

MEMORANDUM

TO: Interested Parties

FROM: Guy Molyneux & Mark Bunge, Hart Research Associates

DATE: November 9, 2011

RE: Survey Of Ohio Issue Two Voters

From November 6 to 8, Hart Research Associates conducted a telephone survey among 1,015 voters in the Issue Two election in Ohio. The survey, conducted on behalf of the AFL-CIO, has a margin of error of ± 3.3 percentage points. Twenty percent of the sample consists of voters interviewed November 6 and 7 who had requested a mail ballot and reported that they had already voted or were certain to vote, while eighty percent are voters interviewed on November 8 who had not requested a mail ballot and voted on Issue Two on Election Day. The survey data were weighted slightly to be consistent with the actual election results. This memo reviews the survey's main findings.

1. Opposition to Issue Two was both broad and deep, extending far beyond public employees and union members. Issue Two supporters lost the political center, with independents and moderates both rejecting the measure by double-digit margins.

- Fully 73% of voters in households with a public employee voted "no" on Issue Two, but opposition was by no means limited to public employees and their families. Voters in households with no public employee (about three-fourths of all voters) rejected the measure by 14 points, 57% to 43%.
- Ohio's union members overwhelmingly rejected Issue Two—14% yes, 86% no—as anticipated. But non-union members also voted "no" on Issue Two by 52% to 48%.
- Independent voters turned decisively against the measure, rejecting it by 57% to 43%, despite having supported Kasich by 16 points just a year ago (source: exit polls). Democrats were united in opposition, with 94% voting no. And while a majority (70%) of Republicans supported the measure, a substantial 30% minority of Ohio Republicans turned thumbs down on their party's effort to weaken collective bargaining rights. Among liberal or moderate Republicans, fully 42% defected and voted "no."
- Seven in 10 (70%) self-identified moderates cast a No vote, along with 92% of liberals. Surprisingly, more than a third (36%) of Ohio conservatives also rejected Issue Two.
- In another sign that Ohioans saw Issue Two as having broad economic significance, beyond its immediate impact on public employees, voters said by a significant margin that they believed Issue Two would have a mainly negative (52%) rather than positive (35%) impact on the state's middle class.

Broad Opposition To Issue Two

	Voted Yes	Voted No		Voted Yes	Voted No
Union Status			Ideology		
Non-union members	48%	52%	Liberals	8%	92%
Union members	14%	86%	Moderates	30%	70%
Public employee in HH			Conservatives	64%	36%
No PE in household	43%	57%	Party ID		
PE in household	27%	73%	Democrats	6%	94%
Race			Independents	43%	57%
Whites	42%	58%	Republicans	70%	30%
Blacks	7%	93%	Lib/Mod GOPs	58%	42%
Age			Conserv GOPs	77%	23%
18 to 39	34%	66%	2010 Vote		
40 to 59	38%	62%	Kasich	74%	26%
60/over	42%	58%	Strickland	9%	91%
Education/Whites					
Non-college grads	39%	61%			
College graduates	46%	54%			

2. Issue Two (SB5) was not the change that the people of Ohio voted for in 2010. Voters believe it was motivated by partisan politics rather than a genuine effort to reform government, and expected it to do more harm than good in terms of jobs, wages, education, and public safety.

- Governor Kasich and Republican legislators appear to have badly misjudged the mandate they received last year. Just 25% of Ohio voters feel that Issue Two (SB5) represented the kind of change voters were looking for in 2010, while 58% say they were calling for a different kind of change. Fully two-thirds (66%) of moderates, and even 47% of liberal/moderate Republicans, said Ohio was looking for a different kind of change.
- Ohioans overwhelmingly believe that public employees should be permitted to engage in full collective bargaining, negotiating over staffing levels and other working conditions as well as wages and benefits. Two-thirds (66%) of those voting say they favor public sector collective bargaining, including a 60% majority of independents and even a significant minority (43%) of Republicans.
- By a 20-point margin, voters felt that the effort by Governor Kasich and state Republicans to limit collective bargaining rights was a partisan agenda to weaken labor unions (53%) rather than a genuine effort to make state government more efficient (33%).
- Ohio voters were not convinced that Issue Two would have a positive impact in the ways its advocates claimed. By large margins, voters said they expected the impact of Issue Two to be more negative than positive with regard to wages and benefits for Ohio workers (20 points), public safety (20 points), public education (14 points), and jobs and the economy (12 points).

3. Passing SB5 and defending Issue Two has deeply wounded the Republican Party in Ohio, and lessened the GOP's chances of winning Ohio's electoral votes in next year's presidential contest.

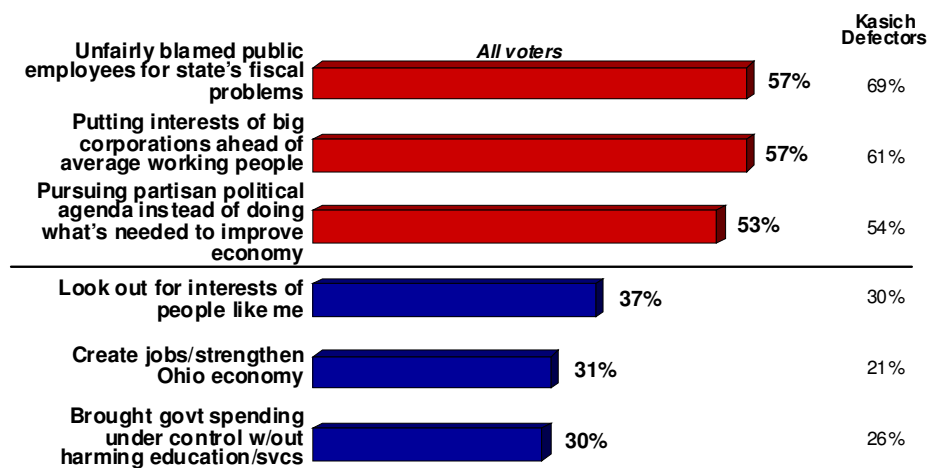
- The debate over SB5 and Issue Two appears to have fractured the coalition that put Republicans in power in Ohio in 2010. Overall, 26% of 2010 Kasich voters rejected Issue Two this year—a group we call “Kasich defectors.” These defectors will not be easy for Ohio Republicans to win back:
 1. Fully 62% of Kasich defectors now disapprove of Governor Kasich's job performance, while just 28% approve.
 2. About half (49%) approve of the job Republicans in the legislature are doing, while 39% disapprove.
 3. Eighty-seven percent (87%) support collective bargaining rights for public employees, and 65% call SB5 a partisan attack on unions rather than a genuine attempt to streamline government (14%).
 4. Only 12% believe SB5 was the type of change Ohio voted for when it elected Kasich and a GOP majority in 2010.
- Just 39% of all voters approve of the governor's job performance overall, including only 35% of independents and a mere 27% of moderates. Similarly, just 37% of voters—30% of independents and 27% of moderates—approve of the performance of Republicans in the legislature.
- Working-class voters are defecting from the Republican column in large numbers. Governor Kasich won white non-college voters by 14 points in 2010 (source: exit poll). However, these same voters opposed Issue Two by 22 points (61% to 39%), and just 41% now approve of the governor's job performance.
- Republican presidential candidates Mitt Romney and Rick Perry both voiced strong support for Issue Two. The survey results indicate that this is a position they may come to regret in 2012. By extraordinary margins of at least 30 percentage points, Ohio voters say they are *less* likely rather than *more* likely to support either Romney (49% less, 19% more) or Perry (51% less, 18% more) in next year's general election as a result of their support for Issue Two. The GOP has never won the White House without winning Ohio.
- Voters have a distinctly negative view of Ohio Republican leaders across several dimensions. A majority believe that these negative characterizations apply to Governor Kasich and legislative Republicans:
 - They have unfairly blamed public employees for the state's fiscal problems (57%).
 - They are putting the interests of big corporations ahead of average working people (57%).
 - They are pursuing a partisan political agenda, instead of doing what is needed to improve our economy (53%).

At the same time, most voters do NOT believe that Governor Kasich and legislative Republicans have made progress on their key priorities:

- They have brought government spending under control without harming education and other services (30%).
- They have created jobs and strengthened Ohio’s economy (31%).

Perceptions Of Governor Kasich And Republicans In Legislature

% saying each statement applies to the Governor & Republican leaders in Ohio



4. Now that Issue Two has been rejected, Ohio voters have a clear and strong message for state Republican leaders: *it's time to move on.*

- Voters were asked to consider what Republican leaders should do in the event that Issue Two were defeated. Only one-third (35%) of Ohio voters say that Republicans should try to pass similar legislation again, as they have indicated they might. A resounding 60% majority, however, says instead that the GOP should “drop the issue and move on to other matters.” Voters are emphatic on this point, with 55% saying they feel strongly that it is time to move on.
- Similarly, Ohio voters are prepared to punish legislators who, in the wake of Issue Two’s defeat, would nonetheless revisit legislation similar to SB5. By 24 points they report they are less likely (56%), rather than more likely (32%), to vote for a legislator or senator who supported a new bill to limit collective bargaining. Here again the center of the electorate is unified, with moderates (67% less likely, 22% more likely) and independents (53%, 25%) both strongly inclined to vote against such candidates.