Douglas E. Schoen, LLC
Manhattan Institute State Survey
August 29–September 5, 2011
Survey of 400 registered voters in Ohio

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

1. Generally speaking, do you think the economy in your state is headed in the right direction or on the wrong track?

Right direction	20%
Wrong track	71%
Not sure	9%

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

TOTAL EFFICIENT	49%
TOTAL NOT EFFICIENT	42%
Very efficient	3%
Somewhat efficient	46%
Not very efficient	36%
Not at all efficient	7%
Not sure	8%

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.

3. Public sector employees receive salaries and two types of benefits: health care and defined benefit pensions, which guarantee workers a retirement income based on years worked and peak pay levels. Questions have been raised about whether salaries should be frozen and whether employees should be required to contribute more toward their benefits because state and local governments are having problems paying them due to budget deficits.

   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	47%
Public employees' salaries should not be frozen, and they should not be required to contribute more toward their benefits	39%
Not sure	14%

4. What about retired public employees? 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	26%
Public employee retirees should not have to	66%
Not sure	7%

5. If your state and local governments 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	29%

No	65%
Not sure	6%

6. 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	29%
No	62%
Not sure	9%

CRISIS WITH STATE BUDGETS AND PUBLIC EMPLOYEE BENEFITS

Now I'd like to ask a few questions about the crisis that many state and local governments faced this year over their finances.

7. From what you know, did your state face a budget crisis this year? And if so, how was the crisis resolved?

Yes, it was resolved with spending cuts	34%
Yes, it was resolved with tax increases	1%
Yes, it was resolved with a combination of spending cuts and tax increases	19%
Yes, it was resolved in another way [list]	18%
No, my state did not face a budget crisis this year	4%
Not sure	23%

8. 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	22%
State governments did not tax enough	9%
Public employees' benefits are too high and unsustainable	17%
Elected state officials made careless and self-serving decisions	44%
Not sure	8%

9. 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	18%

Cut government spending	39%
Require current public employees to contribute more toward their benefits	21%
Require retired public employees to contribute more toward their benefits	3%
Not sure	20%

10. What would you say is the least desirable way to address the problem? [read choices]

Raise taxes	39%
Cut government spending	15%
Require current public employees to contribute more toward their benefits	17%
Require retired public employees to contribute more toward their benefits	24%
Not sure	5%

11. Generally speaking, do you favor or oppose reducing or eliminating certain state services to reduce budget deficits?

TOTAL FAVOR	60%
TOTAL OPPOSE	34%
Strongly favor	25%
Somewhat favor	35%
Strongly oppose	26%
Somewhat oppose	9%
Not sure	6%

12. Do you favor or oppose increasing state sales, income or other taxes to reduce budget deficits?

TOTAL FAVOR	39%

TOTAL OPPOSE	58%
Strongly favor	14%
Somewhat favor	24%
Strongly oppose	39%
Somewhat oppose	19%
Not sure	3%

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.

13. 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?

TOTAL A LOT/SOME	86%
TOTAL NOT MUCH/NOTHING	13%
A lot	48%
Some	37%
Not much	9%
Nothing at all	5%
Not sure	1%

14. 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	50%
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	40%
Not sure	9%

15. 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	60%
TOTAL OPPOSE	36%
Strongly favor	33%
Somewhat favor	27%
Strongly oppose	26%
Somewhat oppose	10%
Not sure	4%

16. 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	27%
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	64%
Not sure	9%

17. 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	45%
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.	46%
Not sure	8%

18. 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 employees and thus help states close their budget gaps	38%
It is unclear how much money will actually be saved by limiting these rights	48%
Not sure	14%

19. 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	65%
Teacher tenure is a long-standing right for public school teachers, and it would be unfair for it to be taken away from them	31%
Not sure	4%

Pension Plans

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

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

TOTAL FAVOR	69%
TOTAL OPPOSE	21%
Strongly favor	38%
Somewhat favor	31%
Strongly oppose	11%
Somewhat oppose	11%
Not sure	9%

21. Some people say that public employees should be given the opportunity to participate in a defined contribution plan, which gives employees the power to make decisions and the ability to take the plan with them as they move from job to job because defined contribution plans offer investor choice and portability. Do you favor or oppose giving public employees a choice between participating in a defined benefit plan or a defined contribution plan to increase investor choice and portability?

TOTAL FAVOR	77%
TOTAL OPPOSE	17%
Strongly favor	41%
Somewhat favor	35%

Strongly oppose	8%
Somewhat oppose	9%
Not sure	6%

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

TOTAL FAVOR	62%
TOTAL OPPOSE	25%
Strongly favor	37%
Somewhat favor	25%
Strongly oppose	15%
Somewhat oppose	10%
Not sure	13%

LABOR UNIONS

23. In general, do you think 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	34%
Too low	12%
About right	39%
Not sure	14%

24. 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	52%
They should have to be older than that to retire and collect pension checks	41%
Not sure	8%

25. 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	57%
They should not be able to	38%
Not sure	5%

26. Public employee unions lobby and elect public officials with whom they later negotiate in the collective bargaining process. Do you think this gives them too much influence, or is this not really a concern?

This gives them too much influence	52%
This is not really a concern	42%
Not sure	6%

Outcomes of Reform

I'm going to read you a list of outcomes that people say will result from reforming the way public employees are compensated and the benefits they receive. For each, please tell me whether this is likely to happen as a result of reforming public employees' salaries and benefits.

27. Reforming public employees' salaries and benefits will equalize private and public sector salaries.

Much more likely to support reform	15%
Somewhat more likely	28%
Not more likely	43%
Not sure	14%

28. Reforming public employees' salaries and benefits will make government more efficient and effective.

Much more likely to support reform	18%
Somewhat more likely	29%
Not more likely	46%
Not sure	7%

29. Reforming public employees' salaries and benefits will help preserve key social programs by making government more efficient.

Much more likely to support reform	11%

Somewhat more likely	32%
Not more likely	48%
Not sure	9%

30. Reforming public employees' salaries and benefits will hold the line on taxes.

Much more likely to support reform	13%
Somewhat more likely	30%
Not more likely	42%
Not sure	15%

31. We have just asked about outcomes from reforming wages and salaries. Collective bargaining is the process by which these wages and salaries are negotiated. If there is collective bargaining reform, do you think it will make government more efficient and effective, or will it not make it more efficient and effective?

Government will become more efficient and effective	41%
It will not become more efficient and effective	45%
Not sure	14%

32. We have just asked about outcomes from reforming wages and salaries. Collective bargaining is the process by which these wages and salaries are negotiated. If there is collective bargaining reform, do you think it will equalize private and public sector salaries?

Yes	43%
No	47%
Not sure	10%

33. We have just asked about outcomes from reforming wages and salaries. Collective bargaining is the process by which these wages and salaries are negotiated. If there is collective bargaining reform, do you think it will help preserve key social programs by making government more efficient?

Yes	40%
No	46%
Not sure	14%

34. Do you think collective bargaining reform will make state budgets more resilient?

Yes	46%
No	38%
Not sure	16%

35. Which is more important to improving the state's finances: reforming the collective bargaining process, or reforming the way public employees are compensated and the benefits they receive?

Reforming collective bargaining	17%
Reforming public employees' salaries and benefits	59%
Not sure	24%

QUESTIONS ABOUT OHIO

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

Yes	73%
No	25%
Not sure	1%

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

Governor	43%
Democrats in the legislature	43%
Not sure	14%

38. The Ohio law that was passed eliminates most collective bargaining rights for all public sector employees, including police and firefighters, and bans public employee strikes and gets rid of automatic pay increases. 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	43%
TOTAL OPPOSE	52%
Strongly favor	25%
Somewhat favor	18%
Strongly oppose	37%
Somewhat oppose	15%
Not sure	6%

39. Some people say that this law will save the state money and is the logical response to shrunken budgets in towns, cities and counties. Others say that it will harm public employees and that it is unfair to take away these basic rights that they are entitled to and that they have earned. Which position is closer to your view?

This law will save the state money and is the logical response to shrunken budgets in towns, cities and counties	42%
It will harm public employees, and it is unfair to take away these basic rights that they are entitled to and that they have earned	54%
Not sure	3%

40. Generally speaking, do you favor or oppose giving greater flexibility to the State of Ohio to hire and fire workers and adjust their salaries?

TOTAL FAVOR	59%
TOTAL OPPOSE	34%
Strongly favor	34%
Somewhat favor	25%
Strongly oppose	23%
Somewhat oppose	12%
Not sure	7%

41. Public employee unions and other opponents of this law have petitioned to place a referendum on the November ballot to repeal the law. How likely are you to vote in the election this November?

TOTAL LIKELY	99%
TOTAL NOT LIKELY	0%
Very likely	88%

Somewhat likely	10%
Not very likely	0%
Not at all likely	0%
Not sure	1%

42. [if likely] Would you vote to repeal the law, or would you vote against repealing it?

Repeal	47%
Against repeal	34%
Not sure	19%

43. Governor Kasich and top Republican lawmakers have offered to meet with union leaders and make modifications to this law in an attempt to keep a repeal effort off the November ballot. Do you favor modifying the law as Governor Kasich has suggested, keeping it as is, or repealing it entirely?

Modify the law	24%
Keep it as is	28%
Repeal it entirely	42%
Not sure	6%

44. If you had to choose just between repealing it or keeping it, which would you do?

Repeal the law	60%
Keep it	36%
Not sure	4%

45. Some people say that this effort by Governor Kasich is a good-faith effort to make the law more acceptable to others. Others say that the governor and Republican lawmakers are just playing

politics now that opponents have gotten it on the ballot to be repealed. Which position is closer to your view?

This is a good-faith effort to make the law more acceptable to others	42%
The governor and Republican lawmakers are just playing politics	50%
Not sure	8%

46. Some say that people are leaving Ohio because of the high levels of taxes and high levels of spending on government programs and public employees in the state. Others say that this simply isn't the case and that this is not why people are leaving Ohio. Which position is closer to your view?

People are leaving Ohio because of the high levels of taxes and high levels of spending on government programs and public employees in the state	33%
This simply isn't the case	62%
Not sure	5%

47. Would you say that Ohio is favorable and friendly to business, or is it not friendly and favorable to business?

Favorable and friendly to business	50%
Not favorable and friendly to business	41%
Not sure	9%

DEMOGRAPHICS

48. Age

Under 18 [END]	0%
18–29	17%
30–39	17%
40–49	21%
50–64	27%
65 and older	17%
REFUSED	1%

49. Gender

Male	48%
Female	52%

50. Race/Ethnicity

White or Caucasian	83%
Black or African-American	11%
Hispanic	4%
Asian	1%
Some other racial or ethnic heritage	0%
REFUSED	1%

51. Party

Democrat	40%
Republican	36%
Independent	19%
Other	2%
REFUSED	3%

52. Religion

Protestant	50%
Evangelical	3%
Catholic	24%
Jewish	7%
Muslim	0%
Atheist or Agnostic	2%
Other	3%
None	6%
Not sure	5%

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

Liberal	21%
Moderate	33%
Conservative	44%
REFUSED	3%

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

Some high school or less	2%
High school graduate	17%
Some college	20%
College graduate	27%
Some graduate school	3%
Graduate degree	29%
Technical school	1%
REFUSED	1%

55. Do you belong to a union?

Yes	12%
No	88%

56. [If yes] Is it a public or private union?

Public	71%
Private	22%
REFUSED	7%

57. Income

You and your family earn… less than $20,000 annually	9%
$20,000 to $40,000	20%

$40,000 to $60,000	11%
$60,000 to $75,000	10%
$75,000 to $100,000	15%
Over $100,000	23%
Not sure	13%

Methodology

Douglas E. Schoen, LLC conducted interviews with 400 randomly selected voters from August 29 – September 5, 2011 in each of the following states: FL, IL, IN, MI, MT, NC, NY, OH, PA, WI. The margin of error for each of these surveys is +/-4.9%. Each 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.