 voted NO
- 94% of Democrats voted NO
- 57% of Independents voted NO
- 30% of Republicans voted NO

**"Public Safety under attack-
the Ohio Experience"**

What could we have done
better?

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- We had to build up our internal communication structure during the campaign.
- We should have had a better website, a better Facebook page, more email addresses for members, phone numbers for members prior to NEEDING them

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- Member participation in volunteering was lacking. Members did not canvass, work phone banks in the numbers we had hoped for.

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- Assumptions!
- Assumptions were made that members/leaders would just do whatever was needed. However, not all members/leaders have the same capabilities, resources for time away from work or family or the desire to play big roles in a fight like this.

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- YARD SIGNS!

Every campaign professional will tell you that yard signs are not an efficient campaign tool. However, our members wanted them, in a big way. We under-estimated the allure of yard signs and the demand for them.

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- Funding!
- If we could have built a “war chest” prior to needing it, we would not have had to resort to emergency assessments to raise the money needed to run this campaign.

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- We needed to be quicker in getting business support. Our opponents got the support of the larger Chambers of Commerce before we even began to speak to the membership of those organizations about the consequences of their support for Issue 2.
- Boycotts were not something that the Ohio FOP supported. We were speaking for the rights to stay in the middle class and boycotts hurt the employees of those being targeted. It would have enabled our opponents to classify us too easily.

Election Night Comments

- At a news conference Tuesday night, Mr. Kasich congratulated the winners and said he would assess the situation before proposing any new legislation. “It’s time to pause,” he said. “The people have spoken clearly.”

If lawmakers did take another run at collective bargaining, would it be done differently? “Oh, God, yes,” Speaker of the House Batchelder said. “If a fellow falls down the stairs, the next time he’ll turn on the light. I don’t think a lot of people had a sense of how important getting people prepared for something is.”



What is Coming Next?

- Two days after the election, the Tea Party groups filed their intention with the Secretary of State to pursue a Right to Work initiative.
- This same group had just as big a win on election day with a Constitutional amendment that bars Ohio from implementing pieces of the federal health care law.

Outcome

- The Ohio FOP were leaders in this fight to maintain our collective bargaining rights. We overcame tough obstacles to achieve a victory. But let's be clear...we just spent over 1.1 million FOP dollars to maintain what we had. We spent over \$40 million in total to maintain what we had.

Final Thought

**ELECTIONS HAVE
CONSEQUENCES**

Thank You so much!

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