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## Wyoming has had a tumultuous 8 years...





## Wyoming Budget Roller Coaster...

- 2016: energy price decline => \$600 million decline in biennial revenue
- 2020: COVID recession => \$1 billion+ decline in state revenues for 2020 through 2022
- 2021: Revenue increases by ~\$850 million.
  - \$1.4 billion more than expected if federal funds accounted for.
- 2023: Surplus of approx. \$800 million due to strong revenues and previous cuts.

## Short term vs. Long Term....

- Downturns: severe cuts to budgets to fit revenue.
  - Longer term concerns about fiscal sustainability
- Upturns: Tax cuts and/or save for rainy day
  - Fuel taxes in response to high gas prices
  - Property taxes response to increased property valuations
- Lots of opinions from leaders on "what Wyomingites want"

## But what do they really want?

## Three basic choices in each "crisis"

- Increase revenues (raise taxes)
- Decrease expenditures (reduced services)
- Use savings/accumulate savings

Which choices do voters prefer given tradeoffs each implies?

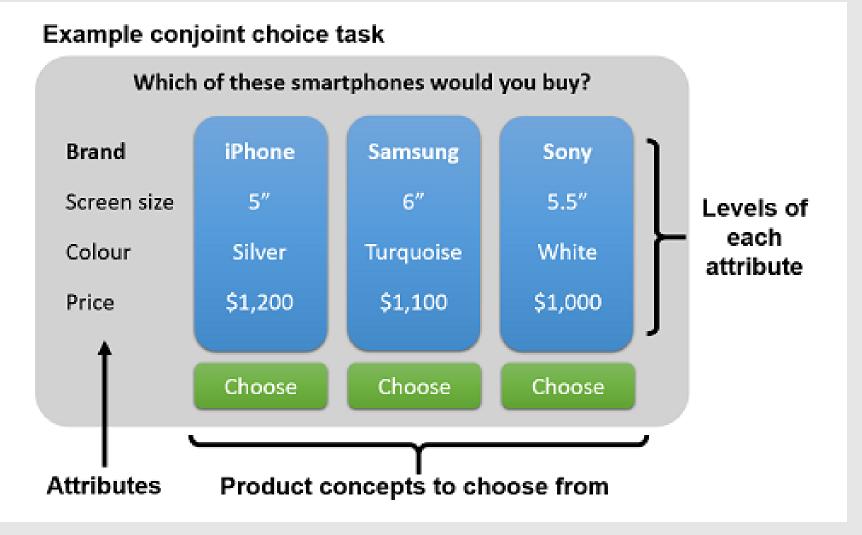
How close are Legislators' choices to voters'?

## Use a Discrete Choice Survey

- Standard elicitation surveys can be problematic
  - Often you get "support for everything" but more difficult to look at what is most important
- Choices must balance the budget as required by the state.
  - Mimic combinations of cuts or expenditure expansion, revenue, and saving decisions legislators might face.
    - Forces voters to appreciate tradeoffs (can't have everything what is most important?)
- Asked degree of concern/support preferred bundle (policy) had.
- Demographic questions/preference questions regarding top concerns

## **Trade-Off Analysis - Discrete-Choice Conjoint**





Possible changes to State Revenue and Expenditure	Potential choices and Annual impacts				
	No change (5.44%) – 2023 Wyoming average				
Changes in Sales and Use Taxes	5% decrease reducing revenue \$32 million				
	5% increase raising \$32 million				
	No change (.069%) – 2022 state average mill rate				
Changes in Residential Property Taxes	10% decrease, reducing revenue \$68 million				
	10% increase raising \$68 million				
	No change (\$.24/gal)				
Changes in Fuel Tax Rate	\$.15 (5%) decrease reduces road funding by \$105 million				
	\$.15 (5%) increasing road funding by \$105 million				
	No change				
Changes in State Budgets (From 2022-23 biennium)	5% decrease saving \$70 million				
	5% increase costing \$70 million				
	No change				
Change in K-12 Education (From 2022-23 biennium)	5% decrease saving \$60 million				
	5% increase costing \$60 million				
	No change				
Medicaid Expansion	50% expansion saving \$8 million				
	100% expansion saving \$16 million				

## Sample exercise

Please consider the three alternative budgets shown below and select the one you prefer.

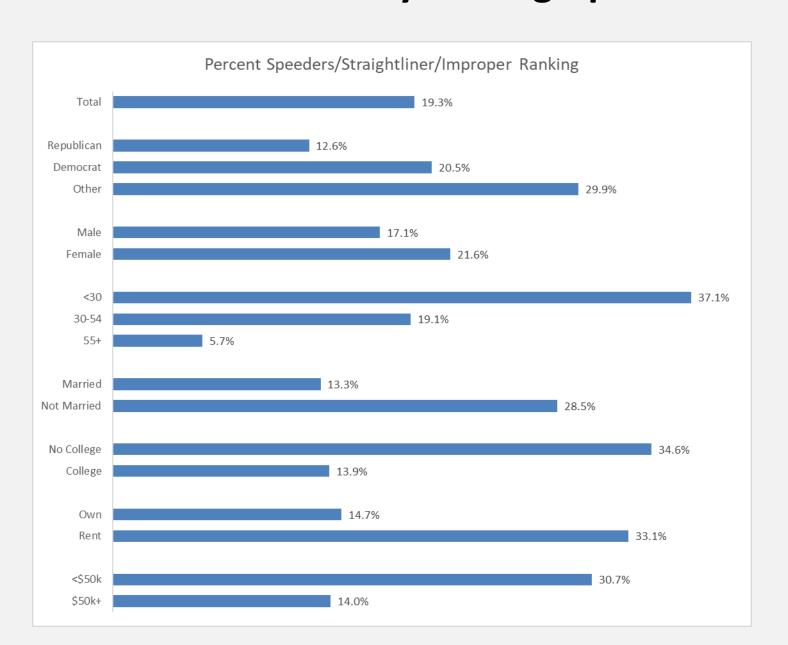
Policy Outcome	Alternative 1	Alternative 2	Alternative 3
Sales and Use Taxes (changes in total revenue paid by citizens and businesses for state share of sales and use taxes)	A 5% increase (5.71%) raising \$32 million for the state budget in 2023	A 5% decrease (5.17%) reducing revenue to the state budget by \$32 million in 2023	No change (5.44%) – 2023 Wyoming average
Residential Property Taxes (changes in total taxes paid by citizens for residential property tax)	A 10% decrease, costing state budgets \$68 million	No change	A 10% increase, raising \$68 million for the state budget.
Changes in Fuel Tax Rate (changes in total revenue paid by citizens and businesses for fuel tax) Note this only affects road funding but not state's general budget as WYDOT is self-funding and not part of General Fund	A decrease of \$.15 lowering the cost of gas by less than 5% and reducing road funding by \$105 million	No change (\$.24/gal)	An increase of \$.15 raising the cost of gas by less than 5% and increasing road funding by \$105 million
Changes in State Budgets (From 2023- 24 biennium)	A 5% increase costing \$70 million more in the state budget.	No change	A 5% decrease saving \$70 million in the state budget.
Change in K-12 Education (From 2023- 24 biennium)	No change	A 5% increase costing \$60 million in the state budget.	A 5% decrease saving \$60 million in the state budget.
Medicaid Expansion	A 100% expansion saving the state \$16 million.	No change	A 50% expansion saving the state \$8 million.
Rainy-Day Fund	Reduce Rainy-Day Fund by 5% -\$90M	Reduce Rainy-Day Fund by 5% -\$92M	Increase Rainy-Day Fund by 10% +\$206M

Which alternative do you like best?	
Alternative 1	
Alternative 2	
Alternative 3	
Would you support the alternative you like best?	
Support	
Support with concerns	

## Sampling for 2023 Survey

- Data collection done online in late November early December 2023
- All Wyoming counties proportionately represented
- Over 619 people took the online survey administrated by SDR Consulting
- 400 responses for final sample
  - eliminated those who "straightlined" the survey or did it under 7 minutes
  - also removed respondents who did not properly rank the two importance questions.

## **Excluded Survey Demographics**



#### Comparison 2019 Census WY Population 18+ to Survey Sample (n=400)

				Difference	Final county	Difference Final -
Wyoming Counties	Population 18+	Population 18+ %	Sample (n=400)	Sample-Population	Distribution	Population 18+
**Albany County	32,627	7.3%	14.0%	6.7%	8.3%	0.9%
Big Horn County	8,895	2.0%	4.3%	2.3%	4.5%	2.5%
Campbell County	33,768	7.6%	10.3%	2.7%	10.9%	3.3%
Carbon County	11,438	2.6%	3.3%	0.7%	3.5%	0.9%
Converse County	10,448	2.3%	2.5%	0.2%	2.7%	0.3%
Crook County	5,711	1.3%	2.8%	1.5%	2.9%	1.7%
Fremont County	29,260	6.6%	3.8%	-2.8%	4.0%	-2.6%
Goshen County	10,619	2.4%	0.8%	-1.6%	0.8%	-1.6%
Hot Springs County	3,506	0.8%	1.5%	0.7%	1.6%	0.8%
Johnson County	6,618	1.5%	1.8%	0.3%	1.9%	0.4%
Laramie County	76,574	17.2%	14.8%	-2.5%	15.7%	-1.5%
Lincoln County	14,600	3.3%	2.3%	-1.0%	2.4%	-0.9%
Natrona County	60,737	13.6%	13.8%	0.1%	14.7%	1.0%
Niobrara County	1,943	0.4%	3.0%	2.6%	3.2%	2.8%
Park County	23,235	5.2%	4.0%	-1.2%	4.3%	-1.0%
Platte County	6,691	1.5%	0.5%	-1.0%	0.5%	-1.0%
Sheridan County	24,047	5.4%	4.5%	-0.9%	4.8%	-0.6%
Sublette County	7,662	1.7%	0.0%	-1.7%	0.0%	-1.7%
Sweetwater County	31,375	7.1%	4.0%	-3.1%	4.3%	-2.8%
Teton County	19,264	4.3%	1.5%	-2.8%	1.6%	-2.7%
Uinta County	14,474	3.3%	3.5%	0.2%	3.7%	0.5%
*Washakie County	6,021	1.4%	2.5%	1.1%	2.7%	1.3%
Weston County	5,512	1.2%	1.0%	-0.2%	1.1%	-0.2%
Total	445,025		100%	100.0%	100.0%	

<sup>\*</sup>In original 400 completes, Washakie had 16% (n=65) versus census of 1.4%. Replaced 55 Washakie surveys with other counties.

\*\*An additional weight of 0.590 for Albany and 1.059 for all other counties

## Comparison 2019 Census WY Population 18+ to Survey Sample (n=400) (All analysis that follows will be weighted)

Demo	Completes (n=400)	2019 Census
Gender		
Male	51%	51%
Female	49%	49%
Age		
Under 30	11%	20%
30-49	55%	33%
50+	35%	47%
Education		
HS or less	24%	33%
Some college	39%	38%
4+ Yr college	37%	29%
Are you registered to vote as a:		
Republican	50%	57%
Democrat	21%	13%
Independent/not register by party in my state/other	17%	10%
Not registered voter	12%	20%

#### **Involvement with Wyoming Politics\* – By Different Bases**

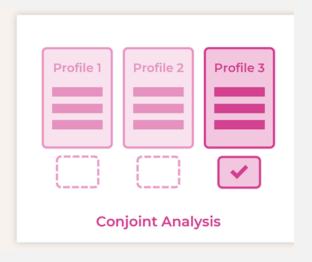
	Total	Female	Rent Home	HI - Under \$50k	Education ·	Most Important Sales Tax	Single Family Home	Voted in past year	Own Home	Reg as - Democrat	Reg as - Republican	Married	Most Important Medicaid Expansion	- 4+ years	Most Important K-12	Male	Employed Full/Part Time	
Agreement with your involvement with Wyoming politics (7-Point Scale)	Percent of Sample	50.7%	29.6%	34.5%	32.7%	11.8%	55.0%	24.2%	70.4%	12.7%	56.5%	54.1%	7.4%	28.8%	7.9%	49.3%	43.2%	27.3%
I feel I have a good handle on the Wyoming state budget	3.97	3.28	3.25	3.35	3.60	3.71	4.04	4.26	4.27	4.53	4.39	4.51	4.46	4.61	4.37	4.68	4.80	4.99
I follow the Wyoming legislative sessions closely	3.86	3.12	3.03	3.23	3.72	3.29	3.94	4.12	4.21	4.55	4.21	4.37	4.63	4.57	4.28	4.61	4.56	4.95
I have strong opinions on how money in the Wyoming state budget is allocated	4.70	4.03	4.13	4.12	4.42	4.57	4.90	4.98	4.94	5.27	5.09	5.24	5.37	5.24	5.36	5.39	5.34	5.56
I am directly affected by Wyomings tate budget decisions	4.99	4.50	4.52	4.64	4.50	4.75	5.01	5.37	5.18	5.25	5.32	5.45	5.55	5.66	5.58	5.48	5.50	5.74
I could do a better job on deciding budgetary matters than mystate elected officials	4.27	3.87	3.90	3.69	3.95	4.18	4.23	4.36	4.42	4.83	4.27	4.63	4.96	4.90	5.21	4.67	4.97	5.06
My state representative represents my best interests	4.58	4.18	4.11	4.15	4.43	4.29	4.56	4.36	4.78	4.34	4.95	4.82	4.35	4.67	4.80	4.99	5.08	5.33
My state senator represents my best interests	4.52	4.05	4.13	4.10	4.44	4.35	4.53	4.25	4.69	4.22	4.88	4.81	4.54	4.72	4.86	5.02	5.15	5.39



#### **Understanding of Discrete Choice Exercises - By Different Bases**

	Total	Most Important Sales Tax	Education - No college	HI - Under \$50k	Rent Home	Female	Reg as - Republican	Own Home	Voted in past year	Male	Single Family Home	Married	Important	Education - 4+ years college	Full/Part		Reg as - Democrat	Most Important Medicaid Expansion
Considering the exercises where you selected your preferred alternative Percent indicating "Yes"	Percent of Sample	11.8%	32.7%	34.5%	29.6%	50.7%	56.5%	70.4%	24.2%	49.3%	55.0%	54.1%	7.9%	28.8%	43.2%	27.3%	12.7%	7.4%
Did you understand the information that was presented to you?	91.7%	80.9%	81.9%	86.5%	89.4%	90.0%	93.0%	92.6%	94.6%	93.4%	96.4%	95.6%	95.7%	98.5%	97.8%	96.1%	98.8%	100.0%
Were you given enough background information to make informed choices?	86.4%	66.5%	81.5%	87.2%	81.5%	84.6%	84.8%	88.5%	90.9%	88.4%	90.9%	90.5%	93.6%	93.0%	91.0%	90.0%	96.9%	95.7%
Were you confident in your choices?	82.5%	69.1%	74.0%	73.3%	77.9%	75.0%	83.7%	84.5%	84.5%	90.3%	87.9%	91.4%	92.3%	90.3%	93.6%	95.0%	96.8%	100.0%
Did the alternatives seem realistic?	82.7%	76.4%	85.3%	78.8%	78.7%	80.5%	82.7%	84.5%	83.4%	85.0%	84.5%	87.9%	86.3%	87.8%	87.3%	91.3%	91.7%	93.1%

DISCRETE
-CHOICE
RESEARCH



Registered as - Republican

Registered as - Democrat

Registered as - Ind/Other

Not Registered

Registered Voter

Male

Female

Age < 30

Age 30-49

Age 50+

Married

**Not Married** 

Children under 18

Employed Full/Part Time

Student

Retired

Education - No college

Education - Less than 4 yrs

college

Education - 4+ years college

# Bases/Filters Used in the Analysis



Single Family Home

Not Single Family Home

**Own Home** 

**Rent Home** 

Household Income - Under \$50k

Household Income - \$50k - \$99k

Household Income - \$100k+

Voted in past year

Voted 1+ years ago/never voted

Either good handle or follow closely WY

budget

**Energy/Fossil Fuel/Mining Sector** 

K-12 Sector

**Higher Ed Sector** 

K-12/Higher Ed Sector

Most Important Sales Tax

Most Important Property Tax

Most Important Fuel Tax

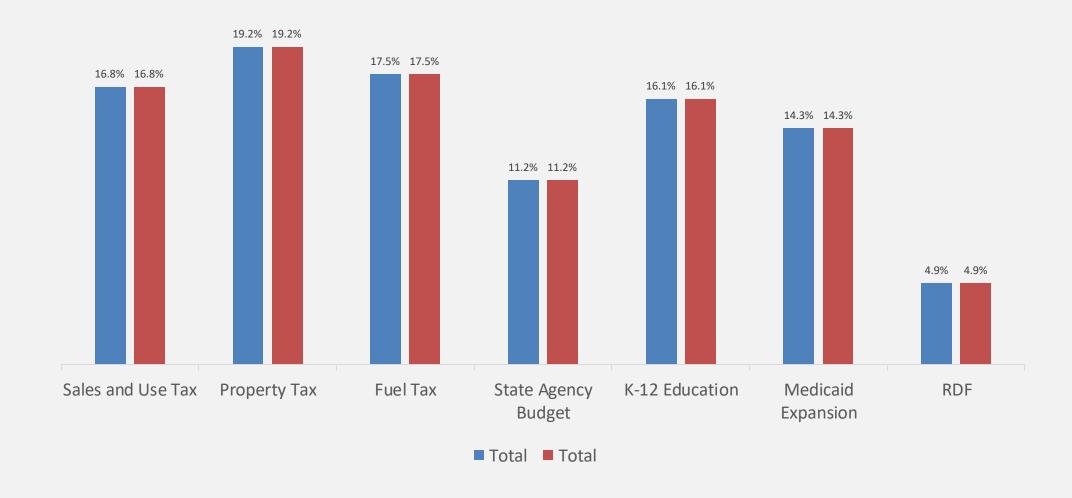
Most Important State Agency Budgets

Most Important K-12

Most Important Medicaid Expansion

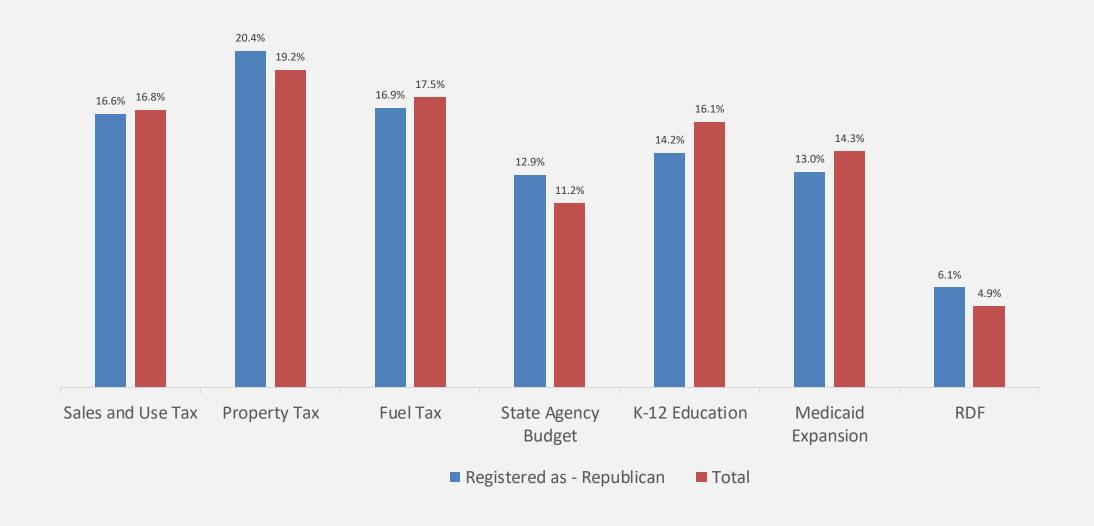


#### **Derived Importance\* – Total Sample**

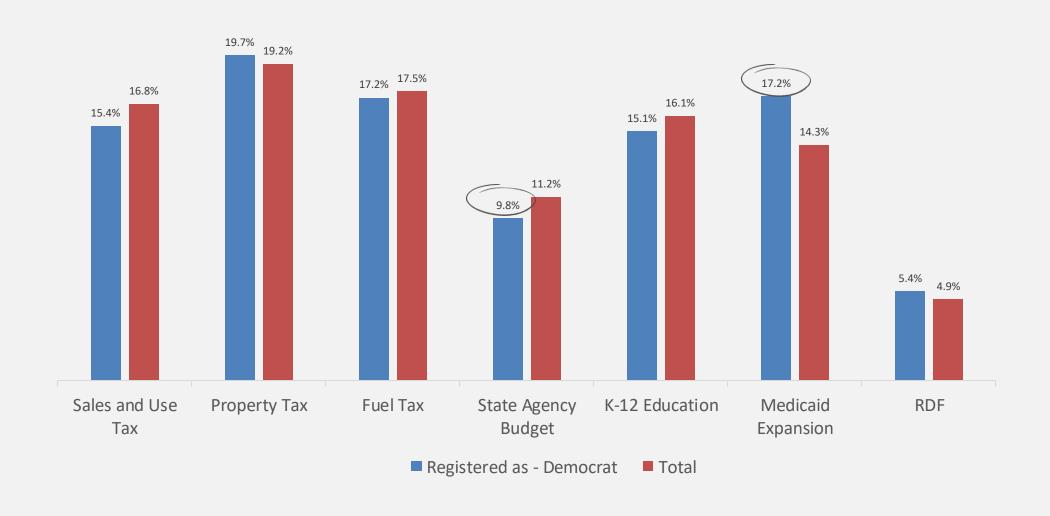


<sup>\*</sup>Importance derived form rank order question scaled with Thurstone Case 5

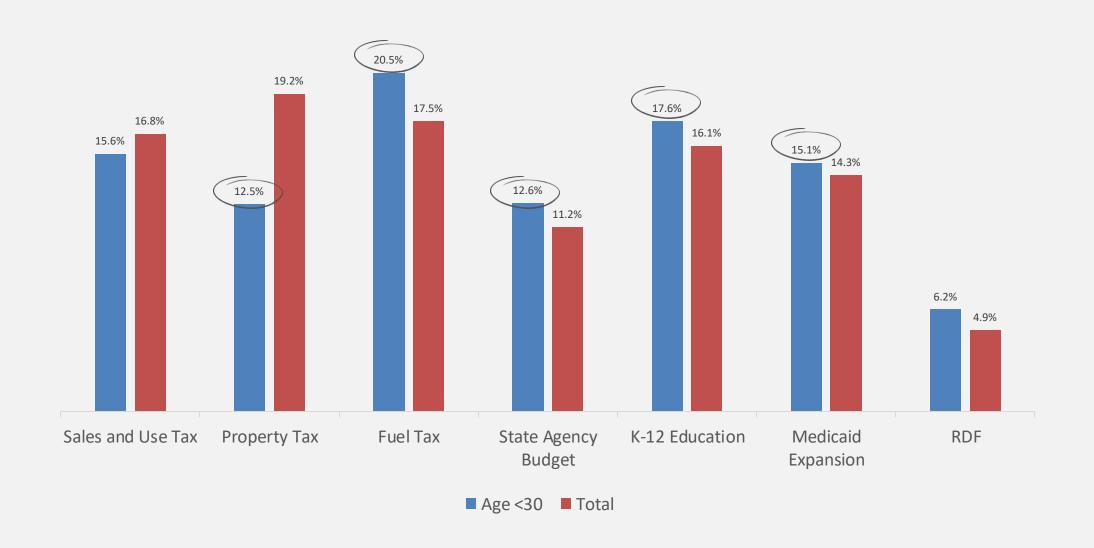
#### **Derived Importance – Republican**



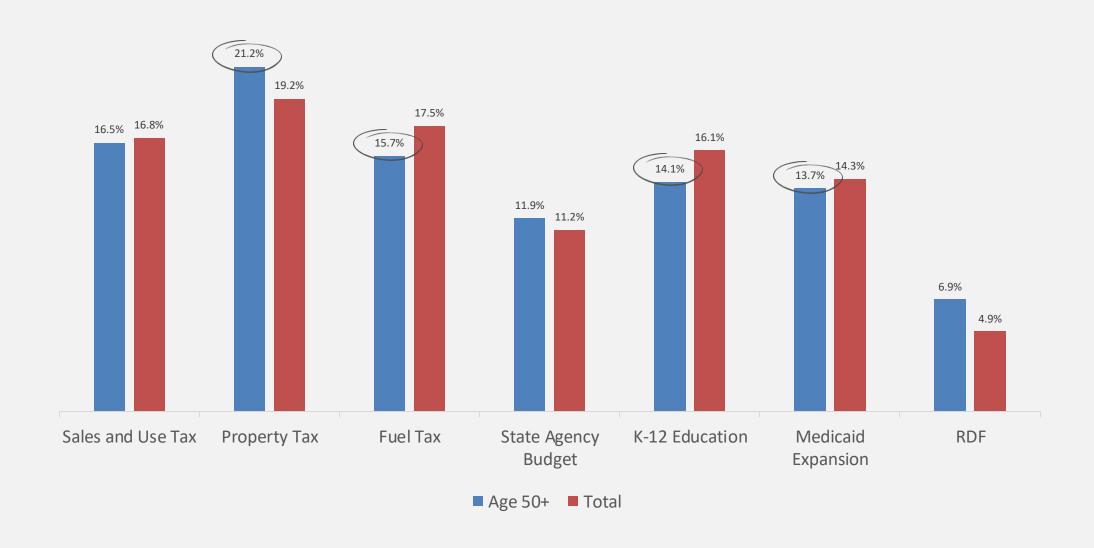
#### **Derived Importance – Democrat**



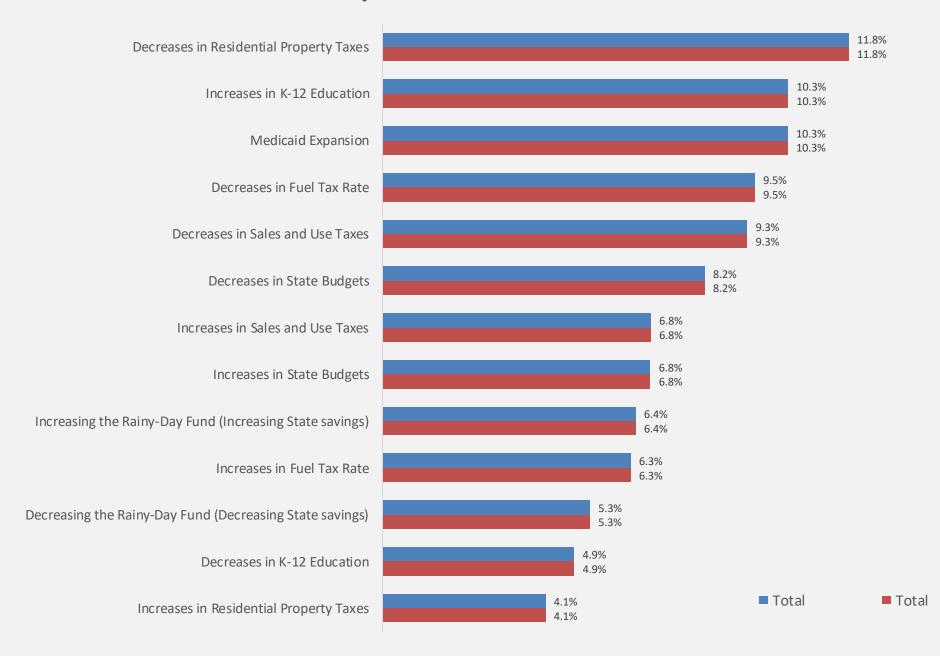
#### **Derived Importance – Age Under 30**



#### **Derived Importance – Age 50+**

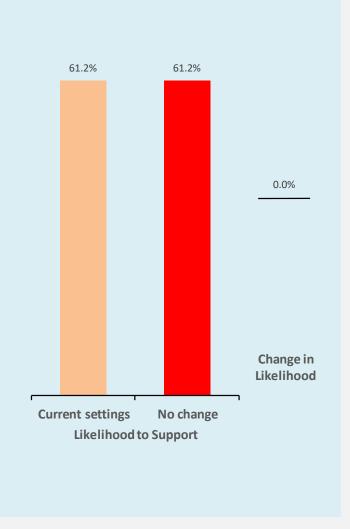


#### **Importance 13 Items**



### Likelihood to Support For No Change Total Sample

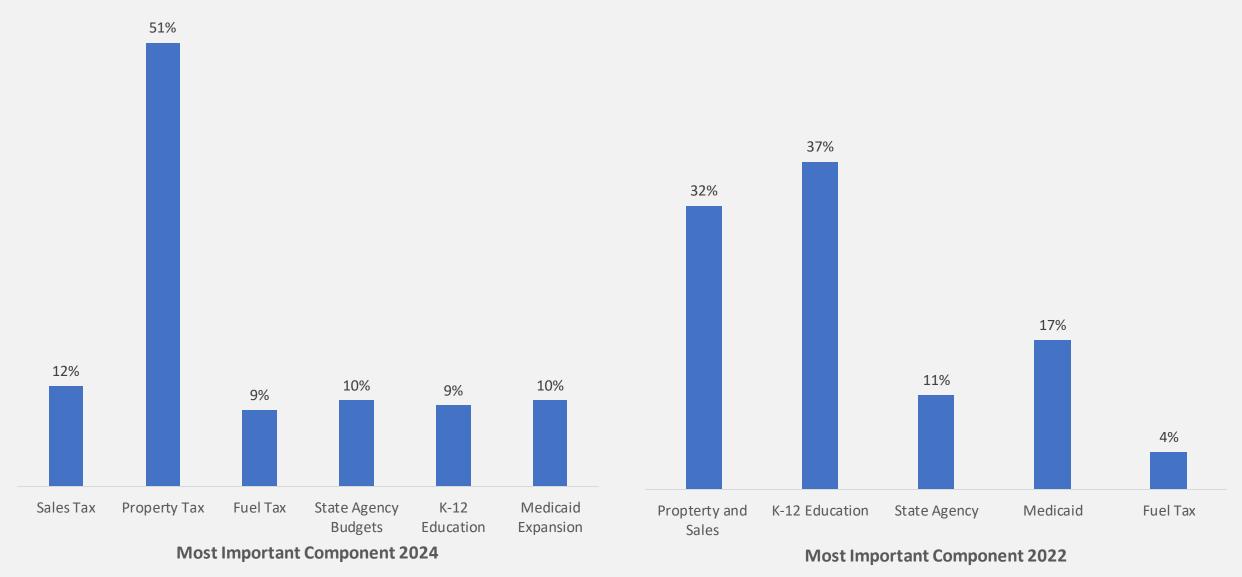
Component Description	Amount of Change		\$ Imapct on RDF (\$M)
Sales and Use Taxes	Decrease tax	0%	\$0
Property Taxes	Decrease tax No change Increase in taxes -10% -8% -6% -4% -2% 0% 2% 4% 6% 8% 10%	0%	\$0
Fuel Tax	Decrease fuel tax	0%	
State Agency Budgets	Decrease in state budgets No change Increase in state budgets -5% -4% -3% -2% -1% 0% 1% 2% 3% 4% 5%	0%	\$0
K-12 Educatioin	Decrease in K-12 Ed. No change Increase in K-12 Ed5% -4% -3% -2% -1% 0% 1% 2% 3% 4% 5%	0%	\$0
Medicaid Expansion	No change Expand Medicaid 0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%		\$0
Painy Day Fund	Change in Fund		\$0
Rainy Day Fund	Balance		\$2,000



## Likelihood to Support For No Change By Base

	Current Setting*	Base	Difference
Total	61.2%	61.2%	0.0%
Registered as - Republican	61.8%	61.8%	0.0%
Registered as - Democrat	63.6%	63.6%	0.0%
Registered as - Ind/Other	59.8%	59.8%	0.0%
Not Registered	58.8%	58.8%	0.0%
Registered Voter	61.8%	61.8%	0.0%
Male	60.8%	60.8%	0.0%
Female	61.7%	61.7%	0.0%
Age <30	58.6%	58.6%	0.0%
Age 30-49	63.6%	63.6%	0.0%
Age 50+	60.8%	60.8%	0.0%
Married	61.7%	61.7%	0.0%
Not Married	60.6%	60.6%	0.0%
Children under 18	62.3%	62.3%	0.0%
Employed Full/Part Time	62.2%	62.2%	0.0%
Student	54.2%	54.2%	0.0%
Retired	60.6%	60.6%	0.0%
Education - No college	60.8%	60.8%	0.0%
Education - Less than 4 yrs college	62.0%	62.0%	0.0%
Education - 4+ years college	60.9%	60.9%	0.0%
Single Family Home	61.6%	61.6%	0.0%
Not Single Family Home	60.8%	60.8%	0.0%
Own Home	61.1%	61.1%	0.0%
Rent Home	61.7%	61.7%	0.0%
Household Income - Under \$50k	60.7%	60.7%	0.0%
Household Income - \$50k - \$99k	61.6%	61.6%	0.0%
Household Income - \$100k+	62.7%	62.7%	0.0%
Voted in past year	61.7%	61.7%	0.0%
Voted 1+ years ago/never voted	61.1%	61.1%	0.0%
Either good handle or follow closely WY budget	61.2%	61.2%	0.0%
Energy/Fossil Fue/Mining Sector	60.3%	60.3%	0.0%
K-12 Sector	58.9%	58.9%	0.0%
Higher Ed Sector	58.6%	58.6%	0.0%
K-12/Higher Ed Sector	58.5%	58.5%	0.0%
Most Important Sales Tax	60.9%	60.9%	0.0%
Most Important Property Tax	61.6%	61.6%	0.0%
Most Important Fuel Tax	60.2%	60.2%	0.0%
Most Important State Agency Budgets	61.2%	61.2%	0.0%
Most Important K-12	60.0%	60.0%	0.0%
Most Important Medicaid Expansion	62.0%	62.0%	0.0%

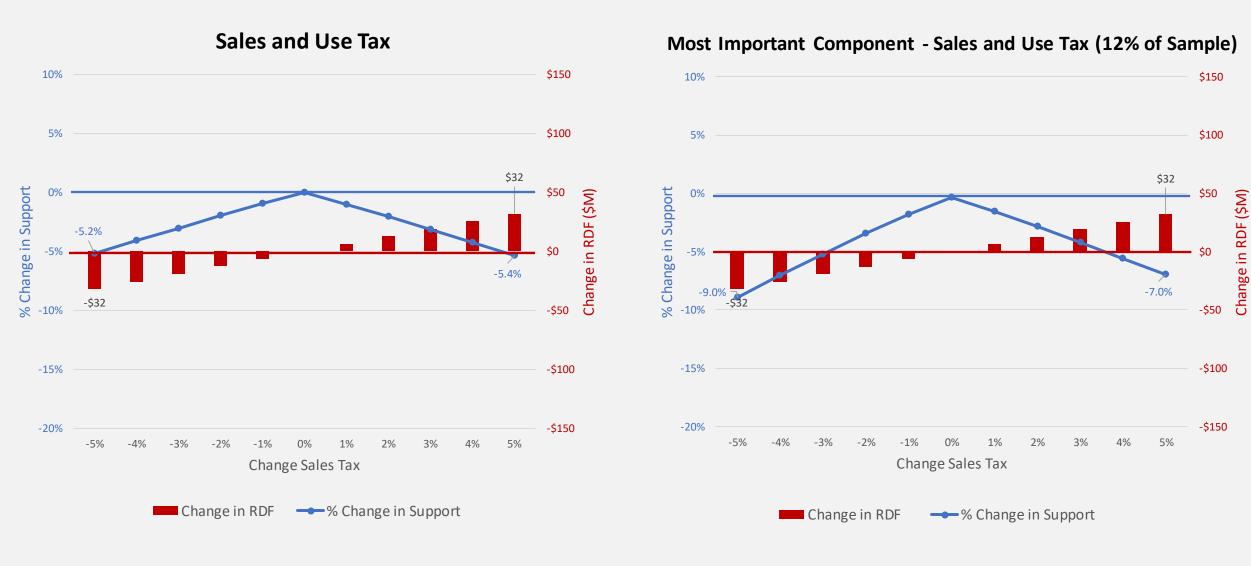
# Most Important Component Based on the Discrete Choice Exercises 2024 vs. 2022



#### Impact of Increase/Decrease in <u>Sales and Use Tax</u> on Likelihood to Support and Rainy-Day Fund

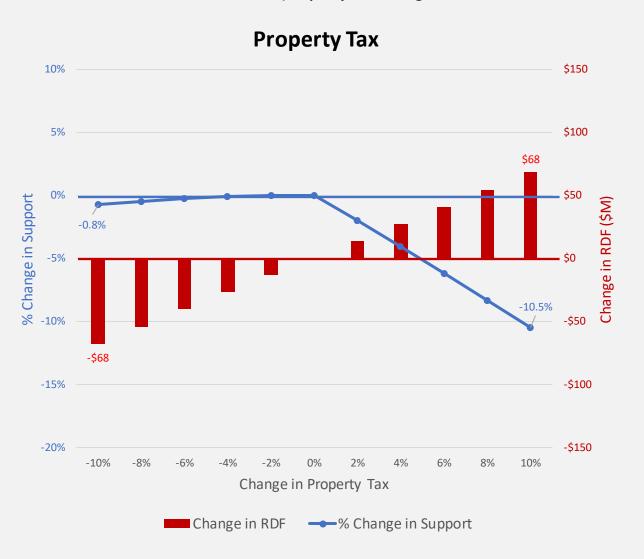
(Total Sample vs Most Important Component Sales and Use tax 12%)

(Sales and Use Tax Changed Between -5% to +5% while all other Components Remain at No Change)

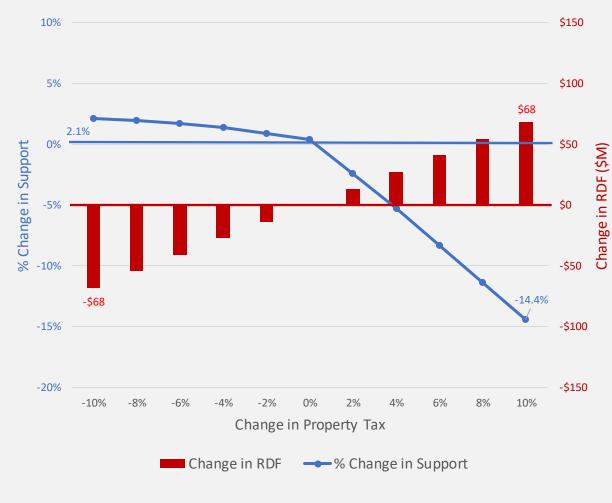


#### Impact of Increase/Decrease in <u>Property Tax</u> on Likelihood to Support and Rainy-Day Fund (Total Sample)

(Property Tax Changed Between -10% to +10% while all other Components Remain at No Change)

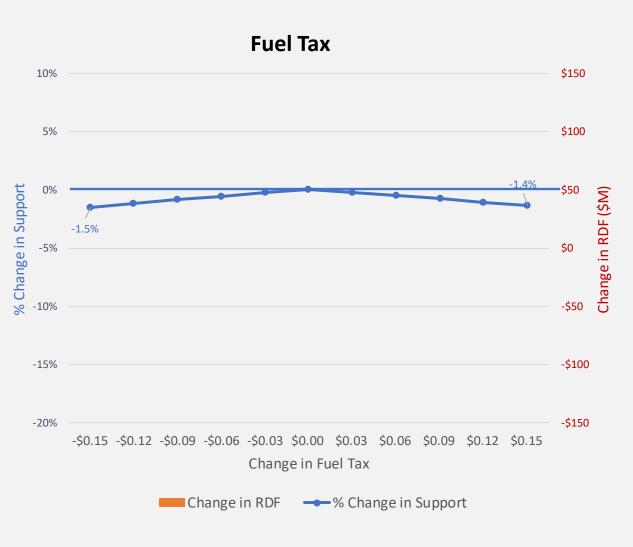


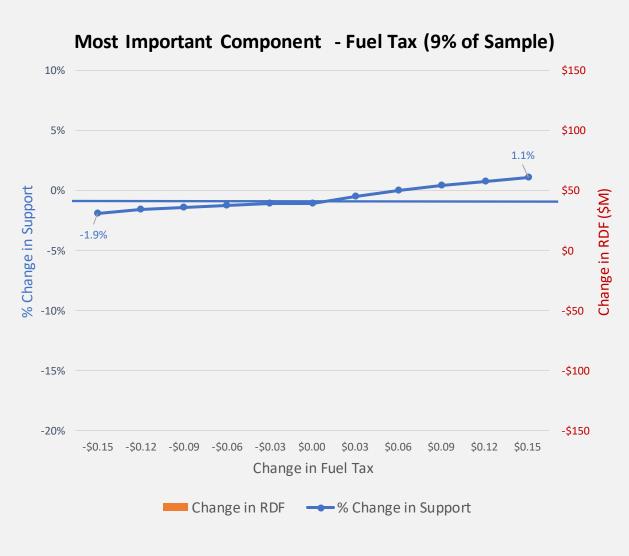
#### Most Important Component- Property Tax (46% of Sample)



# Impact of Increase/Decrease in \*Fuel Tax on Likelihood to Support and Rainy-Day Fund (Total Sample)

(Fuel Tax Changed Between -\$.15 to +\$.15 while all other Components Remain at No Change)





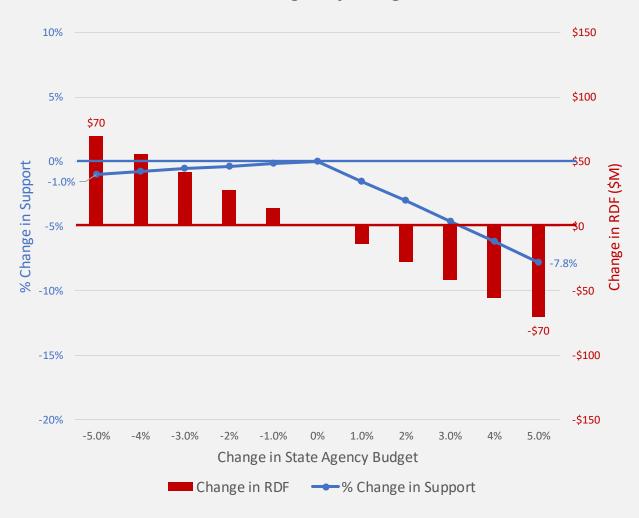
<sup>\*</sup>Fuel tax only impact DOT funding and does not impact RDF

# Impact of Increase/Decrease in State Agency Budget on Likelihood to Support and Rainy-Day Fund

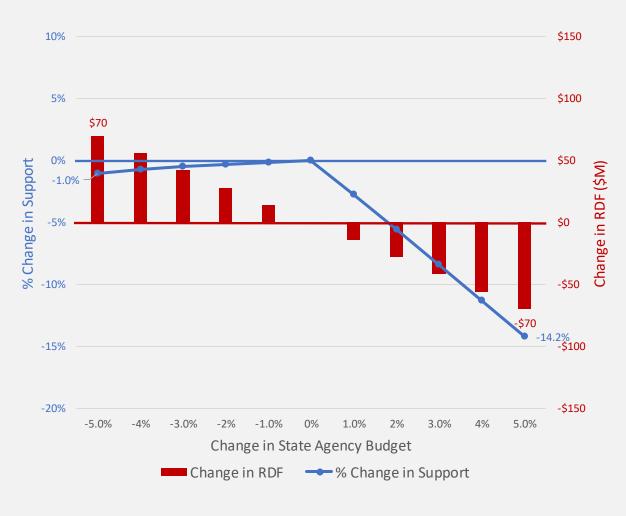
(Total Sample)

(State Agency Budget Changed Between -5% to +5% while all other Components Remain at No Change)

#### **State Agency Budget**

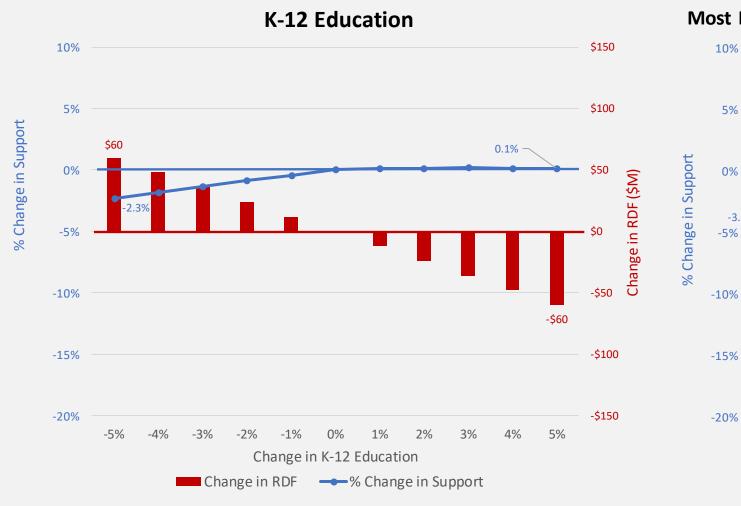


#### **Most Important Component - State Agency Budget (9% of Sample)**

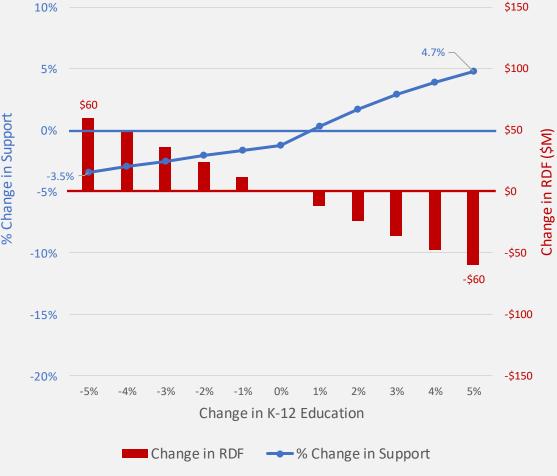


# Impact of Increase/Decrease in K-12 Education on Likelihood to Support and Rainy-Day Fund (Total Sample)

(K-12 Education Changed Between -5% to +5% while all other Components Remain at No Change)

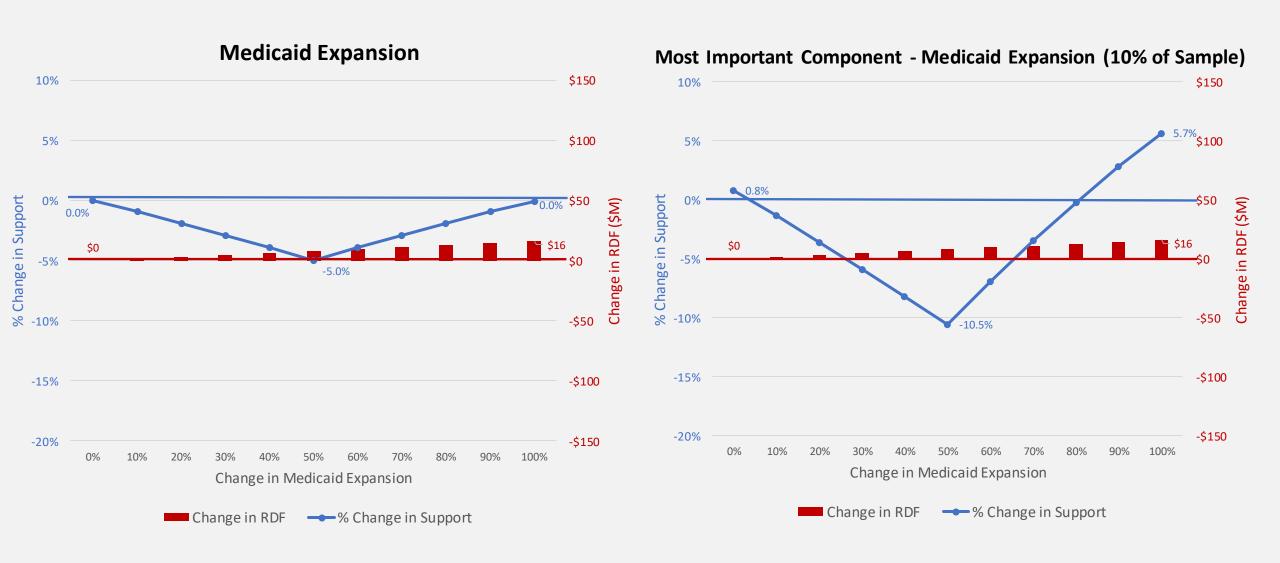


#### **Most Important Component - K-12 Education (8% of Sample)**



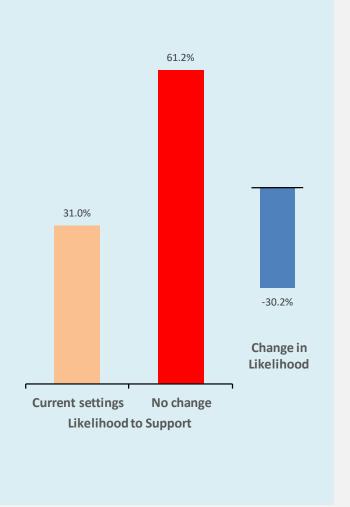
# Impact of Increase/Decrease in Medicaid on Likelihood to Support and Rainy-Day Fund (Total Sample)

(Medicaid Changed Between 0% to +100% while all other Components Remain at No Change)



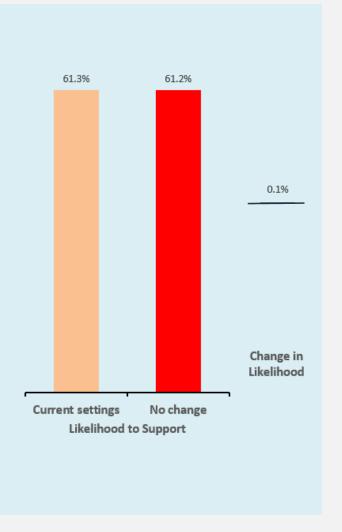
## Setting for Lowest Likelihood of Support (Total Sample)

Component Description	Amount of Change		\$ Imapct on RDF (\$M)
Sales and Use Taxes	Decrease tax	-5%	\$32
Property Taxes	Decrease tax	5%	\$68
Fuel Tax	Decrease fuel tax	5%	
State Agency Budgets	Decrease in state budgets No change Increase in state budgets -5% -4% -3% -2% -1% 0% 1% 2% 3% 4% 5%	-5%	-\$70
K-12 Educatioin	Decrease in K-12 Ed. No change Increase in K-12 Ed5% -4% -3% -2% -1% 0% 1% 2% 3% 4% 5%	15%	\$60
Medicaid Expansion	No change Expand Medicaid 0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%		\$8
Paint Day Fund	Change in Fund		\$98
Rainy Day Fund	Balance		\$2,098



## Setting for Highest Likelihood of Support (Total Sample)

Component Description	Amount of Change		\$ Imapct on RDF (\$M)
Sales and Use Taxes	Decrease tax	0%	\$0
Property Taxes	Decrease tax	0%	\$0
Fuel Tax	Decrease fuel tax	0%	
State Agency Budgets	Decrease in state budgets	0%	\$0
K-12 Education	Decrease in K-12 Ed. No change Increase in K-12 Ed5% -4% -3% -2% -1% 0% 1% 2% 3% 4% 5%	-15%	-\$60
Medicaid Expansion	No change Expand Medicaid 0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%		\$0
Dainy Day Frand	Change in Fund		-\$60
Rainy Day Fund	Balance		\$1,940



## Main Budget Concern for 2023 – 2024 is Property Taxes

Importance based on ranking the survey 7 components	Importance based on 13 possible choices across the 7 components	Most Important Component*  *Based on discrete choice exercise
<ul> <li>Residential Property Tax (19.2%)</li> <li>Fuel Tax (17.5%)</li> <li>Sales and Use tax and K-12 Education. (16.8%)</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Decreases in Residential Property Taxes (11.8%)</li> <li>Increases in K-12 Education (10.3%)</li> <li>Medicaid Expansion (10.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Residential Property Taxes (51%)</li> <li>Sales Taxes (12%)</li> <li>State Agency Budgets and Medicaid Expansion (both 10%)</li> </ul>

## **Comparison to Previous Surveys**

Top 4 importance based on ranking survey components

2023	2021	2020	2016
(7 choices)	(6 choices)	(5 choices)	(7 choices)
<ul> <li>Residential Property Tax (19.2%)</li> <li>Fuel Tax (17.5%)</li> <li>Sales and Use Tax and K-12 Education. (16.8%)</li> <li>Medicaid Expansion (14.3%)</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Sales and Property Tax (23.1%)</li> <li>K-12 Education (21.9%)</li> <li>Fuel Tax (17.7%)</li> <li>Medicaid Expansion (15.9%)</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Decrease in Funding K-12 Education (28.6%)</li> <li>Increase in Sales/Property Tax (27.1%)</li> <li>State Agency Funding (18.1%)</li> <li>City/Town Funding (17.6%)</li> <li>* Medicaid not asked</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Medicaid Expansion (22.1%)</li> <li>Taxes* (21.2%)</li> <li>K-12 Funding (13.4%)</li> <li>State RDF Reserves (12%)</li> <li>* All Taxes levied by the State</li> </ul>

## **Concern Does Not Imply Obvious Policy**

- Broad resistance to increasing property taxes as a means of increasing state funding.
- Little support for decreasing property taxes.
  - Across entire sample reduces support for budget
  - Support for decreased taxes limited to particular groups
    - Energy workers, Students, Less than college education, Retired, Middle income \$50k-\$99k, single-family homeowners, homeowners.
      - Strength of support limited in most of these groups (<2% increase in support for budget at max decrease)</li>
        - True even for those whose greatest concern is property taxes!
    - Support does not follow party lines.
- Status quo bias across sample and most groups (prefer no change)
  - => Suggestive that targeted programs may be best policy given voter preference/concern.

## **Medicaid Expansion more Polarizing**

- Unlike previous studies, overall support does not increase for expansion of Medicaid
  - Previous studies found Medicaid expansion supported over entire sample and party affiliation
  - Medicaid Expansion has the second-highest priority as a policy (tied with K-12)
- Is support polarized across the sample?
  - Proponents and opponents seem to cancel each other in support.
    - Support either full expansion or none no loss in budget support.
    - Halfway measures unsupported by both opponents and proponents?
  - Support mainly among groups most likely to benefit (lower income, younger, unaffiliated voters, females, those with children <18, less educated, renters).
  - Democrats and Republican budget support falls for expansion.

### **Other Findings**

- No change has greatest support across budget areas.
  - Similar to previous surveys (2016, 2020, 2022)
- Exception
  - K-12 Education support declines for decreases in funding across all groups/total sample.
    - Second most important policy choice increase in K-12
    - K-12 still very important consistent across surveys.
    - Support does not change for increases in funding.
- Support for no change in Wyoming budget has risen from 53.9% to 61.2% since last study.
  - Most favored budget 61.3% if K-12 funding increased (near indifference)
  - Support nearly halves for a more tax increases/increased state budgets

