

Douglas E. Schoen, LLC
Manhattan Institute National Survey
August 5–10, 2011
National survey of 1,000 registered voters

Hello. I am conducting a survey on behalf of Douglas E. Schoen, LLC. I'm going to ask you some questions about the economy and the budgeting process, particularly with regard to state and local governments. I'm going to ask you some questions about people who work for state and local governments, who are called public sector employees, and some questions about various reforms or changes that have been raised for how to deal with some of the budgetary issues that state and local governments are facing.

MOOD OF THE COUNTRY

I would like to start with some questions about the general mood of the country and about the operations of state and local government.

1. Generally speaking, how satisfied are you with the way things are going in the country?

TOTAL SATISFIED	12%
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TOTAL NOT SATISFIED	87%
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Very satisfied	2%
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Somewhat satisfied	9%
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Not very satisfied	35%
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Not at all satisfied	53%
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Not sure	1%
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2. Generally speaking, do you think the economy is headed in the right direction or on the wrong track?

Right direction	14%
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Wrong track	80%
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Not sure	6%
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3. Do you think the economy in your state is headed in the right direction or on the wrong track?

Right direction	23%
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Wrong track	66%
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Not sure	11%
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4. Do you think the economy in your local community is headed in the right direction or on the wrong track?

Right direction	33%
Wrong track	55%
Not sure	12%

5. How efficient would you say your state government is?

TOTAL EFFICIENT	55%
TOTAL NOT EFFICIENT	43%

Very efficient	3%
Somewhat efficient	52%
Not very efficient	24%
Not at all efficient	18%
Not sure	3%

6. How efficient would you say your local government is?

TOTAL EFFICIENT	55%
TOTAL NOT EFFICIENT	43%

Very efficient	11%
Somewhat efficient	44%
Not very efficient	29%
Not at all efficient	14%
Not sure	2%

7. Which of your state and city services work best?

Public schools	12%
Police	17%
Fire protection and prevention	17%
Public transportation	5%
The courts	3%
Sanitation and trash collection	11%
Environment	0%
Housing	0%
Libraries and parks	10%
Health care	5%
Department of Motor Vehicles	4%
Other	5%
Not sure	11%

8. Which of your state and city services work least well?

Public schools	28%
Police	4%
Fire protection and prevention	1%
Public transportation	11%
The courts	4%
Sanitation and trash collection	2%
Environment	2%
Housing	7%
Libraries and parks	2%
Health care	10%

Department of Motor Vehicles	9%
Other	8%
Not sure	14%

9. Do you think that nonprofit or private sector service organizations could provide any of the following state or city services more efficiently than the public sector?

Public schools	14%
Police	1%
Fire protection and prevention	1%
Public transportation	4%
The courts	0%
Sanitation and trash collection	14%
Environment	1%
Housing	3%
Libraries and parks	4%
Health care	5%
Department of Motor Vehicles	0%
Other	14%
Not sure	38%

Public Sector Employees

Now I'd like to ask about public and private sector employees. Public sector employees work for city, state and federal agencies, while private sector employees work for private businesses.

10. From what you know, do you think public sector employees make more or less than private sector employees, or do they make about the same?

More	36%
Less	29%
About the same	21%
Not sure	14%

11. From what you know, do public employees receive more generous or less generous health-care benefits than private sector employees, or are they about the same?

More generous	56%
Less generous	9%
About the same	27%
Not sure	8%

12. From what you know, do public employees have more generous or less generous retirement benefits, or are they about the same?

More generous	54%
Less generous	18%
About the same	16%
Not sure	12%

13. Public sector employees receive salaries and two types of benefits: health care and pensions. Questions have been raised about whether salaries should be frozen and whether employees should be required to contribute more toward their benefits. Some say that public employees' salaries should be frozen and that they should be required to contribute more toward their benefits. Others disagree and say that their salaries should not be frozen and that they should not be required to contribute more toward their benefits. Which is closer to your view?

Public employees' salaries should be frozen, and they should be required to contribute more toward their benefits	48%
Public employees' salaries should not be frozen, and they should not be required to contribute more toward their benefits	40%
Not sure	12%

14. Do you think state governments should freeze the growth in current public employees' salaries because of state and local government budget problems, or should the salaries not be frozen?

State governments should freeze the growth in current public employees' salaries because of state and local government budget problems	46%
Current public employees' salaries should not be frozen	42%
Not sure	12%

15. Do you think state governments should freeze the growth in new public employees' salaries because of state and local government budget problems, or should the salaries not be frozen?

State governments should freeze the growth in new public employees' salaries because of state and local government budget problems	52%
New public employees' salaries should not be frozen	45%
Not sure	2%

16. How about their health-care benefits? Do you think current public employees should have to contribute more toward paying for their health-care benefits because of state and local government budget problems, or should they not have to?

Current public employees should have to contribute more toward paying for their health-care benefits because of state and local government budget problems	52%
Current public employees should not have to	42%
Not sure	6%

17. Do you think new public employees should have to contribute more toward paying for their health-care benefits because of state and local government budget problems, or should they not have to?

New public employees should have to contribute more toward paying for their health-care benefits because of state and local government budget problems	57%
New public employees should not have to	38%
Not sure	5%

18. Public employees are entitled to defined benefit pensions, which guarantee workers a retirement income based on years worked and peak pay levels. Do you think current public employees should have to contribute more toward their pension benefits because of state and local government budget problems, or should they not have to?

Current public employees should have to contribute more toward their pension benefits because of state and local government budget problems	60%
Current public employees should not have to	32%
Not sure	8%

19. Public employees are entitled to defined benefit pensions, which guarantee workers a retirement income based on years worked and peak pay levels. Do you think new public employees should have to contribute more toward their pension benefits because of state and local government budget problems, or should they not have to?

New public employees should have to contribute more toward their pension benefits because of state and local government budget problems	60%
New public employees should not have to	39%
Not sure	2%

20. What about retirees? Should they have to contribute more toward their pension and health-care benefits because of state and local government budget problems, or should they not have to?

Public employee retirees should have to contribute more toward their health-care benefits because of state and local government budget problems	25%
Public employee retirees should not have to	69%
Not sure	6%

21. Let's assume that state and local governments are having problems paying the benefits of public sector employees because of budget deficits. Some people say that public sector employees should not have to contribute more toward their benefits because these benefits are part of the contracts that employees and local governments agreed to previously. Others say that public sector employees should have to contribute more toward their benefits because of the dire financial state that governments find themselves in. Which is closer to your view?

Public sector employees should not have to contribute more toward their benefits because these benefits are part of the contracts that employees and local governments agreed to previously	42%
Public sector employees should have to contribute more toward their benefits because of the dire financial state that governments find themselves in	52%
Not sure	5%

22. Some say that to maintain the level of pay and benefits that public employees receive, programs like education and health care need to be reduced so that state and local government finances can be balanced without having to cut these benefits. Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

TOTAL AGREE	31%
TOTAL DISAGREE	60%
Strongly agree	13%
Somewhat agree	18%
Somewhat disagree	19%
Strongly disagree	42%
Not sure	9%

23. Do you believe that there is a direct connection between the level of public employee pay and benefits and the level of services that states can afford to offer, or are the two separate and distinct and not really connected?

There is a direct connection between the level of public employee pay and benefits and the level of services that states can afford to offer	35%
The two are separate and distinct and not really connected	47%
Not sure	18%

24. From what you know, do your state and local governments have the money available to pay the salaries, health care and pensions of current public sector employees?

Yes	44%
No	37%
Not sure	19%

25. If they did not have enough money to pay the salaries and benefits of current public employees, would you be willing to have taxes raised so that the salaries and benefits could be paid at current levels?

Yes	31%
No	64%
Not sure	5%

26. If they did not have enough money to pay the salaries and benefits of current public employees, would you be willing to have social-services programs provided by your state cut so that the salaries and benefits could be paid at current levels?

Yes	36%
No	51%
Not sure	13%

27. From what you know, do your state and local governments have the money to pay the salaries, health care and pensions of retired public sector employees?

Yes	46%
No	38%
Not sure	16%

28. If they did not have enough money to pay the benefits of retired public employees, would you be willing to have taxes raised so that the salaries and benefits could be paid at current levels?

Yes	29%
No	65%
Not sure	6%

29. If they did not have enough money to pay the benefits of retired public employees, would you be willing to have social-services programs provided by your state cut so that the salaries and benefits could be paid at current levels?

Yes	37%
No	52%
Not sure	11%

CRISIS WITH STATE BUDGETS AND PUBLIC EMPLOYEE BENEFITS
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Now I'd like to ask a few questions about the crisis that many state and local governments faced this year over their finances.

30. From what you know, did your state face a budget crisis this year, or did it not face a budget crisis this year?

My state faced a budget crisis this year	78%
My state did not face a budget crisis this year	15%
Not sure	7%

31. [If yes] How was the crisis resolved? [read choices; multiple choices accepted]

Spending cuts	68%
Taxes increased	28%
Other	0%
Not sure	16%

32. As you may know, many U.S. state governments are facing large budget deficits this year, meaning that their spending has exceeded the amount of revenue that they have brought in from fees and taxes. This has caused many public employee pension plans and health-care plans to be greatly underfunded. What would you say is the main reason for these problems? [read choices]

State governments spent too much money	28%
State governments did not tax enough	6%
Public employees' benefits are too high and unsustainable	13%
Elected state officials made careless and self-serving decisions	48%
Not sure	5%

33. In your opinion, what is the best way to address the problem of states not being able to afford public employee benefits? [read choices]

Raise taxes	13%
Cut government spending	47%
Require current public employees to contribute more toward their benefits	31%
Require retired public employees to contribute more toward their benefits	1%
Not sure	8%
34. What would you say is the least desirable way to address the problem? [read choices]	
Raise taxes	36%
Cut government spending	21%
Require current public employees to contribute more toward their benefits	14%
Require retired public employees to contribute more toward their benefits	21%
Not sure	7%
35. Generally speaking, do you favor or oppose reducing or eliminating certain state services to reduce budget deficits?	
TOTAL FAVOR	56%
TOTAL OPPOSE	35%
Strongly favor	29%
Somewhat favor	27%
Strongly oppose	15%
Somewhat oppose	20%
Not sure	9%
36. Which government program would you cut first to address state budget deficits? [read choices]	
Public schools	3%
Police	5%
Fire protection and prevention	1%
Public transportation	10%

The courts	7%
Sanitation and trash collection	3%
Environment	9%
Housing	9%
Libraries and parks	16%
Health care	2%
Department of Motor Vehicles	12%
Other	0%
Not sure	10%

37. Do you favor or oppose increasing state sales, income or other taxes to reduce budget deficits and make sure we meet our obligations to public employees?

TOTAL FAVOR	31%
TOTAL OPPOSE	60%

Strongly favor	10%
Somewhat favor	21%
Strongly oppose	41%
Somewhat oppose	19%
Not sure	9%

38. [If favor] Do you favor raising sales, income or property taxes to do so? [multiple choices accepted]

Sales	62%
Income	38%
Property	0%
Not sure	0%

39. If it were necessary to reduce the number of public employees in order to help put states in a healthy financial position, would you support this, or would this be going too far?

Support reducing the number of public employees in order to put states in a healthy financial position	49%
This would be going too far	41%
Not sure	10%

40. Which statement is closer to your view about what to do to balance the budget?

Taxes should not be raised, and there should only be spending cuts to balance my state's budget	51%
Taxes should be raised so that there will be fewer spending cuts so that vital programs are not jeopardized	36%
Not sure	13%

41. If you knew that in your state or city, there was not enough money to provide for retirees' pension and health care, whom would you blame?

Politicians for spending too much	64%
Public workers for having negotiated expensive and unsustainable benefits	16%
Taxpayers for not being willing to pay enough taxes to adequately fund these systems	5%
Other	9%
Not sure	6%

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Now I'd like to ask some questions about the process by which state and local government employees bargain with those jurisdictions over wages and benefits.

42. How much have you heard or read about the recent efforts in many states to reduce state budget deficits by cutting the benefits of public employees—a lot, some, not much or nothing at all?

A lot	37%
Some	36%
Not much	18%
Nothing at all	8%
Not sure	1%

43. Collective bargaining is a process of negotiations between employers and labor union representatives aimed at reaching agreements that regulate working conditions and determine salary and benefits. Advocates of collective bargaining say that by negotiating as part of a union rather than individually, public employees can have more leverage in securing the higher pay and more generous benefits that they deserve. Opponents say that public employees should not bargain collectively and use the power of the group to potentially limit, delay or restrict the delivery of important government services. Which position is closer to your view?

By negotiating as part of a union rather than individually, public employees can have more leverage in securing the higher pay and more generous benefits that they deserve	42%
Public employees should not bargain collectively and use the power of the group to potentially limit, delay or restrict the delivery of important government services	50%
Not sure	8%

44. Some say that collective bargaining is essential and that it is a basic right of labor. Others say that it is not a basic right and that it can be changed and negotiated based on economic circumstances. Which is closer to your view?

Collective bargaining is essential and is a basic right of labor	33%
Collective bargaining is something to be negotiated	60%
Not sure	6%
45. In many states, public employees do not have the right to collective bargaining. Do you think public employees in all states should have the right to collective bargaining, or should they not?	
Public employees in all states should have the right to collective bargaining	58%
They should not have the right to collective bargaining	36%
Not sure	6%
46. Given that federal employees and public employees in some states do not have the right to collective bargaining, does this make you less likely to believe that collective bargaining is a basic right of labor, or does it not have an impact on your opinion?	
Less likely	20%
No impact	68%
Not sure	12%
47. Some states are trying to restrict collective bargaining rules of public employee unions. Do you favor or oppose restricting some of the collective bargaining rules of these unions?	
TOTAL FAVOR	53%
TOTAL OPPOSE	41%
Strongly favor	36%
Somewhat favor	18%
Strongly oppose	23%
Somewhat oppose	18%
Not sure	6%
48. [If favor] Should all public employees have some of their collective bargaining rules changed, or should police and firefighters be excluded from these changes?	

All public employees should have some of their collective bargaining rules changed	64%
Police and firefighters should be excluded	30%
Not sure	6%
49. In the disputes between state governments and public employee unions over collective bargaining, do you side more with state officials or with public employee unions?	
State officials	46%
Public employee unions	39%
Not sure	16%
50. Generally speaking, do you think state public employees should or should not have the absolute right to collective bargaining for wages, benefits and working environment rules?	
Should	56%
Should not	37%
Not sure	7%
51. Some people say that if governments require public sector employees to contribute more toward their benefits, it will lower the quality of people who are attracted to work for the government. Others say that this will have no impact on the quality of people who want to work for the government, and we have to bow to the fiscal realities that require everyone to tighten their belts. Which is closer to your view?	
The quality of people who are attracted to work for the government will be lowered if public sector workers are required to contribute more toward their benefits	27%
This will have no impact on the quality of people who want to work in government, and we have to bow to the fiscal realities that require everyone to tighten their belts	70%
Not sure	3%
52. Some say that people go to work for public entities because they want the security of being part of a public employee union and they want to have better pension and health-care benefits, and	

so it is unfair to require people to contribute more toward these benefits. Others say that these benefits should be provided if state governments can afford them; but if they can't afford them, everyone must accept the fiscal realities of these times, and the benefits should be reduced or employees should be required to contribute more toward them. Which is closer to your view?

People work for public entities because they want the security, better pension and health-care benefits, so it is unfair to require people to contribute more toward these benefits 23%

These benefits should be given if state governments can afford them; but if they can't afford them, everyone must accept the fiscal realities of these times, and the benefits should be reduced or employees should be required to contribute more toward them 71%

Not sure 6%

53. Some people say that giving public employees the right to bargain collectively is unreasonable because it means that they never have to cut back in times of fiscal crises like the one we are facing now, whereas those in the private sector would have to face cutbacks under these circumstances. Others say that public employees still face the same workplace issues that private sector workers do and that they should have the same rights to organize and bargain in the way that private sector workers do. Which is closer to your view?

Giving public employees the right to bargain collectively is unreasonable because it means that they never have to cut back in times of fiscal crises like the one we are facing now, whereas those in the private sector would have to face cutbacks under these circumstances 44%

Public employees still face the same workplace issues that private sector workers do, and they should have the same rights to organize and bargain in the way that private sector workers do 48%

Not sure 8%

54. Some people say that limiting collective bargaining will result in more reasonable benefits for public employees and thus help states close their budget gaps. Others say that it is unclear how much money will actually be saved by limiting these rights. Which is closer to your view?

Limiting collective bargaining will result in more reasonable benefits for public 33%

employees and thus help states close their budget gaps

It is unclear how much money will actually be saved by limiting these rights	56%
Not sure	11%

55. Some people say that collective bargaining is an essential right of public employees. Budget problems that states face are the result of mismanagement and overspending, and public sector workers have bargained for the pay and benefits that they have received and have earned them by receiving higher levels of training and education. Others say that collective bargaining gives public sector employees an effective monopoly control over the government's workforce, giving the unions too much power over government budgets, which they use to get too much public money spent for their salaries and benefits. Which position is closer to your view?

Collective bargaining is an essential right of public employees. Budget problems that states face are the result of mismanagement and overspending, and public sector workers have bargained for the pay and benefits that they have received	36%
Collective bargaining gives public sector employees an effective monopoly control over the government's workforce, allowing the unions to get too much public money spent for their salaries and benefits	54%
Not sure	10%

56. Some proposed bills that would limit collective bargaining for public employees would allow elected officials and school boards to make their own decisions about increasing health-insurance premiums and other benefits for public employees without any consultation with public employee unions. Do you think this is fair or unfair?

Fair	34%
Unfair	58%
Not sure	9%

57. Some proposed bills that would limit collective bargaining for public employees would require public employees to pay at least 15% of their health-insurance premiums. Do you favor or oppose requiring public employees to pay at least 15% of their health-insurance premiums?

TOTAL FAVOR	71%
TOTAL OPPOSE	24%
Strongly favor	47%
Somewhat favor	23%
Strongly oppose	12%
Somewhat oppose	12%
Not sure	5%

58. Some proposed bills that would reduce public sector employee benefits would phase out tenure for new teachers and for current teachers who have yet to attain it. Do you favor or oppose phasing out tenure for teachers?

TOTAL FAVOR	57%
TOTAL OPPOSE	34%
Strongly favor	43%
Somewhat favor	14%
Strongly oppose	16%
Somewhat oppose	19%
Not sure	9%

59. Some people say that tenure for teachers should be phased out because tenure protects bad teachers from being fired while making it harder to bring in new and better teachers. Others say that teacher tenure is a long-standing right for public school teachers and that it would be unfair for it to be taken away from them. Which opinion is closer to your view?

Tenure for teachers should be phased out because tenure protects bad teachers from being fired while making it harder to bring in new and better teachers	56%
Teacher tenure is a long-standing right for public school teachers, and it would be unfair for it to be taken away from them	39%
Not sure	5%

Pension Plans

Now I'm going to ask a few questions about pension plans and how they may be offered to employees.

60. States are now moving away from defined benefit programs, in which employees are guaranteed a set payment upon retirement based on their salary and years of work, to defined contribution programs (which most private sector workers are enrolled in), in which both the employer and employee contribute toward the retirement plan and the actual payout is based on the investment return. This is because defined benefit programs are too expensive. Which retirement plan do you favor?

Defined benefit programs	28%
Defined contribution programs	61%
Not sure	10%

61. Do you favor or oppose giving public employees a choice between participating in a defined benefit plan or a defined contribution plan?

TOTAL FAVOR	61%
TOTAL OPPOSE	31%
Strongly favor	29%
Somewhat favor	32%
Strongly oppose	17%
Somewhat oppose	15%
Not sure	8%

62. Do you favor or oppose moving all new public employees from a defined benefit plan to a defined contribution plan?

TOTAL FAVOR	69%
TOTAL OPPOSE	17%
Strongly favor	46%
Somewhat favor	23%
Strongly oppose	7%
Somewhat oppose	9%
Not sure	14%

63. Some say that public sector retirees should have to pay a share of the cost of their health-care benefits that is approximately equal to what those in the private sector have to pay because this is fair and creates rough equivalence between public and private sector workers. Others say that retired public sector employees should not have to pay any share of their health-care benefits because that would be taking away benefits from people who successfully bargained to get them in the past. Which is closer to your view?

Public sector retirees should have to pay a share of the cost of their health-care benefits that is approximately equal to what those in the private sector have to pay because this is fair and creates rough equivalence between public and private sector workers	57%
Retired public sector employees should not have to pay any share of their health-care benefits because that would be taking away benefits from people who successfully bargained to get them in the past	37%
Not sure	6%

64. How important is it to require state and local governments to maintain accounts that have enough money to fully fund pensions and retiree health benefits for those who are currently retired?

TOTAL IMPORTANT	91%
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TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	6%
Very important	70%
Somewhat important	21%
Not very important	2%
Not at all important	4%
Not sure	3%

65. Some people say that it is important for state and local governments to maintain accounts that have enough money to fully pay the pensions and health benefits for those who are going to retire in the next 15 years. Others say that this is unrealistic and goes too far and that it is more important to be able to pay for government services now than to keep money for the future. Which position is closer to your view?

It is important for state and local governments to maintain accounts that have enough money to fully pay the pensions and health benefits for those who are going to retire in the next 15 years	61%
This is unrealistic and goes too far, and it is more important to be able to pay for government services now than to keep money for the future	31%
Not sure	8%

66. [If important] Would you be willing to cut government programs like health and education in order to be able to do this?

Yes	28%
No	63%
Not sure	9%

67. Would you support your state or local government continuing to pay public employee benefits at current levels if it meant that the hours of operation at libraries and parks were reduced?

Yes	56%
No	38%
Not sure	5%

68. Would you support your state or local government continuing to pay public employee benefits at current levels if it meant that the hours, cleanliness and expansion of public transit services would be reduced?

Yes	24%
No	58%
Not sure	18%

69. Would you support your state or local government continuing to pay public employee benefits at current levels if it meant that the regularity in trash collection would be reduced?

Yes	45%
No	36%
Not sure	19%

70. Would you support your state or local government continuing to pay public employee benefits at current levels if it meant that the number of police officers on the street would be reduced?

Yes	23%
No	69%
Not sure	9%

LABOR UNIONS

71. In general, do you think that the salaries and benefits of most public employees are too high for the work that they do? Too low for the work that they do? Or are their salaries and benefits about right for the work that they do?

Too high	41%
Too low	13%
About right	32%
Not sure	14%

72. Do you think police officers and firefighters should be able to retire after 25 years of service and begin collecting pension checks, even if they are in their forties or fifties, or should they have to be older than that to retire and collect pension checks, regardless of the number of years they have served?

They should be able to retire after 25 years and begin collecting pension checks, even if they are in their forties or fifties	38%
They should have to be older than that to retire and collect pension checks	57%
Not sure	5%

73. Do you think teachers should be able to retire after a set period of service and begin collecting pension checks, even if they are younger than 65, or should they not be able to do this?

They should be able to retire and collect pension checks even if they are younger than 65	47%
They should not be able to	48%
Not sure	5%

74. From what you know, at what age can public sector employees retire with full benefits?

Under 50	6%
50–54	9%
55–59	22%
60–62	10%
63–65	20%
66–69	5%
70 and older	2%
There is not a set age	13%
Not sure	13%

75. At what age do you *think* public sector employees should be allowed to retire with full benefits?

Under 50	2%
50	4%
55	14%
60	20%
65	45%
70	5%
Over 70	2%
Not sure	8%

76. From what you know, how many years of service are typically required before public sector employees can retire with full benefits, regardless of their age?

Under 25	15%
25–30	36%
30–35	21%

35–40	2%
40–45	2%
Over 45	6%
There is not a set requirement	4%
Not sure	14%

77. How many years of service do you *think* should be required before public sector employees are allowed to retire with full benefits, regardless of their age?

Under 25	9%
25–30	35%
30–35	23%
35–40	13%
40–45	3%
Over 45	6%
Not sure	9%

78. From what you know, what percentage of their salaries are government workers required to contribute toward their pensions?

0%	8%
1%–5%	11%
5%–10%	12%
Over 10%	8%
There is not a set percentage	14%
Not sure	45%

79. What percentage of their salaries *should* government workers be required to contribute toward their pensions?

0%	2%
1%–5%	17%
5%–10%	36%
Over 10%	24%
Not sure	21%

80. Do you worry about being able to provide for your own retirement, both in terms of savings and health care?

Yes	70%
No	27%
Not sure	3%

81. Do you worry about being able to provide for your parents' retirement?

Yes	26%
No	72%
Not sure	2%

QUESTIONS ABOUT SPECIFIC STATES
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82. Did you hear what happened in Wisconsin in the fight over collective bargaining?

Yes	64%
No	35%
Not sure	1%

83. [If yes] In that fight, did you side with the Republican governor or with Democrats in the legislature?

Governor	52%
Democrats in the legislature	40%
Not sure	8%

84. The Wisconsin law that was passed eliminates most collective bargaining rights for most Wisconsin teachers, road workers and other public employees, and it requires them to pay more toward pensions and health coverage. Firefighters and police officers can still bargain collectively. Do you favor or oppose this law?

TOTAL FAVOR	45%
TOTAL OPPOSE	49%
Strongly favor	19%
Somewhat favor	26%
Strongly oppose	33%
Somewhat oppose	16%
Not sure	6%

85. Did you hear what happened in Ohio in the fight over collective bargaining?

Yes	41%
No	55%
Not sure	4%

86. [If yes] Did you side with the Republican governor or with Democrats in the legislature?

Governor	54%
Democrats in the legislature	33%
Not sure	13%

87. The Ohio law that was passed eliminates most collective bargaining rights for all public sector employees, including police and firefighters. The law also permits city councils and school boards to impose their side's final contract offer when management and union fail to reach a settlement. Do you favor or oppose this law?

TOTAL FAVOR	40%
TOTAL OPPOSE	45%
Strongly favor	19%
Somewhat favor	21%
Strongly oppose	29%
Somewhat oppose	16%
Not sure	15%

88. New York addressed its budget crisis by cutting spending across the board by 2% but not raising any taxes. Do you favor or oppose this plan?

TOTAL FAVOR	71%
TOTAL OPPOSE	18%
Strongly favor	46%
Somewhat favor	25%
Strongly oppose	10%
Somewhat oppose	8%
Not sure	10%

89. Illinois addressed its budget crisis not by decreasing spending but by delaying the payment of billions of dollars in unpaid bills and by raising state income taxes. Do you favor or oppose this plan?

TOTAL FAVOR	22%
TOTAL OPPOSE	69%
Strongly favor	7%
Somewhat favor	15%
Strongly oppose	44%
Somewhat oppose	24%
Not sure	10%

90. California addressed its budget crisis by passing a bill that has some spending cuts but primarily relies on an expected \$4 billion in revenues in the incoming fiscal year. If the revenues don't come to fruition, deeper spending cuts will be triggered. Do you favor or oppose this plan?

TOTAL FAVOR	47%
TOTAL OPPOSE	32%
Strongly favor	22%
Somewhat favor	25%
Strongly oppose	17%
Somewhat oppose	15%
Not sure	21%

91. New Jersey balanced its budget by underfunding the state's pension funds by \$3 billion. Its plan raised spending by 1% and did not raise taxes. Do you favor or oppose this plan?

TOTAL FAVOR	36%
TOTAL OPPOSE	54%
Strongly favor	16%
Somewhat favor	20%
Strongly oppose	32%
Somewhat oppose	22%
Not sure	9%

END SERIES

92. Given all the information you have heard about budget deficits and public employee benefits, do you favor or oppose requiring current public sector employees to contribute more toward their health-care benefits if state or local governments are facing economic problems?

TOTAL FAVOR	72%
TOTAL OPPOSE	23%
Strongly favor	46%
Somewhat favor	26%
Strongly oppose	13%
Somewhat oppose	10%
Not sure	5%

93. Do you favor or oppose requiring current public sector retirees to contribute more toward their benefits if state or local governments are facing economic problems?

TOTAL FAVOR	47%
TOTAL OPPOSE	47%
Strongly favor	25%
Somewhat favor	22%
Strongly oppose	26%
Somewhat oppose	21%
Not sure	6%

94. Do you favor or oppose raising taxes if state or local governments are facing economic problems?

TOTAL FAVOR	38%
TOTAL OPPOSE	58%
Strongly favor	17%
Somewhat favor	20%
Strongly oppose	40%
Somewhat oppose	18%
Not sure	5%

95. Do you favor or oppose legislation that would restrict collective bargaining like what was passed in Ohio and Wisconsin?

TOTAL FAVOR	41%
TOTAL OPPOSE	44%
Strongly favor	26%
Somewhat favor	14%
Strongly oppose	25%
Somewhat oppose	19%
Not sure	15%

DEMOGRAPHICS

96. Age

Under 18 [END]	
18–29	12%
30–39	14%
40–49	20%
50–64	32%
65 and older	21%

97. Gender

Male	46%
Female	54%

98. Race/Ethnicity

White or Caucasian	77%
Black or African-American	11%
Hispanic	10%
Asian	0%
Some other racial or ethnic heritage	1%

99. Party

Democrat	35%
Republican	35%
Independent	25%
Other	3%

100. Religion

Protestant (includes Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist, Episcopal, Presbyterian and other Christians)	45%
Evangelical	4%
Catholic	23%
Jewish	3%
Muslim	0%
Atheist or Agnostic	4%
Other	6%
None	10%
Not sure	4%

101. Do you consider yourself liberal, moderate or conservative?

Liberal	22%
Moderate	32%
Conservative	41%

102. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

Some high school or less	3%
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High school graduate	17%
Some college	24%
College graduate	27%
Some graduate school	4%
Graduate degree	22%
Technical school	2%

103. Are you currently employed?

Yes	59%
No	41%

104. [if yes] Do you work in the private sector or the public sector?

Private sector	66%
Public sector	31%
Nonprofit sector	2%

105. [if no] When you were employed, did you work in the private sector or the public sector?

Private sector	57%
Public sector	34%
Nonprofit sector	2%

106. Are you married?

Yes	66%
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	No	34%
107.	Do you have children under 18 living at home with you?	
	Yes	35%
	No	65%
108.	[if yes] Do your children attend public or private school?	
	Public	71%
	Private	12%
	Refused	17%
109.	Do you have children over age 18?	
	Yes	51%
	No	49%
110.	[If yes] Did or do your children attend a private college, a public university or technical school?	
	Private college	23%
	Public university	51%
	Technical school	8%
	Did not attend college	15%
111.	Do you belong to a union?	

	Yes	15%
	No	85%
112.	[If yes] Is it a public or private union?	
	Public	74%
	Private	23%
113.	Do you have a family member who is a public employee?	
	Yes	37%
	No	63%
114.	Region	
	New England	5%
	Middle Atlantic	15%
	East North Central	17%
	West North Central	7%
	South Atlantic	18%
	East South Central	6%
	West South Central	11%
	Mountain	5%
	Pacific	15%
115.	Income	

You and your family earn... less than \$20,000 annually	8%
\$20,000 to \$40,000	18%
\$40,000 to \$60,000	12%
\$60,000 to \$75,000	13%
\$75,000 to \$100,000	14%
Over \$100,000	18%
Not sure	17%

Methodology

Douglas E. Schoen, LLC conducted a national survey with 1,000 randomly selected voters during August 5–10, 2011. The margin of error for this survey is +/-3%. The survey was conducted by telephone using random digit dialing, which gives every phone subscriber and cell phone user a theoretically equal chance of being selected.