## Oklahoma Voter Survey — December 2017

Hello, may I speak with [FIRST NAME ONLY] please?
My name is $\qquad$ . First, l'm not selling anything or asking for money. I'm from Harstad Research, the national public opinion research firm. We are doing a survey in your area, and would like to ask your opinion on some interesting topics. [ONLY If R asks:] Your name was selected purely at random from a list of registered voters, and this survey is being conducted for research purposes only.

I would like to confirm that I'm speaking with [FULL NAME FROM LIST].

## SCREENER

Sex [Do Not Ask] [n=502]
Male .................................................................................................... 48\%
Female.................................................................................................. 52\%
Party registration [ $n=502$ ]
Democrat ............................................................................................ 40\%
Republican......................................................................................... 54\%
Rest .................................................................................................. 6\%
Does anyone in this household work for a radio station, a TV station, or a newspaper?
No ...................................................................................................... 100\%
Yes.

- $\Rightarrow$ Terminate

DK/NS/ Refused.

- $\Rightarrow$ Terminate

Next November there will be an election for Governor and Congress. What is the chance that you will vote in that election - will you definitely vote, probably vote, are the chances 50-50, or will you probably not vote? [ $n=502$ ]

| Definitely vote | 83\% |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Probably vote | 15\% |  |
| 50-50. | 2\% |  |
| Probably not vote |  | $\Rightarrow$ Terminate |
| DK/NS |  | $\Rightarrow$ Terminate |

## Methodology

The December 2017 Oklahoma Statewide Voter Survey was conducted by Harstad Strategic Research, inc, the national public opinion research firm in Colorado. The survey results are based upon 502 random telephone interviews among likely November 2018 voters in the state of Oklahoma. Sample was obtained using a statewide voter list. Interviews were conducted by live interviewers reaching land lines and cell phones from December 7-12, 2017. A random sample of 502 has a worst-case $95 \%$ confidence interval of plus or minus $4.4 \%$ about any one reported percentage.

Some questions were asked of randomly selected subsamples, a very common practice in public affairs telephone surveys. Questions marked "Form A" / "Form B" or "Form X" / "Form Y", were each asked of half of the sample and these results have a worst-case $95 \%$ confidence interval of plus or minus $6.2 \%$ about any one reported percentage.

I'm going to read you the names of several people related to public affairs. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't recognize the name, please just say so. [Randomize after Obama; probe to differentiate neutral feelings versus don't know name] [ $n=502$ ]

|  | $\begin{aligned} & V / S \\ & \text { Pos. } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { S /V } \\ & \text { Neg. } \end{aligned}$ | Very Positive | Smwht Positive | Neutral | Smwht Negative | Very Negative | DK/NS |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a. Donald Trump........... | 57 | 38 | 38\% | 19\% | 5\% | 8\% | 30\% | *\% |
| b. Mary Fallin................ | 25 | 61 | 6\% | 19\% | 12\% | 24\% | 37\% | 2\% |
| c. The state legislature.. | 18 | 61 | 3\% | 15\% | 14\% | 29\% | 32\% | 7\% |

## [Form Y]

Now I'm going to read five possible issues facing Oklahoma state government. After I read all five please tell me which ONE you think should be the highest priority for Oklahoma state government? [Read and randomize items] [If Respondent says all or none, please try to force selection of one]

## [Ask if respondent had first choice in above Q]

And of the remaining four issues -- please tell me which one you think should be the next highest priority for Oklahoma state government? [Read and randomize remaining items] [If Respondent says all or none, please try to force selection of one]


## [Ask everyone]

If you had to choose, would you prefer -- [Rotate] government get off your back or government get on your side? [ $n=502$ ]
Government get off your back............................................................ 37\%
Government get on your side............................................................... 55\%
Both / Neither [Do not read] ................................................................ 3\% 3\%
DK/NS ................................................................................................ 5\% 5

## [Form Y]

Would you describe the taxes you pay to Oklahoma state and local governments as too high, too low, or about right? [If too high ask:] Is that much too high, or a little too high?

|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Dec } \\ \underline{2017} \\ {[n=249]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Sep } \\ \underline{2009} \\ {[n=600]} \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Too high. | 28\% | 43\% |
| Much too high | 14\% | 21\% |
| A little too high | 14\% | 22\% |
| Just about right | 58\% | 50\% |
| Too low. | 10\% | 5\% |
| DK/NS.... | 4\% | 2\% |

## [Form X]

And how would you the performance of [Read item, rotate Gov Fallin and State Legislature] excellent, good, only fair, or poor? [ $n=253$ ]

|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { ExcInt } \\ & \text { /Good } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Fair/ } \\ & \text { Poor } \end{aligned}$ | Excellent | Good | Only <br> Fair | Poor | DK/NS |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Governor Mary Fallin on having the right approach to funding public schools. | 12 | 87 | 1\% | 11\% | 26\% | 60\% | 1\% |
| The State Legislature on having the right approach to funding public schools $\qquad$ | 7 | 92 | 2\% | 6\% | 23\% | 69\% | 1\% |
| Your local state legislator on having the right approach to funding public schools................... | 21 | 72 | 7\% | 15\% | 29\% | 42\% | 7\% |

## [Form X]

Thinking about the issue of public education here in Oklahoma, which TWO of the following five values do you consider to be most important. [Read list, randomize] [ $n=253$ ]
Accountability..................................................................................... 62\%
Personal responsibility ........................................................................ 39\%
Fairness ............................................................................................. 33\%
Opportunity ......................................................................................... 31\%
Investment ......................................................................................... 27\%
DK/NS............................................................................................... 4\%

## [Form Y]

There has been mention of a teacher shortage in Oklahoma. How serious do you think the teacher shortage is in Oklahoma - [Randomize top to bottom and bottom to top:] Extremely serious, very serious, fairly serious, just somewhat serious, or not serious at all? [n=249]
Extremely / Very serious
72\%
Extremely serious .............................................................................. 35\%
Very serious ....................................................................................... 37\%
Fairly serious....................................................................................... 11\%
Just somewhat serious ....................................................................... 12\%
Not serious at all ................................................................................. 2\%
DK/NS.............................................................................................. 3\%
[Form X]
Who do you trust more when it comes to making the right choices on education funding and teacher salaries - [Randomize] - Governor Fallin, the Republicans in the state legislature, or the Democrats in the state legislature? [ $n=253$ ]
Trust Fallin more ..... 11\%
Trust Republicans in state legislature more ..... 30\%
Trust Democrats in state legislature more ..... 31\%
Neither [Do not read] ..... 22\%
All equal [Do not read] ..... 6\%
[Form X]
Compared to five years ago, would you say that public schools in your community have gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed pretty much the same?

|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Dec } \\ \underline{2017} \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Sep } \\ & \underline{2007} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | [ $n=253$ ] | [ $n=603$ ] |
| Gotten better | 6\% | 31\% |
| Gotten worse. | 40\% | 19\% |
| Differential: Better-Worse. | -34\% | +12\% |
| Stayed pretty much the same | 50\% | 44\% |
| DK/NS | 3\% | 6\% |

[Form X - Ask if respondent says "getting worse" in Q above]
[NOTE TO READER: Below is an open-ended question with coded volunteered comments. The$\%$ san exceed $100 \%$ because respondents could volunteer more than one comment. The NETseliminate double-counting within that category]
And what specifically would you say are the main reasons the quality of public education is gettingworse? [Probe for specifics] Anything else?
LACK OF FUNDING / LEADERSHIP / PRIORITIES (NET) ..... 73\%
Lack of funding / Budget cuts / keep slashing education funds ..... 47\%
Teachers are underpaid / demoralized ..... 25\%
Lack of leadership / extremely poor state and federal priorities ..... 16\%
Too much waste /many districts / administrators / no accountability for spending ..... 14\%
Extreme partisanship / gridlock ..... 5\%
Teachers union / tenure ..... 4\%
Legislature supporting faith based / charter schools ..... 2\%
QUALITY OF EDUCATION (NET) ..... 65\%
Teacher shortage / teachers leaving ..... 22\%
Too many unqualified teachers ..... 21\%
Students not learning / unable to read / don't know basics ..... 15\%
Lack of resources / don't have proper textbooks ..... 14\%
No accountability for discipline ..... 13\%
Overcrowded classrooms ..... 10\%
Too much emphasis on football / sports ..... 9\%
Too many days off / 4-day week ..... 6\%
Too much emphasis on testing ..... 4\%
SOCIAL ISSUES (NET) ..... 18\%
Lack of parental support / involvement ..... 7\%
Racial divisions ..... 5\%
Too much political correctness ..... 5\%
Too many undocumented immigrants / language barrier ..... 3\%
None I nothing in particular ..... 1\%

## [Ask everyone]

Do you think STATE funding for pre-Kindergarten through 12th grade public education in Oklahoma should be increased, kept at the same level, or decreased?

|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Dec } \\ \underline{2017} \\ {[n=502]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Sep } \\ \underline{2009} \\ {[n=600]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Sep } \\ \underline{2007} \\ {[n=603]} \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Increased | 76\% | 63\% | 74\% |
| Kept the same.. | 19\% | 25\% | 18\% |
| Decreased. | 3\% | 7\% | 3\% |
| DK/NS....... | 2\% | 5\% | 5\% |

## [Ask only if "Increased" in Q above]

And do you think STATE funding for pre-Kindergarten through 12th grade public education in Oklahoma should be increased EVEN if it means increasing taxes, or do you think STATE funding for pre-K through 12th grade public education should not be increased if it means higher taxes?

|  | ---------- All Voters --------- |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Dec | Sep | Sep |
|  | 2017 | 2009 | 2007 |
|  | [ $n=502$ ] | [ $\mathrm{n}=600$ ] | [ $n=603$ ] |
| Increase funding even if it means increasing taxes .. | 56\% | 39\% | 54\% |
| Funding should not be increased if it means higher taxes | 15\% | 21\% | 17\% |
| DK/NS. | 5\% | 3\% | 3\% |
| Not "increased" / not asked question ....................... | 24\% | 37\% | 26\% |

## [Ask everyone]

Do you think the pay for Oklahoma public school teachers is excessive, is at about the right level, or falls short of what it ought to be? [If "falls short," ask:] And do you think teacher pay falls a little short, somewhat short, or far short of what it ought to be? [Rotate follow-up answer choices top-to-bottom, bottom-to-top]

|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Dec } \\ \underline{2017} \\ {[n=502]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Sep } \\ \underline{2007} \\ {[n=603]} \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Teacher pay short. | 85\% | 78\% |
| Teacher pay is excessive. | 1\% | 2\% |
| Teacher pay is about the right level | 11\% | 15\% |
| Teacher pay falls a little short | 10\% | 14\% |
| Teacher pay falls somewhat short | 19\% | 27\% |
| Teacher pay falls far short | 55\% | 37\% |
| DK/NS...................... | 3\% | 4\% |

[NOTE TO READER: half of those asked this question heard the current pay levels for new teachers in Oklahoma as well as the average pay for all teachers (underlined below). The other half of those asked this question did not hear any information about teacher pay levels. As it turned out, there is no significant difference at all in their responses based upon whether or not they heard the information about teacher pay levels.]
[Form A1 - ask if teacher pay falls short in Q above]
Thinking about the typical public school teacher's YEARLY pay in Oklahoma, by how much total do you think teachers' average pay should be RAISED? To be clear we want to know how many MORE dollars per year teachers should get paid. Not a TOTAL annual salary but how much MORE on top of what they currently make [If 'DK/NS,' say:] Just as your best guess, what would you say? [Be sure respondent understands the time-scale, yearly pay, and it is a one-time increase in yearly pay
[Form A2 - ask if teacher pay falls short in $Q$ above]
As it happens, the starting pay for new teachers in Oklahoma is $\$ 31,600$. And the average pay for all teachers here is $\$ 45,000$. How much of a RAISE do you think average teachers should get? To be clear we want to know how many MORE dollars per year teachers should get paid. Not a TOTAL annual salary but how much MORE on top of what they currently make [If 'DK/NS,' say:] Just as your best guess, what would you say? [Be sure respondent understands the time-scale, yearly pay, and it is a one-time increase in yearly pay

|  | All <br> Voters <br> $[n=252]$ | 18a2 <br> Heard <br> Salary <br> Levels <br> $[n=109]$ | 18a1 <br> Didn't <br> Hear |
| :---: | :---: | ---: | ---: |
| $\frac{\text { Salaries }}{[n=143]}$ |  |  |  |

[Form B1 - ask if teacher pay "falls short" in the prior $Q$ about teacher pay]
[NOTE TO READER: Below is an open-ended question with coded volunteered comments. The
\%s can exceed 100\% because respondents could volunteer more than one comment. The NETs
eliminate double-counting within that category]
What do you think are the best specific reasons to increase public school teacher salaries? [Probe for specifics.] Any other reasons?
KEEPING BEST / QUALIFIED TEACHERS (NET) ..... 62\%
Need better / qualified teachers ..... 26\%
So teachers don't leave / keep teachers in Oklahoma ..... 24\%
Retaining the best teachers ..... 16\%
Recruiting more teachers / teacher shortage ..... 15\%
PAY TEACHERS WHAT THEY DESERVE (NET) ..... 61\%
You have to pay teachers what they deserve / overworked / paid too low for too long ..... 29\%
Oklahoma ranks at the bottom on teacher pay / can earn more in other states / careers ..... 23\%
No accountability for spending / overpaid administrators ..... 9\%
Budget cuts / keep slashing education funds ..... 9\%
No choice / need to increase taxes to pay teachers more ..... 7\%
Lack of leadership / extremely poor state and federal priorities ..... 6\%
Too much government waste / not prioritizing education ..... 5\%
Other options / oil production tax ..... 3\%
IMPROVING EDUCATION (NET) ..... 45\%
Educating our children / teaching next generation is most important for the state ..... 23\%
To improve quality of education / improve rankings ..... 16\%
To make sure Oklahoma kids can compete / work ..... 13\%
Good education / schools are good for the economy / jobs ..... 7\%
Support student learning / schools shouldn't be for profit ..... 6\%
DK/NS ..... 1\%
[Ask everyone]If additional STATE money is spent on pre-Kindergarten through 12th grade public education inOklahoma, do you think the additional money is more likely to improve education, or is it morelikely to be wasted?

|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Dec } \\ \frac{2017}{[n=502]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Sep } \\ \underline{2009} \\ {[n=600]} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Sep } \\ \underline{2007} \\ {[n=603]} \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Improve | 56\% | 47\% | 43\% |
| Wasted. | 36\% | 43\% | 42\% |
| Both [Do not read] | 1\% | 1\% | 8\% |
| DK/NS. | 6\% | 8\% | 7\% |

Given the state budget deficit, the state government basically faces three choices. Please tell me which ONE of these three choices you most prefer: [Read list. Randomize] [ $n=286$ ]

Increase state revenue through raising some state taxes.................... 55\%
A few last resort, one-time final draws from rainy day reserve funds along with some cutbacks in state services

32\%
Very significant cuts in state health services including Medicaid ......... 6\%
DK/NS 7\%
[Ask only if respondent says "last resort final draws from rainy day funds" in the above question:]
And which one of these remaining two options would be your second choice? [Re-read remaining items. Randomize] [ $n=286$ ]

|  | All Voters |
| :---: | :---: |
| Most prefer: Increase state revenue thru raising some state taxes $\qquad$ |  |
| 2nd Choice: Increase state revenue thru raising some state taxes |  |
| Most prefer: Very significant cuts in state health services including Medicaid. |  |
| 2nd Choice: Very significant cuts in state health services including Medicaid. |  |
| DK/NS. | 9\% |

[Ask everyone]
Next, let me read you some different types of taxes that might possibly be raised to provide more funds for teacher pay. For each one, please tell me if you think raising that tax for higher teacher salaries would be a good idea, acceptable if necessary, or a bad idea. [Randomize first two items and then rotate remaining four items] [ $n=502$ ]

|  | Good Idea | Acceptable if Necessary | Bad <br> Idea | DKINS |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| State sales tax | 17\% | 41\% | 41\% | 2\% |
| Taxes on gas and diesel fuel | 19\% | 39\% | 41\% | 2\% |
| Taxes on cigarettes and tobacco products | 53\% | 22\% | 24\% | 1\% |
| Taxes on oil company's production, or gross production tax | 46\% | 26\% | 26\% | 2\% |
| Taxes on those with incomes over $\$ 250,000$ a year [Form $X, n=253]$. | 42\% | 34\% | 23\% | 1\% |
| Taxes on those with incomes over $\$ 500,000$ a year [Form $Y, n=249]$. | 54\% | 28\% | 16\% | 2\% |

[Ask everyone]
Let me read you a description of a ballot initiative that will appear on this November's election ballot. [READ CAREFULLY]
"Shall the Oklahoma gross production tax be increased from two percent to seven percent on all oil and gas wells. The $\$ 288$ million in extra tax revenue from this measure would be used to fund expanded early childhood education and an average five thousand dollar pay increase for public school teachers. The new funds will be audited every year, and NO funding could be used to increase the salaries of superintendents."

Now, if the election were held today on this ballot initiative, would you definitely vote YES, probably vote YES, probably vote NO, or definitely vote NO? [If 'DK/NS,' ask:] And if you had to say, would you lean toward voting YES or NO?

All
Voters
[ $n=502$ ]
Vote yes with leaners........................................................................ 70\%
Vote no with leaners ............................................................................. 28\%

Definitely vote yes............................................................................. 32\%
Probably vote yes ................................................................................. 37\%
Lean vote yes..................................................................................... $2 \%$
Lean vote no ....................................................................................... 1\%
Probably vote no .................................................................................. 14\%
Definitely vote no ................................................................................ 13\%
DK/NS .............................................................................................. 1\%.........

And finally, just a few questions for statistical purposes only..
May I ask how old you are? [ $n=502$ ]
18-34 ..... 10\%
35-39 ..... 5\%
40-44 ..... 6\%
45-49 ..... 9\%
50-54 ..... 7\%
55-59 ..... 12\%
60-64 ..... 13\%
65-69 ..... 9\%
70-74 ..... 11\%
75 or over ..... 20\%
DK/NS / Refused ..... -
Do you happen to live with any children age 18 or younger, or not? [Include kids at home part- time / weekends / partial custody] [ $n=502$ ]
Yes, live with children age 18 or younger ..... 26\%
No, do not live with children 18 or younger ..... 73\%
DK/NS ..... *\%
[Ask if live with children age 18 or younger in $Q$ above]
And do any of those children in your home attend kindergarten through 12th grade? [ $n=502$ ]
Yes, child/children attend $K$ thru 12th grade ..... 23\%
No, child/children do not attend K thru 12th grade ..... 3\%
DK/NS ..... -
Don't live with children in D2 / not asked question ..... 74\%
[Ask if Respondent is $K$-12 parent in $Q$ above]
Do your children attend a regular public school, a charter school, a religious school, a non-religious private school, or a home school? [Do not count college] [Multiple response OK][ $n=$ ]
Attends public school ..... 20\%
Attends charter school ..... 1\%
Attends religious/parochial school ..... 2\%
Attends non-religious private school ..... 1\%
Attends home school ..... 2\%
DK/NS-
Don't live with children in D2 / not asked question ..... 74\%
Kids do not attend K - 12th grade in D2a / not asked question ..... 3\%
[Ask everyone]
Are you married, single but living with a partner, separated, divorced, widowed, or have you neverbeen married? [ $n=502$ ]
Married ..... 67\%
Single, but living with a partner ..... 4\%
Separated / divorced ..... 10\%
Widowed ..... 12\%
Never married / single ..... 7\%
Refused ..... 1\%
Do you, or someone else in your household, happen to work at a public school? [Single responseonly, if applies to both respondent and someone else in household then please record under'respondent'] [ $n=502]$
Yes, respondent ..... 5\%
Yes, someone else in household ..... 4\%
No, no one works at public school ..... 91\%
DK/NS ..... *\%
Public school employee HH ..... 9\%
What is the last grade or level of school you have completed? [n=502]
Less than high school degree ..... 1\%
High school graduate ..... 20\%
Some college - but less than two years of college ..... 14\%
Some college - two years or more/AA degree ..... 19\%
College graduate/bachelors degree/BA/BS ..... 28\%
Postgraduate courses - but not currently enrolled / not a student now ..... 5\%
Masters degree ..... 10\%
MBA or law degree or PhD or MD ..... 1\%
DK/NS / Refused ..... 1\%
Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else? [If Democrat, ask:] Would you call yourself a strong Democrat, or a not very strong Democrat? [If Republican, ask:] Would you call yourself a strong Republican, or a not very strong Republican? [If Independent, ask:] Do you think of yourself as closer to the Democratic Party, closer to the Republican Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? [ $n=502$ ]
$\qquad$
Independent/DK35\%
Republican ..... 53\%
Strong Democrat ..... 19\%
Not strong Democrat ..... 11\%
Independent / lean Democrat ..... 5\%
Strictly Independent ..... 7\%
Independent / lean Republican ..... 7\%
Not strong Republican ..... 13\%
Strong Republican ..... 33\%
Other ..... 2\%
DK/NS ..... 2\%
Do you, or does anyone in your immediate family, happen to come from a Hispanic, AmericanIndian, African American, or Asian background? [lf 'no,' ask:] Just to be sure we're representingeverybody, may I ask your race? [DO NOT READ CHOICES] [n=502]
Hispanic, Spanish-speaking ..... 4\%
Asian ..... 1\%
White, Anglo, WASP, etc. ..... 73\%
African-American / Black ..... 5\%
Native American / American Indian ..... 12\%
Other / Mixed ..... 3\%
Refused ..... 1\%
DK/NS ..... 1\%
Thank you for taking our survey, your answers have
been very helpful.

