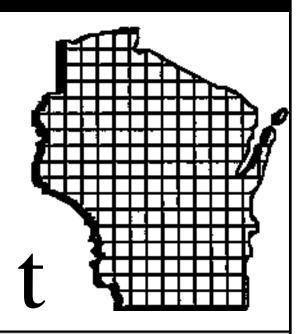
Wisconsin=

Policy
Research
Institute
Report



October 2005

Volume 18, Number 6

THE WISCONSIN CITIZEN SURVEY

OCTOBER 2005

A Survey of Wisconsin Public Opinion

REPORT FROM THE PRESIDENT:

This Wisconsin Citizen Survey was conducted by Diversified Research, a nationally known survey research company. Dr. Michael LaVelle, who has had a relationship with us since 1987, directed this project. He has been President of Diversified Research since 1982, has thirty years of experience in survey research, and has taught statistics and social research methods at the university level. He replaced Dr. Gordon S. Black, former chairman of Harris Interactive, who has recently retired.

Data from this survey produced some startling results. When taken together the results formed a perfect storm of problems facing Wisconsin and the views of residents about their government and elected officials. Not unexpectedly, gasoline prices became the leading problem in the state. Only once before in eighteen years had it been as big a problem and that was in 2000. What was different this time was that the trend lines in our polls were going in a very different direction.

This year 45% told us that they thought the state's economy would get worse, up from 21% a year ago. Only 17% thought their personal economic circumstances would improve. These two numbers were the lowest we have ever seen since we began polling in January 1988.

Additionally, only 40% thought that Wisconsin's government was going in the right direction. Putting these results together revealed a picture of Wisconsin residents concerned about the state's direction, economy and their own family circumstances.

By large margins, there was wide support in this poll for major issues. There was over 2-to-1 support for a constitutional amendment to limit spending, over 2-to-1 support for eliminating the minimum markup law, and over 2-to-1 support for requiring a photo ID to vote in Wisconsin elections.

What was more disturbing was the enormous distance growing between Wisconsin residents and their politicians. Only 6% of the people in this survey believed that their own elected officials acted in the voters' best interest; 41% thought it was special interests and 49% thought it was the politician's own interest. Residents also had an extremely negative view of the ethics of our state government and elected officials.

Today Wisconsin has an enormous gap between the wishes of its people and the desires of our politicians. Residents think—correctly—that politicians will always go to special interests and money before worrying about the needs of Wisconsin's citizens. This must end sooner than later or there are likely to be severe repercussions in future elections.

James H. Miller

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THE WISCONSIN CITIZEN SURVEY

OCTOBER 2005

MICHAEL LAVELLE, PH.D. JAMES H. MILLER

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Introduction

The following report presents results from the twenty-fifth statewide survey of Wisconsin residents commissioned by the Wisconsin Policy Research Institute, Inc. (WPRI). The survey was conducted from October 2 to October 4, 2005. The topics discussed with residents included their preferences in the 2006 Wisconsin race for governor, views about limits on state spending and taxes, photo identification for voting, smoking bans, and their views of the ethics of various levels of government in the state.

The first survey was conducted in January 1988, and the focus of the survey was on a series of statewide issues of continuing interest to WPRI. These issues included taxes, the state welfare system, public education, and crime and the criminal justice system. One purpose of this first survey was to establish a set of benchmark measures of public attitudes, so that changes in these attitudes could be tracked over time.

The second survey, conducted the first week after schools reopened from summer vacation in 1988, returned to a number of questions asked seven months earlier. However, additional questions were asked on each topic and several new issues dealing with environmental problems were added.

The third survey was conducted from January 5 through January 10, 1989. It examined the same general issues as in previous surveys, with some new topics and questions added.

The fourth survey was conducted from September 5 through September 10, 1989. Once again it examined the same general issues as the first three surveys, as well as several new issues including abortion, recycling programs and American Indian treaty rights.

The fifth survey was conducted from January 2 through January 5, 1990. The issues examined in this survey included taxes, the state welfare system, public education, and crime and the criminal justice system, all of which were addressed in the first four surveys. New issues consisted of recommendations to improve the quality of education in Wisconsin schools, residents' satisfaction level with efforts to reduce the sale and use of illegal drugs, and drug testing in the schools and workplace.

The sixth survey was conducted from September 4 through September 7, 1990. The issues examined in this survey included taxes, the environment, and crime, all topics covered in earlier surveys. New issues addressed included interest in governmental reform in Wisconsin, gun control and state action to reduce dependence on oil.

The seventh survey was conducted from January 4 through January 10, 1991. New issues examined in this survey included attitudes toward affirmative action and college scholarships, support for recommendations of the Commission on Schools in the 21st Century, ethics in state government, and evaluations of the performance of major state institutions. Issues covered in earlier surveys, and in this one as well, included school choice, crime, gun control and governmental reform.

The eighth survey was conducted from September 3 through 9, 1991. New topics covered in this survey included attitudes about property taxes and property tax reform, residents' views about how safe the streets in their communities are during the day and night, and attitudes towards the police. Topics covered in previous surveys and revisited in this one included crime, the environment, nuclear power, landfills and the performance of major state institutions.

The ninth survey was conducted from January 2 through 5, 1992. The survey featured numerous questions on the state of the economy and personal finances some of which were compared to the results of a national study conducted by the Gordon S. Black Corporation for the Gannett News Survey and *USA Today* in December 1991. The survey also included questions on education and welfare, both topics covered in earlier WPRI polls.

The tenth survey was conducted from November 15 through November 18, 1992. In addition to questions on the economy, taxes, state spending, and education, the survey explored the attitudes of Wisconsin residents about political reform, legalized gambling and American Indians.

The eleventh survey was conducted from May 20 through May 23, 1993. The survey included questions on the economy, property taxes, state spending, and the environment. The survey also explored, for the first time, the public's knowledge about and views of public officeholders in Wisconsin and their views about health care and insurance.

The twelfth survey was conducted from November 7 through November 14, 1993. The survey included questions on the economy, political institutions, public figures, health care reform and crime.

The thirteenth survey was conducted from July 18 through July 26, 1994. The survey focused on welfare and crime and included questions on state support for education, school choice, and the economy.

The fourteenth survey was conducted from September 5 through September 12, 1995. The survey included questions on views of public officials, candidate preferences for the 1996 presidential election, affirmative action, crime, and the economy.

Conducted from September 16 through September 21, 1996, the fifteenth survey included questions about the 1996 presidential election, the 1998 races for governor and U.S. Senator, views of public figures, Indian casino gambling, welfare reform, educational choice, and the economy.

The sixteenth survey was conducted from July 7 through July 13, 1997. The survey examined residents' views about the 1998 races for governor and U.S. Senators, views of public figures, abortion (including the proposed ban on "partial birth abortions"), Indian casino gambling, the death penalty, and the economy.

Residents' views about the 1998 races for governor and U.S. Senator, public figures, educational choice, welfare reform, and parole reform, and investment behavior were examined in the seventeenth survey. This survey was conducted from July 7 through July 18, 1998.

The eighteenth survey was conducted from July 22 through July 28, 1999. The survey explored residents' views about the 2000 race for president, public figures, spending on prisons and other state programs, state financial support for a new football stadium for the Green Bay Packers, and investment behavior.

The nineteenth survey was conducted from June 26 through June 30, 2000. This survey explored residents' views about the 2000 race for president, public figures, gasoline prices, the Wisconsin economy, and investment behavior.

Residents' views about the 2000 election for president and state senate, Indian casino gambling and support for off-reservation casinos were examined in the twentieth survey. The survey was conducted from October 18 through October 21, 2000.

The twenty-first survey was conducted from July 30 through August 2, 2001. This survey explored residents' views about the 2002 statewide elections, 2004 presidential election, public figures, education, cell phones, and the Wisconsin economy and investment behavior.

The twenty-second survey was conducted from September 26 through September 29, 2002, shortly after the one-year anniversary of 9/11. Among the topics covered were residents' views about the 2002 statewide elections, health insurance, water quality, the Wisconsin economy, and investment behavior.

The twenty-third survey explored residents' views about public figures including President George W. Bush and former governor Tommy Thompson, major issues facing the state, local property taxes, health care, the Wisconsin economy and investment behavior. This survey was conducted from October 6 through October 12, 2003.

The twenty-fourth survey was conducted from September 22 to September 26, 2004. The topics discussed with residents included their preferences in the presidential and senate contests, views about state spending and taxes, health care, and their views of public officials and people in a diverse set of occupations.

The Objectives of the Research

The objectives of this wave of WPRI's ongoing research program continue to be measurement of residents' attitudes on emerging and topical issues and to track change in attitudes on selected topics over time.

As was found in earlier surveys, attitudes on some issues have changed very little since the last wave. On other issues, there have been significant changes in attitudes and concerns.

The Methodology for the Study

The data in this report are based on a randomly selected sample of 600 Wisconsin residents who are 18 years of age and older. The sample was drawn from a list of telephone numbers generated by a computer. This method includes both unlisted numbers and new listings in proportion to their representation in the population. This process,

and the sampling itself, is controlled by a Computer Aided Sampling (CAS) system, which monitors the entire process to insure that callbacks are made at appropriate times and that numbers are sampled correctly.

A survey of 600 randomly selected residents has a margin of error of plus or minus 4 percent for percentages based on the entire sample. For an underlying percentage of 50%, for example, this means that repeated samples would produce results between 46% and 54%, 95 times out of 100. The margin of error for sub-samples, such as women, blacks, or young people, will be significantly greater.

Diversified Research

Dr. Michael LaVelle, President of Diversified Research, a nationally known survey research company, supervised the project. Dr. LaVelle has a Ph.D. and has taught statistics and social research methods at the university level. He has been President of Diversified Research since 1982 and has over 30 years' experience in survey research.

DOYLE LEADS REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES IN GOVERNORS RACE ~RESIDENTS ARE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE DIRECTION OF THE STATE~

Thirteen months before the next gubernatorial election, Jim Doyle has substantial leads over both potential Republican candidates. In a head-to-head race, Jim Doyle leads Mark Green 46% to 33%. Against Scott Walker, Doyle's lead is 50% to 31%. Jim Doyle has a substantial lead over Scott Walker in almost all regions of the state. He only trails Walker in the Milwaukee suburbs by 55% to 32%, in Waukesha County by 64% to 21%. The base of Doyle's support is Democrats (85%) and Liberals (87%). Another sizable spread is among women where Doyle beats Walker 54% to 27%. Among men, Doyle's lead drops to 45% to 36%.

Doyle's lead over Green changes in some regions of the state. Green carries the Green Bay area 53% to 31%, barely beats Doyle in the Milwaukee suburbs 39% to 34%, and carries Waukesha County 58% to 25%. While Doyle beats Green among women 50% to 28%, his lead among men is only 41% to 39%. The core of Doyle's support continues to be Democrats (75%) and Liberals (83%).

Doyle leads because he is much better known at this time among Wisconsin residents. When residents were asked favorable/unfavorable opinions of the three candidates, Jim Doyle had a favorable rating of 46% and an unfavorable rating of 38%.

Doyle's favorable strength lies among residents in LaCrosse (60%), Southeast Wisconsin (56%), and Madison (50%). Doyle's weakness appears to be in metropolitan Milwaukee. In the City of Milwaukee his unfavorability is 43%; in the Milwaukee suburbs it rises to 54% and rises to 75% in Waukesha County. His strongest favorable base consists of Democrats (68%) and Liberals (64%). There is also a slight gender gap in Doyle's favorable ratings. Only 45% of men have a favorable rating of Doyle, while 43% have an unfavorable rating. Among women, it is 46% favorable while only 32% have an unfavorable opinion. Doyle's current advantage is that 84% of the residents of the state could identify him with an opinion. For the Republican candidates the numbers were much lower: for Scott Walker 22% had a favorable rating, while 15% gave him an unfavorable rating. Mark Green had a favorable rating of 24% and an unfavorable rating of 10%. Doyle had a ratio of over 2-to-1 in name recognition over his opponents. This is one of the reasons for his current lead.

Another finding in this survey, however, was how these head-to-heads would be among residents who had an opinion of both candidates. Among residents who had an opinion of both Scott Walker and Jim Doyle, Walker actually leads Doyle 47% to 45%. Among residents who had an opinion of both candidates, Mark Green leads Jim Doyle 55% to 39%. These numbers seem to be at cross purposes, until one examines issues and long-term trends in the state.

Jim Doyle's Favorability Ratings

In this survey, Jim Doyle's favorable/unfavorable ratings are similar to the last several years. He is viewed 46% favorably by Wisconsin residents and unfavorably by 38%, a slight rise in his unfavorables, which are up from the last several years.

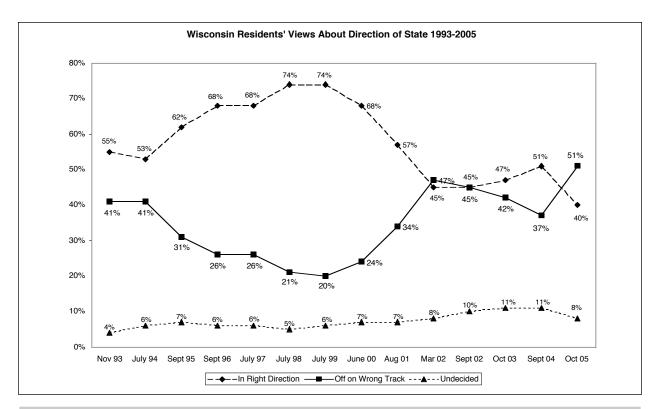
What is interesting is that Doyle's favorable/unfavorables are not as strong as other incumbents such as Herb Kohl (who is at 54% to 25%), or Russ Feingold, (who is at 55% to 32%). In our surveys going back to 1993, Jim Doyle has never been able to climb over a 46% favorable rating. This is a potential problem for him in a two-way race for governor. His opponents, especially Mark Green, raise another potential long-term problem. While Doyle is well known, his total favorability number (subtracting unfavorables from favorables) is a + 8. For Mark Green, his favorables being 24% and his unfavorables being 10% is an overall positive number of +14. For Scott Walker, having a favorable of 22% and an unfavorable of 15% leaves Walker with a +7. Over the next year as both Republicans get better known throughout the state, the real question will be how their favorable/unfavorable ratio compares to Jim Doyle's.

Wisconsin Residents Very Negative about the Direction of the State

Wisconsin residents are more negative about the direction of the state than at any time we have polled since November 1993. Only 40% believe the state is heading in the right direction, while 51% believe the state has gotten

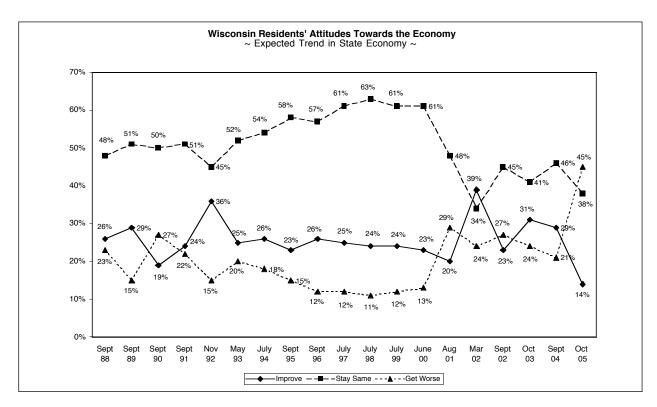
	May 1993	Nov 1993	Sept 1995	Sept 1996	July 1997	July 1998	July 1999	June 2000	Aug 2001	March 2002	Sept 2002	Oct 2003	Sept 2004	Oct 2005
George W. Bush														
Favorable	N.A.	N.A	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	56%	50%	50%	75%	59%	50%	53%	43%
Unfavorable	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	22%	36%	43%	20%	35%	45%	42%	51%
Neutral/Did Not Recognize Name	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	22%	14%	7%	5%	6%	4%	4%	6%
Jim Doyle														
Favorable	30%	29%	37%	29%	35%	40%	36%	37%	33%	32%	41%	45%	46%	46%
Unfavorable	11%	10%	18%	17%	17%	12%	13%	15%	16%	20%	28%	32%	33%	38%
Neutral/Did Not Recognize Name	59%	61%	45%	54%	48%	48%	51%	48%	51%	48%	31%	22%	21%	13%
Herb Kohl														
Favorable	57%	50%	65%	60%	61%	64%	58%	63%	66%	N.A.	N.A.	56%	52%	54%
Unfavorable	16%	23%	19%	17%	24%	16%	20%	16%	16%	N.A.	N.A.	21%	24%	25%
Neutral/Did Not Recognize Name	27%	27%	16%	23%	15%	20%	22%	21%	18%	N.A.	N.A.	23%	24%	15%
Russ Feingold														
Favorable	47%	47%	44%	42%	46%	51%	49%	52%	53%	N.A.	N.A.	49%	51%	55%
Unfavorable	19%	21%	20%	18%	25%	18%	24%	20%	19%	N.A.	N.A.	24%	33%	32%
Neutral/Did Not Recognize Name	34%	32%	36%	40%	29%	31%	27%	28%	28%	N.A.	N.A.	27%	15%	9%
Tommy Thompson														
Favorable	59%	65%	62%	66%	67%	68%	68%	64%	63%	61%	N.A.	56%	56%	52%
Unfavorable	28%	22%	31%	25%	26%	25%	23%	25%	28%	32%	N.A.	33%	32%	34%
Neutral/Did Not Recognize Name	13%	13%	7%	9%	7%	7%	9%	11%	9%	7%	N.A.	11%	12%	9%
Scott Walker														
Favorable	N.A	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	22%
Unfavorable	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	15%
Neutral/Did Not Recognize Name	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	58%
Mark Green														
Favorable	N.A	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	24%
Unfavorable	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	10%
Neutral/Did Not Recognize Name	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	61%

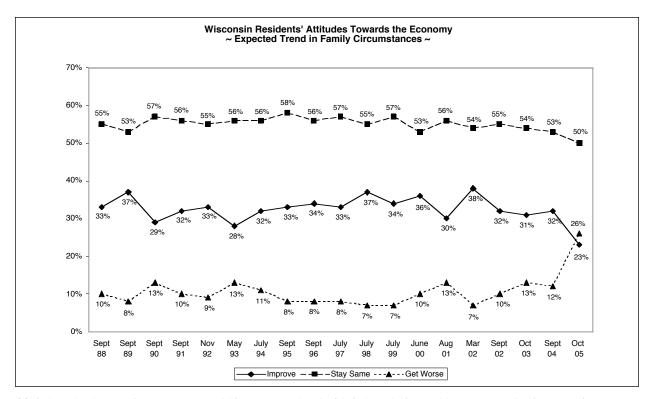
off track. The areas of the state that most believe the state is off on the wrong track are Southeast Wisconsin (59%), City of Milwaukee (61%), the Milwaukee suburbs (62%), and Waukesha County (68%). Other groups who believe the state is off on the wrong track are Republicans (58%), Independents (53%), and Liberals (50%). In past election years this data has been very important in state races. In 1994, 53% thought the state was going in the right direction; in 1998, 74% thought the state was going in the right direction. In September 2002, only 45% thought the state was going in the right direction. Last year this number had risen to 51% and now it sits at 40%.



Wisconsin Residents Very Pessimistic about the State Economy and Their Family's Economic Circumstances.

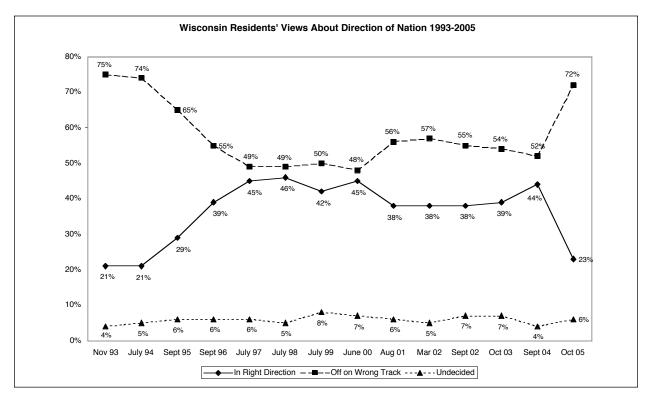
Since 1988 we have asked two questions about state and family economic circumstances in every poll. The results from this survey are the lowest we have ever seen. Only 14% of the residents expect the state's economy to improve over the next year, while 45% expect it to get worse. These numbers are down sharply from last year, where





29% thought the state's economy would improve and only 21% thought it would get worse. Again, returning to previous election years in September 2002, 23% thought the economy would improve and 27% thought it would get worse.

When asked about the residents' own family's economic circumstances, only 23% expected it to improve over the next year, while 26% expected it to get worse. This is the first time in any of our polls that people were more pessimistic than optimistic about their family's economic circumstances for the upcoming year.



United States Seen as On Wrong Track - Bush Popularity Down

Over the last year Wisconsin residents have also become very pessimistic about the direction of the nation. Only 23% see our country moving in the right direction, compared to 44% who saw it moving in the right direction a year ago. While 72% think things are off on the wrong track, compared to 52% last year.

For the first time residents give President Bush a less than 50% favorable rating. In this poll, Bush's favorability rating dropped to 43%, with 51% saying they had an unfavorable view of the President.

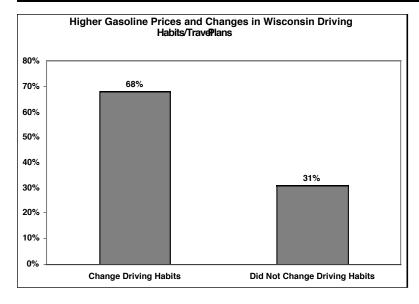
Summary

While Jim Doyle has a substantial lead over either Mark Green or Scott Walker, the long-term trends do not necessarily look good for his reelection. There is a substantial growing nervousness about the state's economy and its impact on the state's families. Combining the historic data on whether the state is moving in the right direction, the direction of the state's economy, and individual family circumstances points to a serious problem for Jim Doyle unless these numbers become more positive over the next year.

GASOLINE PRICES BECOME THE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM IN WISCONSIN ~RESIDENTS SUPPORT ELIMINATING MINIMUM MARKUP LAW~

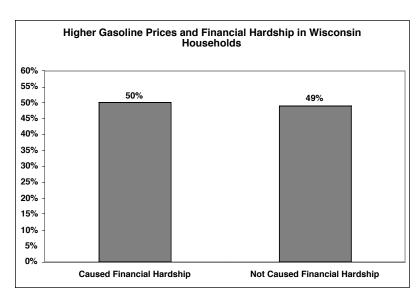
With some of the highest gas prices in the nation, it is no surprise that Wisconsin residents consider lowering gasoline taxes as the issue needing the most attention from Wisconsin state government, with 24% of state residents

ISSUE NEEDING MOST ATTENTION FROM	Wisconsin	STATE GOVE	RNMENT			
	June 2000	March 2002	Sept 2002	Oct 2003	Sept 2004	Oct 2005
Lowering the Wisconsin Gasoline Tax	28%	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	24%
Improving Public Education	24%	16%	18%	18%	15%	21%
Controlling Health Care and Prescription Costs	N.A.	28%	29%	33%	35%	21%
Reforming the Tax System	24%	20%	21%	17%	12%	14%
Improving the State's Economy	N.A.	18%	20%	23%	17%	10%
Placing Spending Limits on Wisconsin Government Agencies	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	11%	9%
N.A.: Not asked.						



naming it as the number one issue for Wisconsin.

- In La Crosse/Eau Claire it was 35%.
- In rural areas of the state it was mentioned by 31%.
- It was also first among people between 18 and 24, who put it at 47%, and those between 25 and 34, it was 35%.
- Other groups considering this the biggest problem were Blacks (62%) and people whose income was \$15,000 and under (41%).

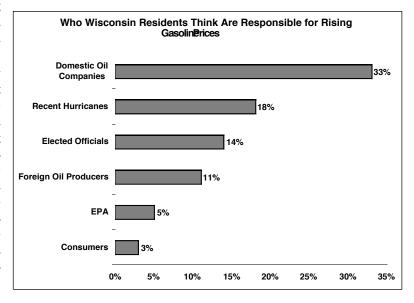


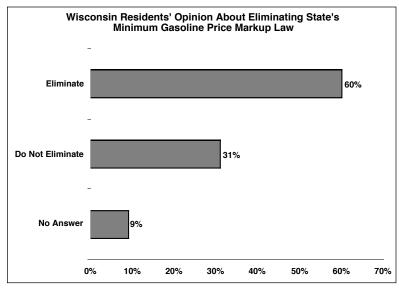
In our open-ended questions, which date back to 1988, 16% of the population said it was the most serious problem, with only taxes (19%) mentioned more frequently.

Gasoline price increases have had a clear impact on Wisconsin families: 68% of residents told us that higher prices have caused them to change their driving habits and trip plans. Only 31% said they had not changed their driving habits. In another question, 50% told us that recent gas price increases had caused financial hardship on their households. This is especially true among City of Milwaukee residents (64%) and Madison residents (60%). It is also having negative effect on Blacks

(72%) and low-income groups — among residents earning under \$15,000 (66%), and for those with incomes between \$15,000 and \$30,000 it was 73%.

Looking ahead six months from now 36% of Wisconsin residents believe that gasoline prices will be higher; only 21% believe they will be lower. When asked who they believed is to blame for rising gasoline prices, 33% thought it was domestic oil companies, while 18% blamed recent hurricanes, 14% blamed elected officials, and 11% blamed foreign oil producers. What is interesting is that residents who mostly blamed domestic oil companies lived in Waukesha County (51%) or the Milwaukee suburbs (50%).





Considering the concern over gasoline prices, it is hardly surprising that residents support eliminating the minimum markup law in Wisconsin by an almost 2-to-1 margin – 60% favored eliminating it, while 31% supported not eliminating it. The most opposition to the minimum markup law comes from Waukesha County (87%), the City of Milwaukee (68%), and the Milwaukee suburbs (62%).

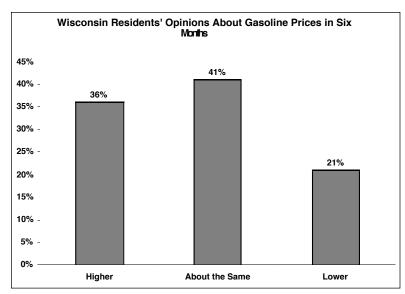
Photo ID's for Voting

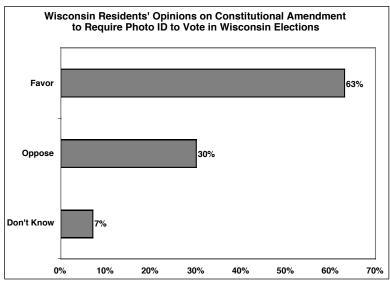
Wisconsin residents, by a 63% to 30% margin, clearly favor a constitutional amendment to require photo ID's for

voting. This number is slightly less than general support for the measure where 69% of the residents support requiring photo ID's to vote, while only 27% oppose such a requirement. The support for a constitutional amendment is strong in most parts of the state. No region of the state opposes such a constitutional amendment.

- It is supported by 93% in Waukesha County.
- In the Milwaukee suburbs, 70% support the amendment.
- In rural Wisconsin it is supported by 67%.

The only groups that oppose a con-





stitutional amendment are Blacks (66%), Liberals (56%), and residents earning \$15,000 or less (40%).

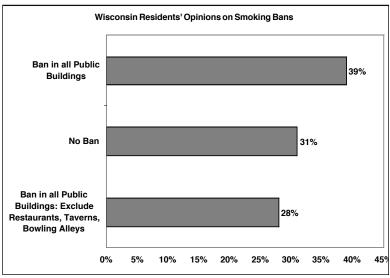
Smoking Bans

When asked whether they would support smoking bans in public buildings, including restaurants, taverns, and bowling centers, 39% said they would support such a ban. An additional 28% favored banning smoking in public places, except in restaurants, taverns, and bowling centers. Another 31% opposed all smoking bans. Surprisingly, only 34% of Madison residents and 37% in the

Green Bay area supported a total ban on smoking. Other gaps on this issue were 46% of women favored a total ban, as opposed to 32% of male respondents. Among Blacks 75% supported a total ban, while only 38% of Whites supported such a ban.

Summary

Wisconsin residents have become very concerned about the price of gasoline. This is the most concern about this issue shown in Wisconsin since 2000. Wisconsin families are being impacted by the high cost of gasoline and are begin-



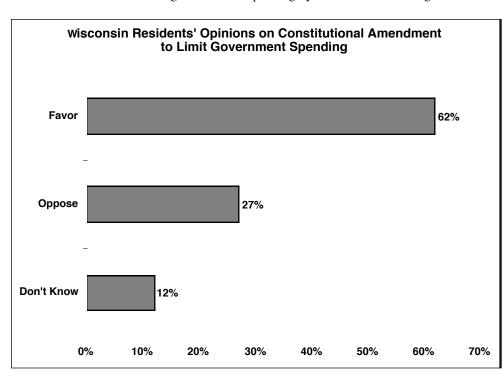
ning to change their driving habits. There is strong support for elimination of the minimum markup law, which residents hope will lead to lower gasoline prices. Taxes and health care remain issues of concern among Wisconsin residents.

Voters strongly favor a constitutional amendment to require photo identification in Wisconsin elections. There is mixed support for an outright smoking ban in all public places in the state. Only 39% of the residents support a total ban on smoking, while the middle ground on this issue appears to be support for a ban on smoking that does not include restaurants, taverns, and bowling centers.

The important issues, such as gasoline prices, may change over the next several months when people see their winter fuel bills.

WISCONSIN RESIDENTS FAVOR CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT TO LIMIT STATE AND LOCAL SPENDING INCREASES ~ SUPPORT IN EVERY DEMOGRAPHIC GROUP ~

By better than a 2-to-1 majority (62% to 27% with the balance undecided) Wisconsin residents favor a state constitutional amendment limiting increases in spending by both state and local governments to the rate of inflation.



Support for a constitutional amendment is widespread across the state, obtaining majority support even the City Milwaukee (64%) and Madison area (51%). A majority (56%) of Democrats support the amendment, as do even largmajorities Independents (60%) Republicans (76%). Even among Liberals, more favor (46%) than oppose (40%) an amendment, with 14% undecided. Whites support an amendment (63%);among Blacks support drops to 46%

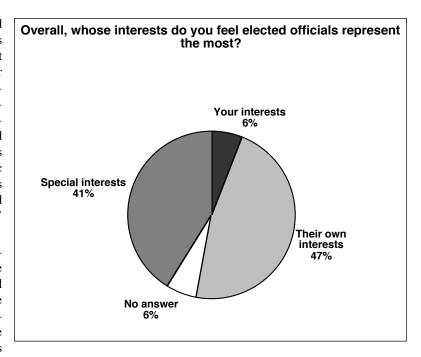
who favor it, while 37% oppose it. There are few issues in Wisconsin that have such across-the-board support as a constitutional amendment to limit state and local government spending increases to the rate of inflation.

WISCONSIN RESIDENTS BELIEVE ELECTED OFFICIALS DO NOT REPRESENT THEIR INTERESTS \sim They Believe Ethics in Government has Gotten Worse in Past Decade \sim

There is an enormous gap in Wisconsin between residents and their elected officials. Today only 6% of the residents in Wisconsin believe their elected officials represent the interests of their constituents on important issues. Most (47%) believe their local officials represent their own interests, while 40% believe they represent special interests over the interests of their constituents.

These numbers have dropped sharply from the last time we asked this question. In March 2002, 21% thought that elected officials represented their constituents' interests, 34% thought special interests, and 40% thought they represented their own interests. In our current poll the feeling that politicians did not represent their constituents was widespread across every demographic group. The most stunning number was that there were no Blacks who believed their elected officials put constituents' interests first.

This view of elected officials is supported by opinions on the ethics of state government, the legislature, and local government. When respondents were asked whether the ethics of state government had gotten better or worse over the last decade, only 9% thought that ethics



had gotten better, while 46% thought they had gotten worse. With regard to the state legislature, only 5% thought ethics had improved in the last decade, while 42% thought they had gotten worse. At the local level, 6% thought

n Last Ten Years, Standards of Ethics las	Jan 1991	Sept 1991	May 1993	March 2002	October 2005
/isconsin State Government					
Gotten Better	9%	12%	3%	5%	9%
Gotten Worse	31%	30%	29%	29%	46%
Stayed the Same	56%	55%	56%	59%	40%
Members of the Wisconsin Legislat	ure				
Gotten Better	10%	10%	6%	7%	5%
Gotten Worse	25%	23%	18%	18%	42%
Stayed the Same	59%	61%	60%	67%	46%
ocal Government Officials					
Gotten Better	NA	NA	NA	10%	6%
Gotten Worse	NA	NA	NA	25%	35%
Stayed the Same	NA	NA	NA	57%	56%

ethics had gotten better, while 35% thought they had gotten worse. The widespread feeling that the institutions in Madison were deteriorating ethically produced the highest negative numbers we have seen in our polling going back to 1991.

There are no demographic groups in Wisconsin who believe the ethics in Madison have improved over the last decade. One of the major problems, looking at the total results, is that our elected officials and citizens are moving further apart. Wisconsin residents seem to have much less confidence in their elected officials and are questioning the ethics of their government institutions. These downward trends are not good for Wisconsin government. Unfortunately, Wisconsin citizens are clearly saying that they think lobbyists have much more influence than they do, and that is negatively affecting the ethics in state government.

POLL QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

If the election for Wisconsin governor were held today between Mark Green for the Republicans and Jim Doyle for the Democrats, for whom would you likely vote?

	Total	City of Milwaukee	Milwaukee Suburb	Waukesha County	Green Bay Area	La Crosse Eau Claire	Madison	South East	Rest of State
Green	33%	24%	39%	58%	53%	25%	11%	14%	31%
Doyle	46%	61%	34%	25%	31%	54%	59%	65%	46%
Undecided	21%	15%	27%	17%	16%	21%	30%	20%	23%

If the election for Wisconsin governor were held today between Scott Walker for the Republicans and Jim Doyle for the Democrats, for whom would you likely vote?

	Total	City of Milwaukee	Milwaukee Suburb	Waukesha County	Green Bay Area	La Crosse Eau Claire	Madison	South East	Rest of State
Walker	31%	34%	55%	64%	25%	25%	15%	16%	26%
Doyle	50%	60%	32%	21%	49%	55%	63%	68%	46%
Undecided	19%	6%	13%	15%	26%	19%	22%	16%	28%

Would you say that things in Wisconsin are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?

	Total	City of Milwaukee	Milwaukee Suburb	Waukesha County	Green Bay Area	La Crosse Eau Claire	Madison	South East	Rest of State
Right Direction	40%	36%	33%	29%	50%	36%	43%	32%	49%
Wrong Track	51%	61%	62%	68%	43%	49%	43%	59%	41%
Don't Know	8%	3%	5%	3%	7%	15%	14%	9%	10%

Based on what you know or have heard about the economy of Wisconsin, do you expect state economic conditions to improve, stay the same, or get worse during the next year?

	Total	City of Milwaukee	Milwaukee Suburb	Waukesha County	Green Bay Area	La Crosse Eau Claire	Madison	South East	Rest of State
Improve	14%	11%	9%	13%	17%	7%	16%	27%	12%
Stay Same	38%	29%	43%	41%	39%	30%	50%	32%	38%
Get Worse	45%	60%	46%	47%	41%	63%	29%	41%	43%
Don't Know	3%	10%	2%	0%	3%	0%	6%	1%	7%

What about your own family's economic circumstances? Do you expect them to improve, stay the same, or get worse during the next year?

	Total	City of Milwaukee	Milwaukee Suburb	Waukesha County	Green Bay Area	La Crosse Eau Claire	Madison	South East	Rest of State
Improve	23%	39%	22%	28%	18%	23%	20%	28%	17%
Stay Same	50%	33%	56%	47%	54%	46%	53%	40%	57%
Get Worse	26%	28%	21%	24%	28%	30%	19%	33%	25%
Don't Know	1%	1%	1%	0%	1%	1%	8%	0%	1%

Would you say that things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?

	Total	City of Milwaukee	Milwaukee Suburb	Waukesha County	Green Bay Area	La Crosse Eau Claire	Madison	South East	Rest of State
Right Direction	23%	21%	28%	42%	20%	23%	14%	19%	23%
Wrong Track	72%	77%	66%	48%	72%	76%	80%	73%	75%
Don't Know	6%	2%	6%	10%	8%	1%	6%	9%	2%

In your opinion, what is the single most important problem facing Wisconsin that the government should be doing something about?

	Total	City of Milwaukee	Milwaukee Suburb	Waukesha County	Green Bay Area	La Crosse Eau Claire	Madison	South East	Rest of State
Taxes	19%	16%	20%	45%	17%	20%	14%	16%	14%
Gasoline Prices	16%	12%	15%	4%	21%	22%	14%	16%	17%
Education	13%	15%	14%	2%	14%	5%	14%	19%	13%
Health Care Issues	10%	6%	8%	7%	6%	9%	19%	7%	14%
Government Issues	10%	5%	19%	6%	8%	9%	15%	6%	5%
Jobs	7%	10%	6%	15%	9%	18%	4%	6%	2%
Social/ Poverty	5%	13%	4%	5%	2%	3%	4%	5%	8%
Economic	4%	2%	2%	7%	6%	5%	2%	1%	4%
Crime	3%	5%	0%	2%	3%	0%	0%	3%	6%

Which one of the following six issues do you think needs the most attention from the Wisconsin state government at the present time?

	Total	City of Milwaukee	Milwaukee Suburb	Waukesha County	Green Bay Area	La Crosse Eau Claire	Madison	South East	Rest of State
Lowering the Wisconsin Gasoline Tax	24%	18%	16%	23%	20%	35%	25%	26%	31%
Improving Public Education	21%	26%	32%	0%	23%	27%	20%	17%	15%
Controlling Health Care and Prescription Drug Costs	21%	18%	22%	27%	19%	17%	21%	22%	22%
Reforming the Tax System	14%	9%	13%	19%	15%	13%	19%	8%	14%
Improving the State's Economy	10%	13%	8%	11%	12%	2%	6%	16%	9%
Placing Spending Limits on Wisconsin Government Agencies	9%	12%	7%	21%	8%	5%	9%	6%	8%

There has been a lot of talk about requiring government-issued photo identification in order to vote in a Wisconsin election. Would you favor or oppose this requirement?

	Total	City of Milwaukee	Milwaukee Suburb	Waukesha County	Green Bay Area	La Crosse Eau Claire	Madison	South East	Rest of State
Favor	69%	60%	76%	93%	69%	50%	60%	65%	73%
Oppose	27%	37%	20%	7%	24%	41%	36%	32%	23%
Don't Know	4%	3%	4%	0%	7%	9%	4%	4%	4%

Would you favor or oppose a Wisconsin state constitutional amendment that would require government photo identification in order to vote in an election in Wisconsin?

	Total	City of Milwaukee	Milwaukee Suburb	Waukesha County	Green Bay Area	La Crosse Eau Claire	Madison	South East	Rest of State
Favor	63%	54%	70%	93%	63%	49%	54%	59%	67%
Oppose	30%	42%	24%	7%	28%	39%	35%	38%	28%
Don't Know	7%	5%	6%	0%	9%	13%	11%	4%	4%

Have higher gasoline prices caused you to change your driving habits or travel plans?

	Total	City of Milwaukee	Milwaukee Suburb	Waukesha County	Green Bay Area	La Crosse Eau Claire	Madison	South East	Rest of State
Yes	68%	71%	59%	75%	72%	67%	65%	69%	71%
No	31%	29%	41%	26%	24%	33%	34%	31%	29%
No Answer	1%	0%	1%	0%	4%	0%	1%	0%	1%

Have recent price increases in gasoline caused any financial hardship for you or your household?

	Total	City of Milwaukee	Milwaukee Suburb	Waukesha County	Green Bay Area	La Crosse Eau Claire	Madison	South East	Rest of State
Caused Financial Hardship	50%	64%	52%	30%	55%	35%	61%	40%	49%
Not Caused Financial Hardship	49%	36%	46%	69%	43%	65%	39%	60%	51%
No Answer	1%	0%	2%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Who do you think is to blame for rising gasoline prices: the EPA, that is the Environmental Protection Agency, elected officials, foreign oil producers, domestic oil companies, consumers, or the recent hurricanes?

	Total	City of Milwaukee	Milwaukee Suburb	Waukesha County	Green Bay Area	La Crosse Eau Claire	Madison	South East	Rest of State
Domestic Oil Companies	33%	32%	50%	51%	34%	24%	27%	29%	23%
Recent Hurricanes	18%	10%	10%	12%	19%	21%	25%	21%	22%
Elected Officials	14%	21%	12%	0%	8%	27%	15%	17%	14%
Foreign Oil Producers	11%	13%	11%	8%	14%	8%	8%	8%	13%
EPA	5%	4%	4%	8%	4%	7%	8%	3%	6%
Consumers	3%	4%	0%	0%	2%	1%	4%	7%	5%

Looking ahead six months from now, do you think gas prices will be higher than they are today, about the same, or lower than they are today?

	Total	City of Milwaukee	Milwaukee Suburb	Waukesha County	Green Bay Area	La Crosse Eau Claire	Madison	South East	Rest of State
Higher	36%	44%	46%	26%	28%	34%	46%	32%	32%
About the Same	41%	47%	31%	39%	42%	48%	35%	46%	44%
Lower	21%	6%	21%	32%	29%	17%	18%	20%	19%
No Answer	2%	3%	2%	3%	1%	1%	2%	2%	5%

Wisconsin has a minimum markup law. This requires gas stations to charge customers at least 9% more than what they pay for gasoline. Do you think this law should be eliminated?

	Total	City of Milwaukee	Milwaukee Suburb	Waukesha County	Green Bay Area	La Crosse Eau Claire	Madison	South East	Rest of State
Eliminate	60%	68%	62%	87%	60%	52%	64%	45%	56%
Do Not Eliminate	31%	24%	33%	9%	25%	43%	28%	45%	37%
No Answer	9%	8%	6%	4%	15%	5%	8%	10%	7%

Some Wisconsin cities like Appleton and Madison have outlawed smoking in most public buildings including restaurants, taverns, and bowling centers. Of the following three options which would you favor?

- 1. A statewide ban on smoking in all public buildings
- 2. A statewide ban on smoking in public buildings, except restaurants, taverns, and bowling centers
- 3. No statewide ban on smoking

	Total	City of Milwaukee	Milwaukee Suburb	Waukesha County	Green Bay Area	La Crosse Eau Claire	Madison	South East	Rest of State
Ban All	39%	42%	33%	33%	37%	39%	34%	48%	45%
Ban/Not Restaurants	28%	26%	40%	27%	24%	31%	35%	27%	22%
No Ban	31%	3%	26%	40%	39%	29%	29%	24%	31%
No Answer	1%	1%	1%	0%	1%	1%	2%	1%	2%

Would you favor or oppose a Wisconsin state constitutional amendment that would limit increases in spending by both state and local governments to the rate of inflation?

	Total	City of Milwaukee	Milwaukee Suburb	Waukesha County	Green Bay Area	La Crosse Eau Claire	Madison	South East	Rest of State
Favor	62%	64%	69%	77%	53%	63%	51%	63%	62%
Oppose	27%	23%	26%	23%	25%	28%	43%	32%	18%
Don't Know	12%	13%	5%	0%	22%	9%	6%	5%	20%

In the last ten years, do you think the standard of ethics in Wisconsin's state government has gotten better, worse, or stayed about the same?

	Total	City of Milwaukee	Milwaukee Suburb	Waukesha County	Green Bay Area	La Crosse Eau Claire	Madison	South East	Rest of State
Better	9%	8%	5%	6%	10%	9%	6%	18%	8%
Worse	46%	68%	50%	53%	44%	17%	45%	44%	45%
Stayed Same	40%	24%	42%	41%	38%	63%	38%	37%	44%
No Answer	5%	0%	3%	0%	8%	11%	11%	1%	4%

Now think about the members of the Wisconsin legislature. In the last ten years, do you think the standard of ethics of the members of the legislature has gotten better, worse, or stayed about the same?

	Total	City of Milwaukee	Milwaukee Suburb	Waukesha County	Green Bay Area	La Crosse Eau Claire	Madison	South East	Rest of State
Better	5%	2%	3%	8%	6%	2%	2%	11%	7%
Worse	42%	56%	37%	48%	39%	37%	55%	42%	34%
Stayed Same	45%	39%	57%	42%	45%	42%	31%	44%	53%
No Answer	7%	3%	4%	1%	11%	20%	12%	2%	7%

In the last ten years, do you think the standard of ethics of local government officials has gotten better, worse, or stayed about the same?

	Total	City of Milwaukee	Milwaukee Suburb	Waukesha County	Green Bay Area	La Crosse Eau Claire	Madison	South East	Rest of State
Better	6%	6%	4%	9%	4%	4%	2%	11%	8%
Worse	35%	55%	22%	57%	33%	28%	20%	41%	34%
Stayed Same	56%	38%	72%	34%	57%	62%	72%	44%	55%
No Answer	4%	2%	2%	0%	6%	7%	7%	3%	4%

Overall, whose interests do you feel elected officials represent the most — your interests, special interests or their own interests.

	Total	City of Milwaukee	Milwaukee Suburb	Waukesha County	Green Bay Area	La Crosse Eau Claire	Madison	South East	Rest of State
Your Interests	6%	5%	6%	5%	6%	3v	10%	7%	6%
Special Interests	41%	44%	35%	41%	51%	46%	39%	32%	39%
Own Interests	47%	51%	56%	55%	36%	46%	44%	56%	43%
No Answer	6%	0%	4%	0%	7%	5%	6%	6%	12%

ABOUT THE INSTITUTE

The **Wisconsin Policy Research Institute** is a not-for-profit institute established to study public-policy issues affecting the state of Wisconsin.

Under the new federalism, government policy increasingly is made at the state and local levels. These public-policy decisions affect the life of every citizen in the state. Our goal is to provide nonpartisan research on key issues affecting Wisconsinites, so that their elected representatives can make informed decisions to improve the quality of life and future of the state.

Our major priority is to increase the accountability of Wisconsin's government. State and local governments must be responsive to the citizenry, both in terms of the programs they devise and the tax money they spend. Accountability should apply in every area to which the state devotes the public's funds.

The Institute's agenda encompasses the following issues: education, welfare and social services, criminal justice, taxes and spending, and economic development.

We believe that the views of the citizens of Wisconsin should guide the decisions of government officials. To help accomplish this, we also conduct regular public-opinion polls that are designed to inform public officials about how the citizenry views major statewide issues. These polls are disseminated through the media and are made available to the general public and the legislative and executive branches of state government. It is essential that elected officials remember that all of the programs they create and all of the money they spend comes from the citizens of Wisconsin and is made available through their taxes. Public policy should reflect the real needs and concerns of all of the citizens of the state and not those of specific special-interest groups.