



Public Opinion and Regional Issues
in the Chicago Megacity

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1 Introduction

Calls for cooperation among states, metro area and cities are as common as the often intense competition among those same states, metro areas and cities to lure new businesses, draw tourists and develop a more competitive workforce. In 2012 the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development report on the Chicago region stressed that zero-sum competition among the states and local governments was preventing the region from focusing on collective gains that could be realized through more cooperative approaches.¹ In the three years since the release of the OECD report, there has been considerable private effort to improve avenues of cooperation throughout the region, most notably through the Alliance for Regional Development² which has organized efforts to focus on regional efforts in green growth, human capital, innovation and transportation and logistics.

Political leaders face strong incentives to provide for their constituents and may well benefit from successes in competition which hurts their neighbors. It is often assumed that voters care far more about “what’s in it for me” than about what might benefit a wider geographic area.

The structure of American governance, with many local as well as county and state governments, creates inevitable coordination challenges while providing limited regional institutions. Such structures provide opportunity for local control of public goods but also create barriers for addressing cross jurisdictional issues. These structures also invite competition across governmental divisions for valuable economic and population resources. Given these institutions it is little surprise that elected officials have strong incentives to compete for non-divisible resources such as business locations and transportation resources.

But what about public opinion? Public attitudes set the parameters for political leadership. As Abraham Lincoln said, “Public sentiment is everything. With it, nothing can fail; against it, nothing can succeed.” If the public perceives zero-sum battles within regions, and wishes only for local gains, then indeed political will to cooperate will be lacking. But if the public is more amenable to collective gains through cooperation, then political leaders may, perhaps to their surprise, find that cooperation can produce both economic and political advantages. Support for cooperation, however, may be limited to some policy arenas while not extending to others.

To better understand what divides and what unites the Chicago megacity region, the Marquette Law School Poll conducted a survey of the region. The Chicago megacity was defined as in the OECD report as 21 counties in southeastern Wisconsin, the Chicago area of Illinois and north-west Indiana. The population surveyed consists of adult residents of the 21 county Chicago megacity region. The Illinois counties are Cook, DeKalb, DuPage, Grundy, Kane, Kankakee, Kendall, Lake, McHenry and Will counties. In Indiana the counties are Jasper, Lake, LaPorte, Newton and Porter counties. The Wisconsin counties are Kenosha, Milwaukee, Ozaukee, Racine, Washington and Waukesha.

¹“It is preferable by far to attract firms by showing that a pool of talent and organisations exists in the region that can help a newcomer exploit it. In the Tri-State Region, this petty, predatory zero-sum intra-regional competitive approach to economic growth and job-creation remains all too common.” p. 24. *OECD Territorial Reviews: The Chicago Tri-State Metropolitan Area, United States 2012*, OECD Publishing. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264170315-en>

²<http://alliancerd.org>

Interviews were conducted June 15-22, 2015 with 1,872 respondents from the three states. The sample sizes are 600 in Illinois, 612 in Indiana and 660 in Wisconsin. The margin of error for each state is as follows: +/- 5.8 percentage points for Illinois, +/- 5.2 percentage points for Indiana and +/- 5.1 percentage points for Wisconsin. Full details of the survey are included in the methodological appendix of this report.

This survey provides information on what citizens think about their region and about the potential for cooperation as well as conflict. The survey also addresses a variety of questions concerning the workforce of the area, their education and training and their experiences in their careers.

2 Summary of findings

2.1 Regional cooperation and competition

There is considerable support for cooperation and for things that benefit the region as a whole, at least in principle. Respondents say they prefer political leaders who consider regional interests rather than those who only look out for their own state. Likewise respondents say they care about regional well-being, not just how their hometown is doing. Further, respondents look to the private sector to lead the way on cooperation, and they support reducing licensing barriers between the states. And they agree that shared transportation planning and coordination are worth the cost.

The picture changes, however, when more obvious economic interests are concerned. Respondents are not willing to share efforts on attracting business and even more opposed to shared tourism promotion. Under the right circumstances, respondents say they would relocate in order to lower their taxes.

These results show that there is public support for political leaders who might pursue policies with more diffuse benefits but that such support would likely drop were the benefits too tangible for competing states. Cooperation then seems more likely to gain public support in areas where the shared benefits are high, such as transportation or licensing, but likely to meet public disapproval when direct and competing economic interests are at stake.

Whether majorities support or oppose cooperation on a given issue, the similarity among the three states is striking. While Wisconsin residents were frequently at least a bit less supportive of cooperation, there was not a single issue for which the majorities differed across the states. Differences may at times be acute, as say between fans of the Packers or the Bears, but it is striking that the divisions in the region are not sharply different preferences on the range of issues surveyed. To cooperate or not differs not by state but by subject.

2.2 Work life, training and entrepreneurship

As a region, the Chicago megacity benefits from a workforce a little more highly educated than the nation as a whole but also has a significant fraction of people with only a high school diploma or less. The distribution of education is also uneven in the region, with half the adult population in northwest Indiana holding a high school education or less. As the job market demands higher levels of training, this fact about the distribution of education will constrain the workforce.

One way respondents report rising to workforce demands is through technical training obtained through unions, technical schools, or workplace training opportunities. More than a third of respondents report receiving some form of training beyond high school but not as part of an advanced academic degree. This training may provide skills well suited to the workplace, boosting the employment prospects of those who do not pursue a baccalaureate degree or more.

Respondents see the quality of the workforce as key to economic growth, and believe this to be more important than state government policies in stimulating growth. However, when it comes to

their own preparation for work, about half admit they did not have a clear plan for the kind of work they would do. This lack of planning limits the ability of young people to choose the training they will need. Here technical training and especially the substantial availability of on-the-job training may allow those past the point of full-time student status to acquire relevant skills for the career they may have entered as a result of what was available rather than advanced planning. In this way, technical training allows people already in the workforce the opportunity to acquire skills they lacked the foresight to acquire in their early adult years.

Despite their often haphazard approach to careers, most respondents report a relatively easy experience finding work, though for one-in-ten work is extremely difficult to find. Respondents likewise report relative satisfaction with their work lives, with less than one-in-five saying they are dissatisfied.

Ease of employment and satisfaction with work do not mean that residents of the megacity are anxious to take risks for economic gain. Only a third say they have engaged in entrepreneurial actions by starting or owning a business or by being self-employed. A similar third say they would be very willing to risk working in a start up company, and a third say they would change jobs to pursue better work opportunities. While one in three residents may consider taking a risk for possible economic gain, two-in-three prefer the security of more stable employment, thus limiting risk but also foregoing potential gains. Instead there is substantial enthusiasm for traditional career paths in manufacturing and skilled trades, even for the current generation of young adults.

Two potential limitations on economic mobility are also addressed by this report. A substantial majority discount the long term consequences of incarceration on employment. The public is about equally divided on whether success is only a matter of hard work and ability or whether initial advantage now matters more than it perhaps once did. This division in belief about mobility coexists with a reluctance to embrace job mobility in search of opportunity or to take jobs with possible large but risky rewards. More than sixty percent say they would move in order to lower their taxes, but that is a far more certain reward. When it comes to classic entrepreneurial risk only a third of respondents are willing to take a chance.

2.3 Transportation

Transportation systems are the networks that move people throughout the region. For more than 60 percent of the populations in each state, that daily movement means 40 minutes or more spent in round trip travel. Where alternative mass transit by rail or bus provide dense networks, as in Illinois, one in five residents opt to commute by these modes. Elsewhere private automobile remains the dominant transit mode, with near 90 percent commuting by car. Some 60 percent of residents of each state would prefer investments in highways over rail, though more prefer rail investments than currently make use of it, including in Illinois, which has the greatest availability of rail options, and Wisconsin which lacks commuter rail entirely.

Despite variation in transit times, it appears that commuters adapt to the length of their commute. Illinois residents are not notably more unhappy with their lengthy commutes, while Wisconsin commuters seem no more grateful for their considerably shorter trip lengths.

2.4 Home life, neighborhoods and policing

Most people like where they live and believe their neighborhood is pretty safe. Neighborhood satisfaction is quite similar across the three states, and over 80 percent say their neighborhood is at least pretty safe in each state. This satisfaction with neighborhoods can provide a stabilizing influence though it may also reduce mobility.

There is, however, an important if small percentage who dislike their neighborhood, from seven to nine percent in each state, and fourteen to nineteen percent who do not feel safe walking in their neighborhood. While affecting less than one in five citizens, these troubled neighborhoods are a source of strain throughout the region.

The deep divide over police practices and their consequences is likely to remain a deep source of tension in urban communities with substantial minority populations. The division of opinion on these issues is especially sharp between African-American and white citizens.

2.5 Governance

By mostly small pluralities, citizens of the megacity region think their state legislatures treat the region fairly, though Wisconsin residents are notably more positive. Some of these perceptions are undoubtedly rooted in partisan preferences, and the roughly even balance means there will be substantial levels of doubt about state relations even if that falls short of the majority view.

More consequentially, states suffering budget crises, as is currently the case in Illinois, are likely to struggle to meet even the most important goals of governance, at least in the minds of the public. When budgets are better, as in Indiana, these perceptions become more sanguine.

While it is said that “all politics is local,” voters show a strong preference for participating in the most visible yet also most distant elections for president while sharply reducing their participation in those contests closest to home. This is a universal characteristic of American elections, and no more so in the megacity than elsewhere. But there remain consequences for local governance because lower turnout means that election outcomes are less representative of the preferences of majorities of the population and instead are more responsive to the most involved or best organized electors. Paradoxically, the abundance of local governments in the megacity is not reciprocated by intense local electoral participation, and when asked, a significant majority of residents say they would prefer fewer governments and an improved ability of government to address regional problems.

3 Regional cooperation and competition

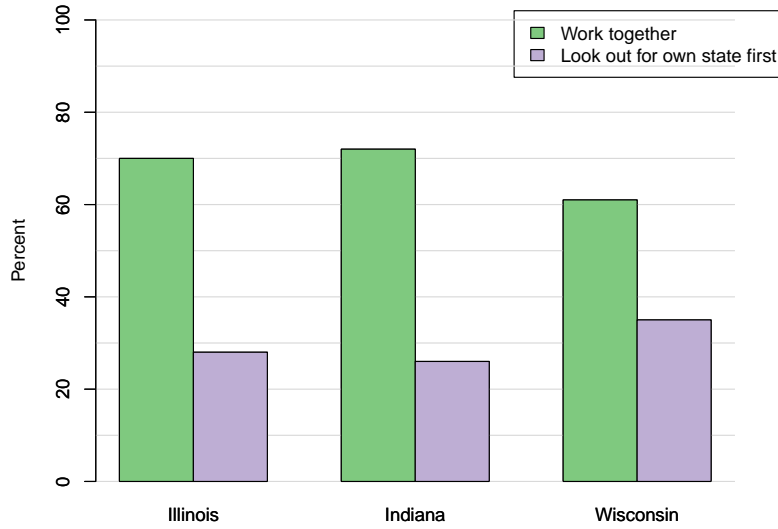
If one looks at a map of the Chicago region, the dividing lines are likely to be highly visible between states, counties and municipalities. Signs welcome travelers to each state, county and city. Political officials are elected based on these geographic abstractions and residents identify with the places they live. But follow the same dividing lines via satellite views in Google Earth and it is difficult to discern the border between Wisconsin and Illinois, between Chicago and Gary. Fly over at night and the lights of the region blend seamlessly into a dazzling region with few obvious borders.³

We begin with a view of public opinion from the heights, from 30,000 feet if you will, considering the qualitative patterns of general agreement or general disagreement among residents of southeastern Wisconsin, the Chicago metro area and northwestern Indiana. Our observations from the heights focus on where we see broad consensus and where we discern clear differences. Then we will dive down to treetop level to take a closer look at the structure of opinion across individuals within the region. As we will see, geography is seldom the most powerful source of opinions and policy. It is individual level differences within states that most powerfully structure opinion, meaning conflict over regional policy is primarily intra-regional rather than inter-regional.

3.1 Support for regional cooperation

Which is more important to voters, that political leaders work together or that they look out for their own state first? Conventional wisdom says voters care primarily for their own well-being. Such wisdom is confounded by our findings.

³This imagery is due to John Gurda, "Rivalry, Resignation, and Regionalization The Relationship of Milwaukee to Chicago Over Time," *Marquette Lawyer*, Summer 2013, pp. 19-25.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Work together	70	72	61
Look out for own state first	28	26	35

Q8. Political leaders in Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin should work together to promote economic development throughout the tri-state region OR Political leaders should look out for their own state first and do all they can to compete against the other states in the region. (In this and subsequent tables the percent saying “don’t know” or declining to answer has been omitted for simplicity.)

There is strong support for cooperation rather than conflict across all three states, with more than 70 percent of respondents in Illinois and Indiana favoring a cooperative approach while more than 60 percent in Wisconsin also prefer cooperation.

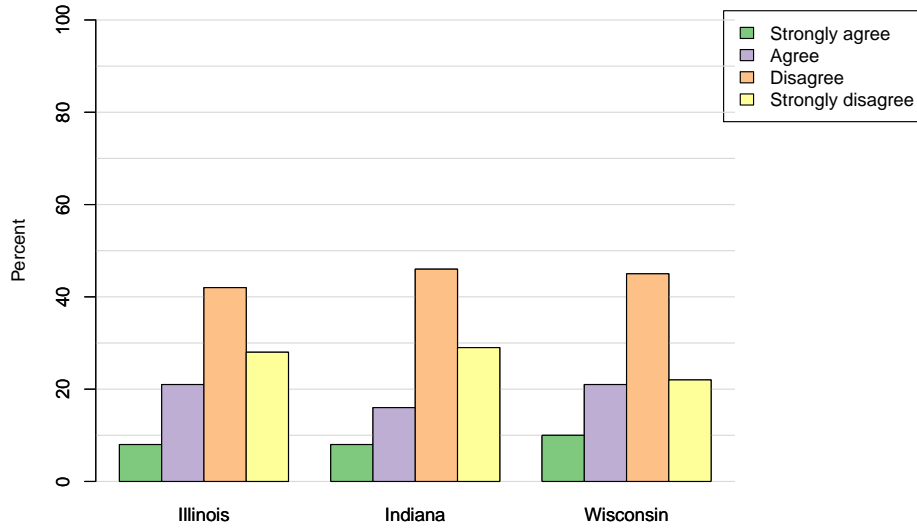
Differences of opinion: As will become apparent, opinion shows only modest differences across states on most issues. Typically majority opinion is the same across states, though in some cases, as this one, there are some differences in degree of support or opposition.

Rather than geographic differences, then, most of the differences in opinion are between demographic or partisan or ideological groups. This is an important point because it casts the barriers to regional initiatives in a rather different light. Rather than disputes between Indiana and Illinois or Wisconsin and Indiana, the differences are far more within each geography, reflecting intra-state conflicts among groups rather than cross border disputes.

After providing the birds-eye view of opinion across the states as in the chart and table above, this section will highlight briefly the characteristics of respondents which structure opinion on each question. This analysis is based on a multivariate logistic regression model of opinion which simultaneously controls for the effects of state, core urban county (Cook County Illinois, Lake County Indiana and Milwaukee County Wisconsin) vs non-core counties, gender, education, age, race, marital status, those who have ever owned or started a business or been self-employed (“business owners” for brevity), partisanship and ideology. When workforce issues are considered, technical training after high school is also included.

While majorities are the same across states, there is a statistically significant division in this case with lower support for cooperation among Wisconsin residents. Business owners are more likely to say leaders should look out for their own state. Those who have never married are more in favor of cooperation than those who are married. Both partisanship and ideology have substantial effects with Democrats and liberals more supportive of cooperation while Republicans and conservatives are more likely to want leaders who look out for their state.

The notion that voters care about more than their local well-being may be surprising but that sentiment is not limited to wishing for political leaders to cooperate. When traveling abroad, residents of Milwaukee or Gary may find it easier to say “I’m from near Chicago” rather than explain exactly where their cities are located. But that doesn’t mean that citizens think of themselves as “from” the region. Rather they are more likely to name their city or neighborhood when describing home to someone familiar with the area. Thus we might expect people to say their primary concern is the well-being of their hometown and to express rather little concern for the rest of the region. Such is not the case.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Strongly agree	8	8	10
Agree	21	16	21
Disagree	42	46	45
Strongly disagree	28	29	22

Q17. Would you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statement: The most important thing to me is how well things are going where I live and I really don't care what's happening elsewhere in the region.

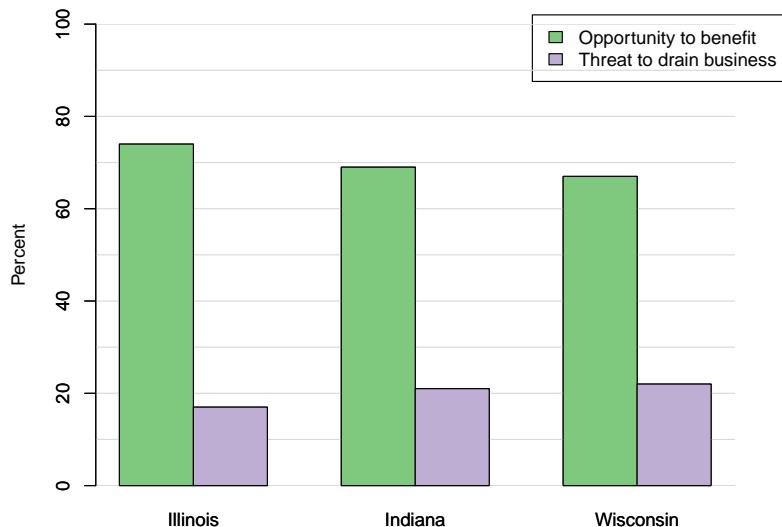
It is striking that more than 60 percent of respondents in each state disagree with the statement that the most important thing is how well things are going where they live. Instead, by a two to one margin, they say they care about the wider region.

Differences of opinion: Wisconsin residents are more concerned for their local situation than residents of the other two states. Women are more likely to care about the region, as are those with higher levels of education. Business owners are more concerned about the region than their locale, in contrast with their views of political leaders above. Partisanship plays no role in structuring this item though liberals are more concerned with regional well-being while conservatives put more stress on local well-being.

Another view of potential conflict is found in the economic strength of the Chicago area compared to the metro areas in Indiana and Wisconsin where Milwaukee, Gary, Hammond and East

Chicago exist in the shadow of the Illinois giant. Before the issue was settled in the late 1800s, Milwaukee had high hopes of becoming the dominant city of the Midwest, but by 1890 or so the supremacy of Chicago had become clear.⁴ In the twenty-first century the issue for the other cities is how they can compete against Chicago for workforce talent and for businesses.

The respondents in our survey are unconvinced that Chicago’s strength must work to their detriment, and in fact see Chicago much more as an opportunity than a risk.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Opportunity to benefit	74	69	67
Threat to drain business	17	21	22

Q9. The Chicago area was recently rated one of the top 10 metropolitan areas in the world for economic strength and world trade. Do you think being close to Chicago makes this an opportunity for Wisconsin and Indiana to benefit from or is it a threat that is likely to drain business and employment away from Indiana and Wisconsin?

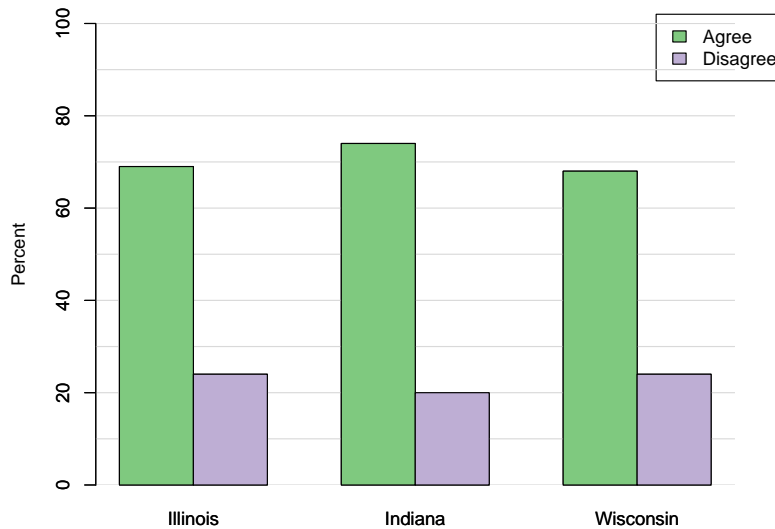
Perhaps it is not surprising that Illinois residents see their city as a positive opportunity but residents of Indiana and Wisconsin are only slightly less likely to see an opportunity from living so close to Chicago. These results are all the more striking in light of frequent public discussion of the risk of a “brain drain” as young people seek opportunities in the bigger cities and large corporations consider relocation to a handful of the nation’s largest cities. Instead of these fears domi-

⁴John Gurda, “Rivalry, Resignation, and Regionalization The Relationship of Milwaukee to Chicago Over Time,” *Marquette Lawyer*, Summer 2013, pp. 19-25.

nating, residents of Indiana and Wisconsin are quite willing to see the bright side of being able to profit from proximity to the economic hub of the region.

Differences of opinion: Women are more likely to see Chicago as an economic threat while the more educated see an opportunity. African-Americans see a threat. Neither partisanship nor ideology structures this perception, nor does business ownership.

Despite wishing for political leaders to cooperate, and in light of their expressed preference for regional cooperation, respondents are not optimistic that government will lead the way in regional matters. Instead they think it will be the private sector that promotes regional interests, not the government.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Agree	69	74	68
Disagree	24	20	24

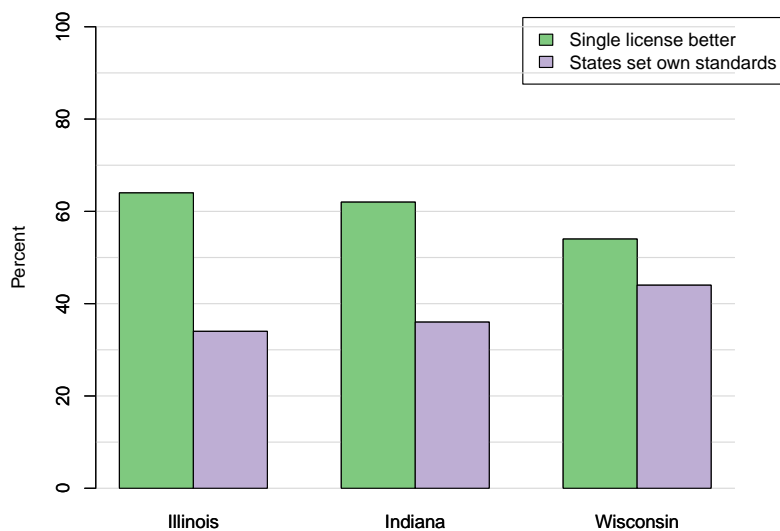
Q10. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: If it makes sense for Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin to work together to promote the tri-state region, it will be the private sector rather than government that makes that happen.

The expectation that the private sector must lead the way on regional issues is near the same 70 percent mark in each state of the megacity region, one of the strongest examples of consensus in

our data. What is not clear is if this is a normative judgment that it *should* be the private sector that leads or rather a pessimistic view of the ability of government to take the lead in this area. In either case, it demonstrates that there are only the tiniest differences between the states in their view of the role of the private sector in regional issues.

Differences of opinion: The more educated are more likely to disagree that the private sector will take the lead on regional issues, as do Democrats and liberals, while Republicans and conservatives see the private sector leading.

A concrete policy area where states often guard their prerogatives is in licensing of a vast array of trades and professions. Requiring state licenses ensures that states are able to set standards appropriate to their own preferences rather than accept uniform regional or national standards for many occupations. Such state specific licenses, however, limits the mobility of residents who may choose not to follow opportunities because of the requirement of becoming licensed in a new state. The balance between these is a matter for policy makers but among the public there is substantial support for a single license that would apply to all three states.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Single license better	64	62	54
States set own standards	34	36	44

Q16. States require licenses for many trades and professions such as plumbing, cosmetology, real estate and nursing. Would it be better if a single license applied to all three states in the tri-state region, making it easier for people to work anywhere or is it more important for each state to set its own standards for these licenses?

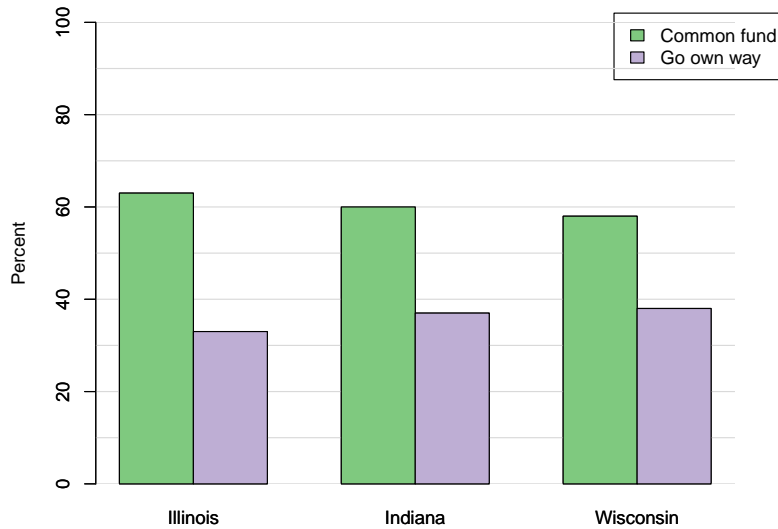
Support for a single license is strongest in Illinois and Indiana, where more than 60 percent prefer a common license. In Wisconsin a smaller majority, 54 percent, agree while 44 percent prefer states to set their own licensing requirements.

Differences of opinion: Women and the better educated support a single licence across borders but older people favor state specific licenses. Republicans and conservatives are more likely to favor state specific licenses while Democrats and liberals support a single license. A notable null effect is business ownership which has no statistically significant effect.

3.2 Limitations in support for cooperation

While the previous section demonstrated considerable support for regional cooperation this sentiment is not universal across all issues. Sentiment turns against cooperation where potential conflicts of interest between the states become more likely. Such conflict is especially likely to arise over state expenditures for regional projects.

Transportation is an especially salient regional issue as it is literally what connects states and cities to one another. On this dimension, respondents in all three states agree that states should share funding for transportation coordination and planning for highways, airports and Lake Michigan ports rather than act alone.



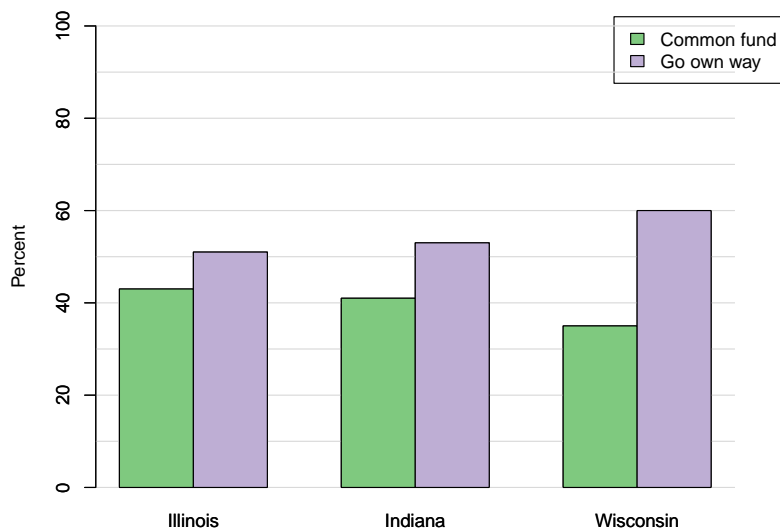
	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Common fund	63	60	58
Go own way	33	37	38

Q11. Would Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin be better off putting money into a common fund for coordinating planning for airports, railroads, highways and Lake Michigan shipping ports in the tri-state region, or should each state just go its own way with these transportation plans?

Differences of opinion: Women and the more educated are more supportive of a common fund for transportation, as are Democrats and liberals. Those never married also are more favorable toward a common fund.

This support for spending money on transportation projects breaks down, however, when we shift to areas where economic competition is more apparent and the value of cooperation more opaque.

Competition over attracting business has been a frequent issue among the states in the region. Governors and state agencies have emphasized efforts to entice businesses to relocate and respondents agree that this is an area where competition is more important than cooperation.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Common fund	43	41	35
Go own way	51	53	60

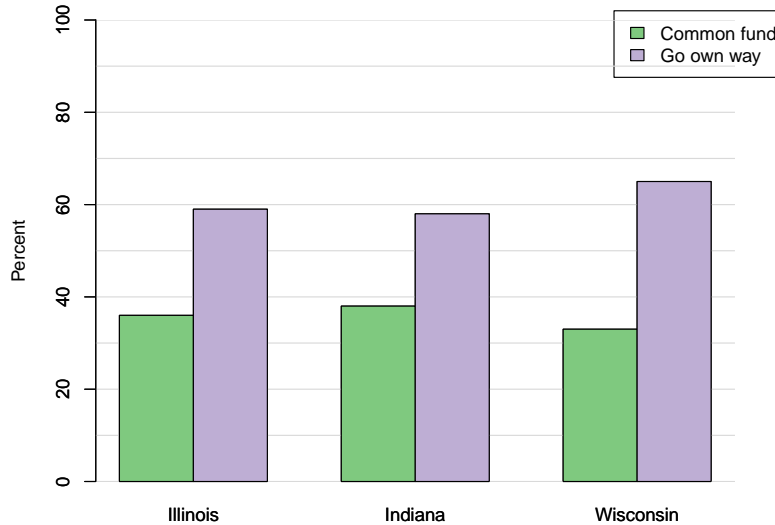
Q13. Would Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin be better off putting money into a common fund for attracting large companies to the tri-state region, or should each state just go its own way in attracting large companies?

Reversing the results for transportation as well as the earlier areas supporting cooperation, when it comes to attracting large companies to relocate voters are no longer willing to share funding for a common regional effort but rather agree that each state should follow its own path. Illinois residents are a bit less opposed to cooperation, at just 51 percent, but opposition is slightly higher in Indiana and noticeably higher at 60 percent in Wisconsin.

Differences of opinion: Residents of Wisconsin are more opposed to a common fund for business enticement, as are older citizens, Republicans and conservatives.

Those with higher levels of education, Democrats and liberals are more supportive of a shared funding arrangement.

Another area where local interests are paramount is tourism where by definition visitors must come to a specific place and are unlikely to spend their leisure dollars widely across the region. Here even larger majorities oppose a common fund to promote tourism to the region, solidly preferring that each state go its own way.



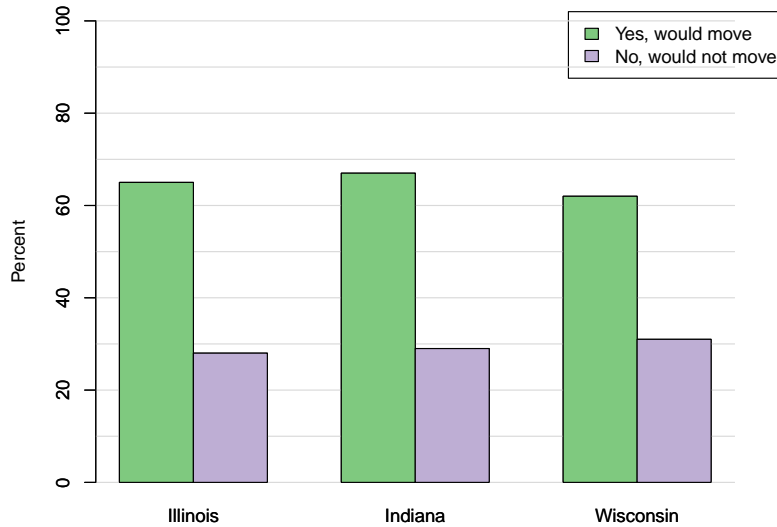
	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Common fund	36	38	33
Go own way	59	58	65

Q12. Would Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin be better off putting money into a common fund for promoting tourism in the tri-state region, or should each state just go its own way with promoting tourism?

Indiana and Illinois are about equal in opposition to a common fund while Wisconsin is more strongly opposed by a two to one margin, possibly reflecting the substantial tourism industry in the state.

Differences of opinion: State differences are statistically significant, with Wisconsin more opposed to shared funding. Women, Democrats and liberals are more likely to support a common fund while Republicans and conservatives are more opposed to shared funding.

The previous items asked about issues that affect collective interests. Another area of state competition involves the direct effects of tax rates on pocketbooks. While states primarily seek to attract businesses their tax rates relative to one another also provide incentives for individual citizens to relocate. A substantial majority of respondents report they would move for lower property and income taxes if their job was near the border.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Yes, would move	65	67	62
No, would not move	28	29	31

Q36. If your job was near the border between two states, and one state had lower property and income taxes, would you move to the lower tax state?

While this reported willingness to move probably overstates actual mobility, due to other transaction costs, the more than 60 percent majorities in each state show that there is a substantial willingness to consider relocating for tax advantages, at least provided that such movement would have modest impact on commuting distances.

Differences of opinion: Women are more willing to move while older people, Democrats and liberals are less willing to move for tax advantages than are Republicans and conservatives.

3.3 Conclusions

There is considerable support for cooperation and for things that benefit the region as a whole, at least in principle. Respondents say they prefer political leaders who consider regional interests rather than those who only look out for their own state. Likewise respondents say they care about regional well-being, not just how their hometown is doing. Further, respondents look to the private sector to lead the way on cooperation, and they support reducing licensing barriers between the states. And they agree that shared transportation planning and coordination are worth the cost.

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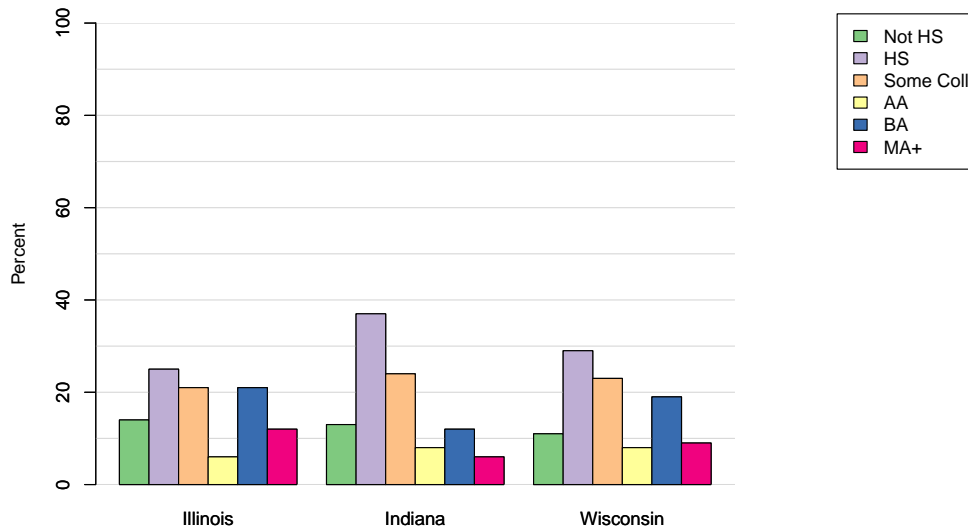
Differences of opinion: In this set of issues, partisanship and ideology frequently structure opinion with gender, education and sometimes age playing a role. Notable is the variation in the effect of business ownership which often fails to structure opinion, and the fact that race only made one appearance as a source of opinion. Also notable for its absence are residents of core urban counties who do not differ from their more suburban neighbors on any of these topics.

4 Work life, training and entrepreneurship

The economic vitality of a region depends in part on natural resources, location and infrastructure but a key ingredient is the quality of the available workforce. From the individual's point of view, preparation for work and the availability of work are critical to a life free from economic hardship. In this section the focus turns to the workforce, its preparation for and satisfaction with work.

4.1 Education and training

Level of education provides a simple yet fundamental benchmark for preparation for the workforce. Nationally, 26 percent of those 18 years old or older have at least a bachelor's degree while 42 percent have no more than a high school diploma.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Not HS	14	13	11
HS	25	37	29
Some Coll	21	24	23
AA	6	8	8
BA	21	12	19
MA+	12	6	9

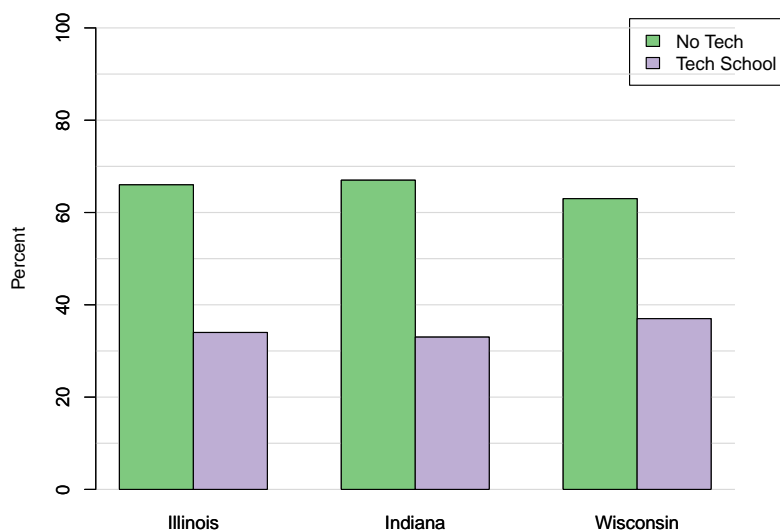
Education. What is the highest level of education you completed?

On this measure the regions in the megacity differ from each other and in comparison to the national rates. The Illinois counties of the region are higher in college graduation rates, with 33 percent than the national rate of 26 percent, while there are fewer with high school or less (39 percent vs 42 percent). The Indiana counties, by contrast, fall behind the national benchmarks with 18 percent college graduates and 50 percent with high school or less. Wisconsin counties are slightly ahead of the national college graduation rate at 28 percent and slightly lower in the percentage of high school graduates or less at 40 percent.

As a whole the region compares favorably to the nation for those with at least a college degree, but the 39 to 50 percent with no more than a high school diploma are likely to be a long term challenge for the region as those with lower levels of education find it more difficult, and increasingly so, to find well paying work. This is an issue throughout the region, though more so in northwestern Indiana.

Differences of opinion: Residents of Indiana and Wisconsin are significantly lower in education than are Illinois residents. African-Americans and more so Hispanics suffer from fewer years of schooling. Married people and business owners are more highly educated than non-owners or the unmarried. Partisanship plays no role but liberals are more highly educated.

While college adds a considerable economic premium over high school alone, it is not the sole pathway to desirable careers. Technical training is one alternative route and one that substantial numbers of people have sought.



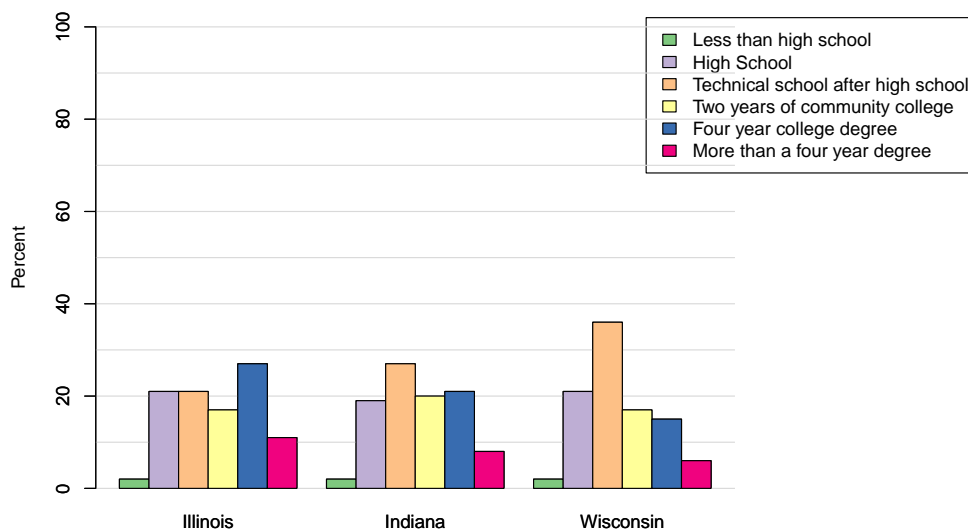
	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
No Tech	66	67	63
Tech School	34	33	37

Tech. Have you had technical training beyond high school?

Combining those who have had post-high school job training through unions, technical schools or some other way, between 33 and 37 percent of respondents have some form of training. The rate of such training is almost identical for Illinois and Indiana residents and somewhat higher in Wisconsin. Not all of these respondents have only a high school diploma as many have also had some college or a two-year degree, and some are also college graduates.

Differences of opinion: Wisconsin residents are more likely to have technical training. Those with fewer years of academic schooling are much more likely to have technical training. Women and the never married are less likely to get technical training while African-Americans are much more likely to do so, as are those classified as other race who are neither white nor Hispanic. Hispanics are neither more nor less likely to have technical training than whites. Business owners are more likely to have technical training. Democrats are more likely to have technical training and Republicans less so.

Educational aspirations are important in setting goals for new generations and here there is considerable variation in what respondents say is the minimum amount of schooling in order to hold a good job.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Less than high school	2	2	2
High School	21	19	21
Technical school after high school	21	27	36
Two years of community college	17	20	17
Four year college degree	27	21	15
More than a four year degree	11	8	6

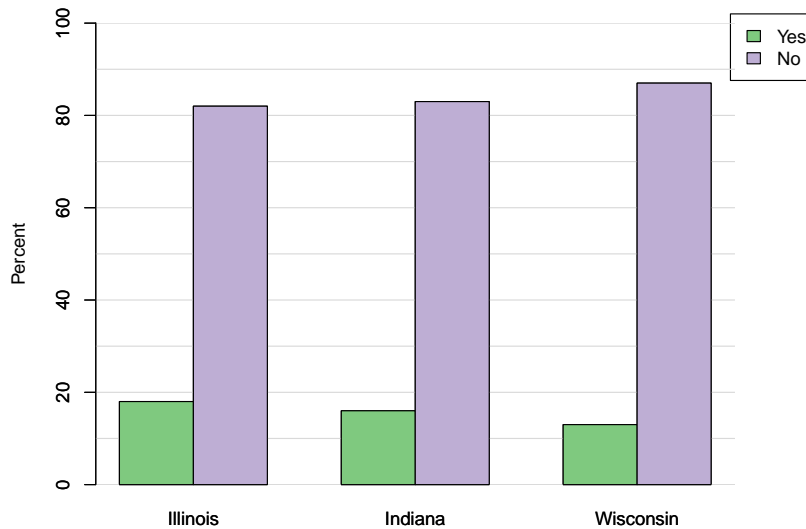
Q33. What is the least amount of schooling someone needs these days to get and keep a good paying job?

Fewer respondents say high school is enough than hold that education level themselves. The upward escalation of education required does not necessarily mean a bachelor's degree, as only between 21 percent and 38 percent say a degree or more is necessary. While raising the level of education seen as needed, a considerable share of the public sees opportunity in technical or two year degrees with 38 to 51 percent saying this level of training is sufficient for desirable work. These aspirations are likely to increase demand for post high school education though not necessarily for baccalaureate institutions.

Differences of opinion: Wisconsin residents have lower estimates of how much education is desirable for job success than residents of the Illinois or Indiana. Women and

those who are better educated themselves see higher levels of education required for success. African-Americans, Hispanics and other races, who tend to have lower levels of education themselves, see a greater level of education as necessary for success. Business owners, by contrast, believe job success does not require as much education. Those with technical training agree.

For those already in the workforce, post high-school job training is available from a variety of sources. In the megacity region unions provide one source of training.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Yes	18	16	13
No	82	83	87

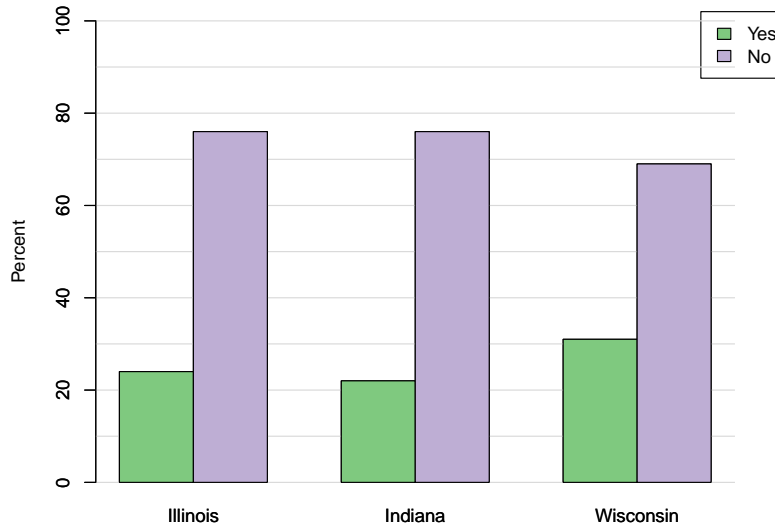
Q26. Did you ever receive any formal job training after high school from a union?

While union membership has declined over the past several decades, unions still provided job training for 13 to 18 percent of respondents in the region. Though a modest percentage, this training is likely to be directed at specific skills for which employment is available and thus have a notable impact on job readiness, especially for those without benefit of more traditional academic job training.

Differences of opinion: Women and those with more academic training are less likely to receive technical training from a union. African-Americans and those of other

race are more likely to do so than whites, and Democrats are as well, though ideology plays no role. Note that the role of party here is descriptive rather than causal. Democrats may seek union training or receiving union training may make one more likely to be a Democrat. The analysis does not speak to that issue.

Technical schools are more widely used for post-high school training throughout the region.



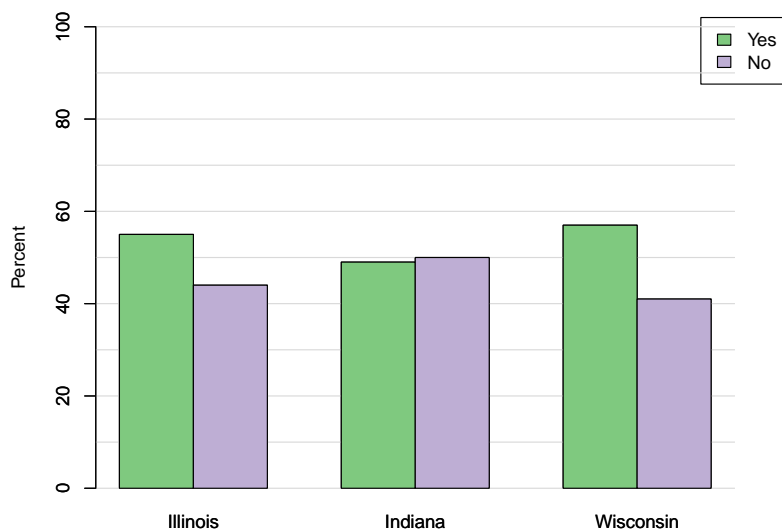
	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Yes	24	22	31
No	76	76	69

Q27. Did you ever receive any formal job training after high school from a technical school?

From 22 to 31 percent of respondents say they have received training at a technical school since high school. The combination of union and technical school training (with some overlap of people having both types) provide a significant avenue for workforce preparation for a third of the workforce.

Differences of opinion: Wisconsin residents are more likely to attend a technical school than those in Illinois or Indiana. Those with fewer years of academic education are more likely to attend technical schools while women are less so. African-Americans and those of other races, but not Hispanics, are more likely to attend a technical school than are whites. Business owners are more likely to have training through a technical school, while party and ideology are not significant predictors.

These forms of job training come most readily to mind as avenues for preparation and advancement in a career. But a more common avenue is training offered through an employer. More than half of respondents report that their employer offered training that can lead to advancement within the company.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Yes	55	49	57
No	44	50	41

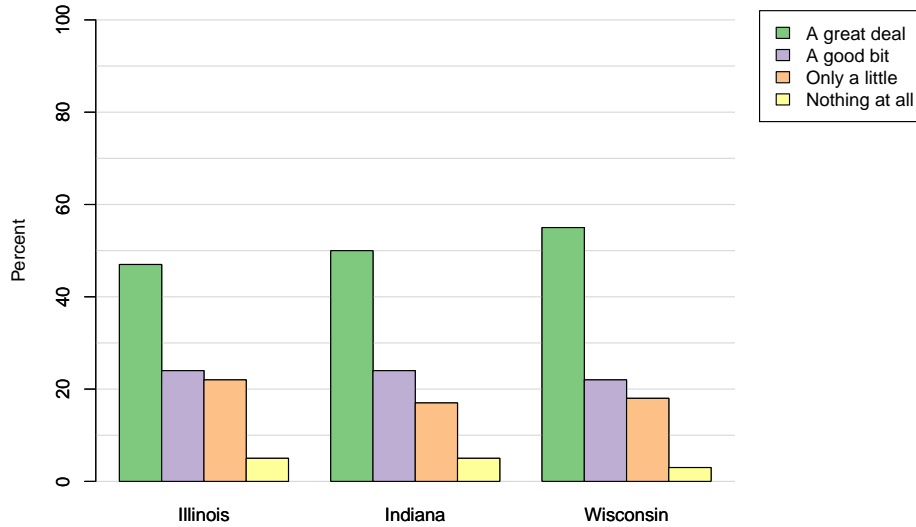
Q25. Did your current or last employer offer training to improve your skills and allow you to move up to a better job in the company?

To the extent this type of training is both highly relevant to a current job and is likely provided at little cost this type of on the job training may be especially valuable for those past school age or with limited ability to take time away from work for additional education.

Differences of opinion: States do not differ in the prevalence of employer based training. Employer based training is more likely to be available to those with technical training and with more years of academic schooling, and to older, Hispanic, members of other races, and those who are married. Women are less likely to have employer based training available. Business owners are less likely to say they have had an employer who offered this type of training. Party and ideology are not significantly related to this training opportunity.

4.2 Workforce and the economy

Respondents see job training and work ethic as important determinants of overall economic growth, not simply as an individual advantage in career development. Nearly half or more of respondents in each state say that training and work ethic matter “a great deal” for economic growth.



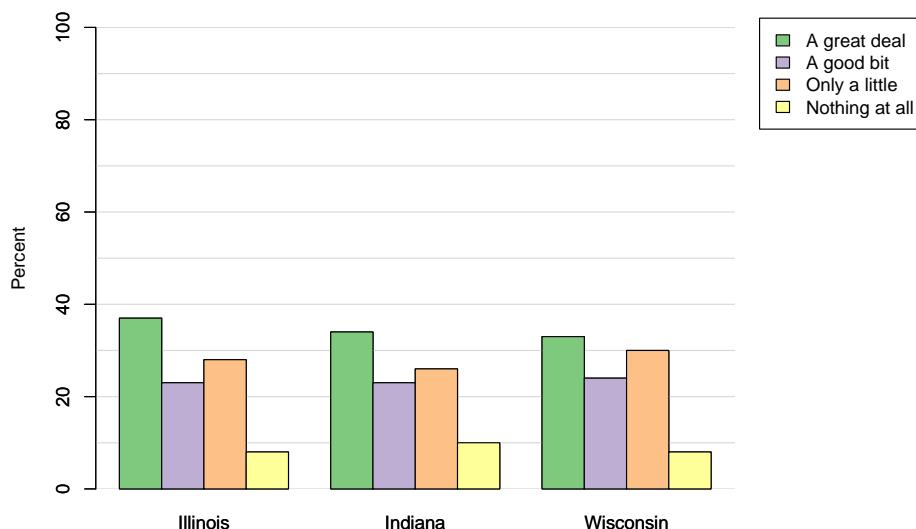
	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
A great deal	47	50	55
A good bit	24	24	22
Only a little	22	17	18
Nothing at all	5	5	3

Q6. How much do you think the training and work ethic of the labor force determines how much the economy grows?

In their aspirations for education and in the significant rates of job training respondents not only contribute to their own well-being but also believe they are adding to the region’s economic prospects.

Differences of opinion: While the overall percentage differences are not large, Wisconsin and Indiana residents are more likely than those in Illinois to see workforce training as important for economic growth. Despite their higher aspirations for education seen above, African-Americans are somewhat less likely to see workforce skills as a driver of economic growth. Democrats see workforce development as more important while Republicans say it plays a lesser role in economic growth.

By contrast, a smaller, though not insignificant, number believe that state government can stimulate economic growth. About a third see state government as contributing “a great deal” to economic growth, compared to half saying training and work ethic contributes that much.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
A great deal	37	34	33
A good bit	23	23	24
Only a little	28	26	30
Nothing at all	8	10	8

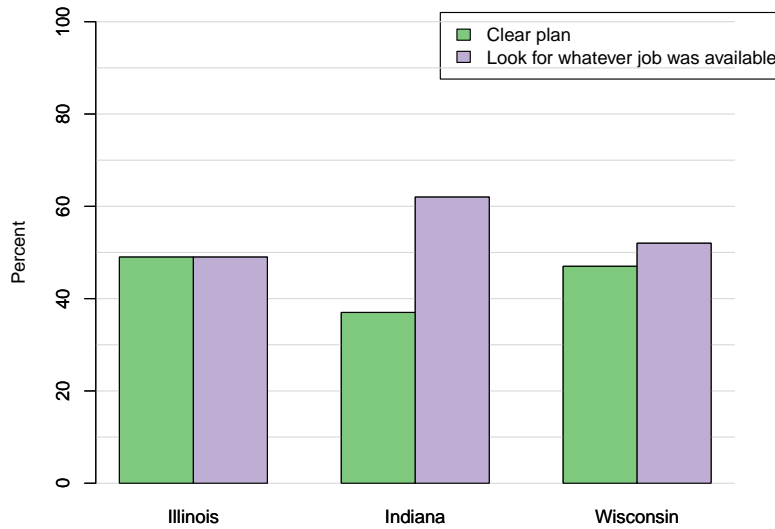
Q5. How much do you think state government can do through taxes, regulations and other laws to promote business growth?

A majority believe state government tax and regulatory policy can promote business growth, though more than a third see these efforts as of limited impact. Respondents put greater emphasis on individual training than state government action though without doubting that government has some contribution to make, albeit a lesser one.

Differences of opinion: Those with more education and African-Americans see government policy as an important driver of growth. Surprisingly, no other group emerges as a statistically significant predictor of seeing government as key to growth, including partisanship, ideology and business ownership. Views of the role of government in this case appear to be quite uniformly distributed across most population groups.

4.3 Personal experience with work

While respondents emphasize individual preparation for the workforce, half or more admit they did not enter the workforce with a plan for their careers, but rather took any available employment.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Clear plan	49	37	47
Look for whatever job was available	49	62	52

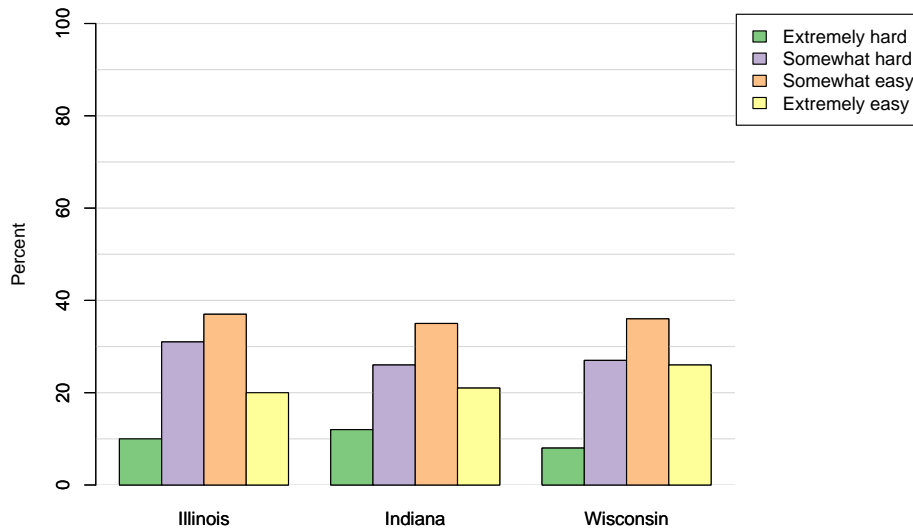
Q23. Did you enter the workforce with a clear plan for the kind of work you would do or did you look for whatever job was available at the time?

Even in the educationally advantaged Illinois counties equal numbers say they planned as say they did not. In the more challenging economic and educational situation in northwest Indiana more than 60 percent said they took what they could get. Wisconsin falls closer to Illinois but with fewer planning than not. Career planning is undoubtedly a consequence of economic conditions as well as individual aspiration but these results illustrate the challenge of training a workforce when significant decisions about training and career are made without a clear plan.

Differences of opinion: Indiana residents are less likely to say they entered the workforce with a plan than those in Illinois or Wisconsin. Those with lower levels of academic education are especially likely to say they took whatever job was available as, to a lesser extent, do those with technical training. In this technical training does

not equate to entering the workforce initially with a clear plan. Race, gender, marital status, business ownership, partisanship and ideology play no role.

Despite this limited amount of planning more than half the respondents say it has been somewhat or very easy to find jobs. (It should be noted that this includes those retirees who were looking back on a career much of which is some distance in the past.) For comparison around 10 percent say they have found it extremely hard to find employment, while another 30 percent or so say it has been somewhat hard.



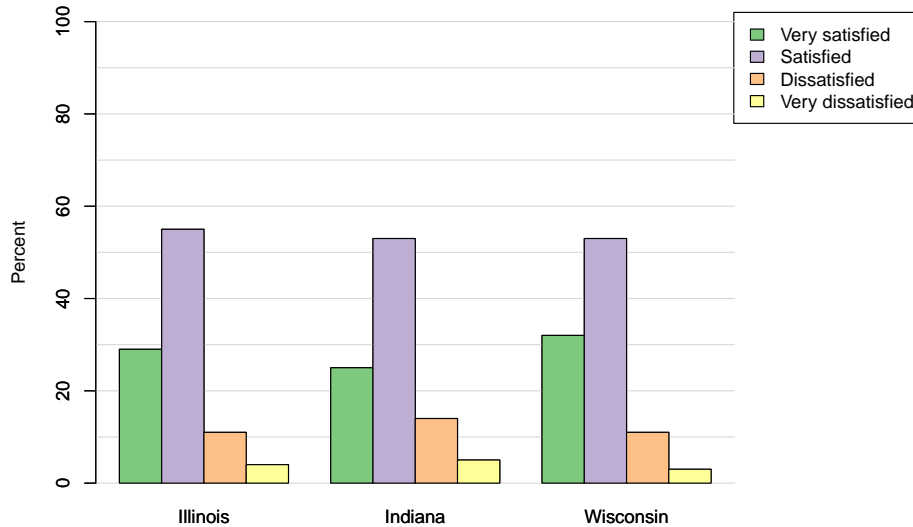
	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Extremely hard	10	12	8
Somewhat hard	31	26	27
Somewhat easy	37	35	36
Extremely easy	20	21	26

Q24. In general how hard has it been for you to find jobs?

While about twice as many find employment extremely easy as find it extremely difficult, the disparity illustrates the bifurcation of the labor force, with a majority experiencing relative success while more than a third struggle at least to some degree.

Differences of opinion: Older citizens say work was easier to find, as do married people. African-Americans and Democrats report more difficulty. Surprisingly, neither years of education nor technical training seem to affect ease of employment. The overall weakness of structuring in these job seeking experiences is notable.

Despite the significant struggle some find in the workforce most report satisfaction with their work life, with just more than a quarter very satisfied. Five percent or less say they are very dissatisfied with work and 11 to 14 percent say they are dissatisfied.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Very satisfied	29	25	32
Satisfied	55	53	53
Dissatisfied	11	14	11
Very dissatisfied	4	5	3

Q22. How satisfied are you with your work life and career? Very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?

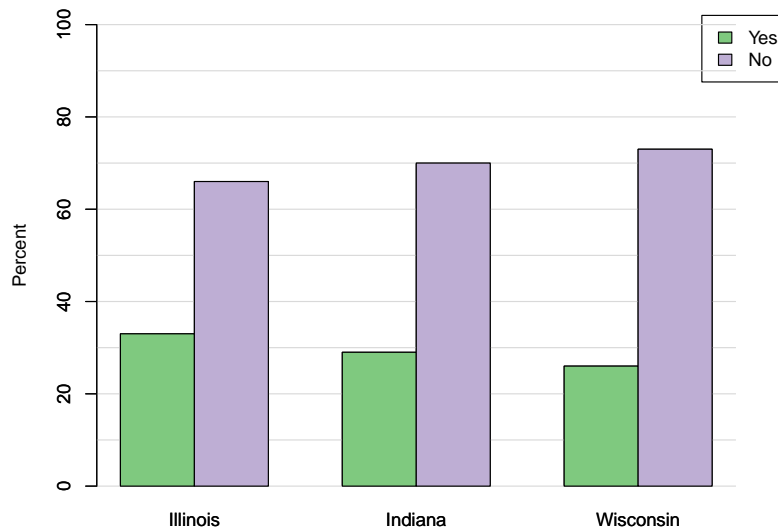
Differences of opinion: While ease of finding employment was unrelated to level of education, satisfaction with work is strongly related with the best educated expressing high satisfaction. Older people (many of whom have retired) express high satisfaction as do Hispanics and those who are married. Democrats and liberals are less satisfied with their work life than are Republicans and conservatives.

4.4 Entrepreneurial behavior

The Chicago metropolitan area ranked 21st and the Milwaukee area ranked 39th of 39 metropolitan areas in the 2015 Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation's annual Kauffman Index of Startup

Activity at the metropolitan area level.⁵ At the state level, Illinois ranked 26th, Indiana 44th and Wisconsin 50th. Our survey results measured several aspects of entrepreneurial behavior and risk taking in employment and career. While entrepreneurship is certainly present there are several areas in which the balance of opinion favors security over risk-taking in employment.

A significant percentage of respondents report that at some point in their lives they have started a business, owned a company or been self-employed, each an element of entrepreneurial behavior included in the Kaufman Foundation’s measure.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Yes	33	29	26
No	66	70	73

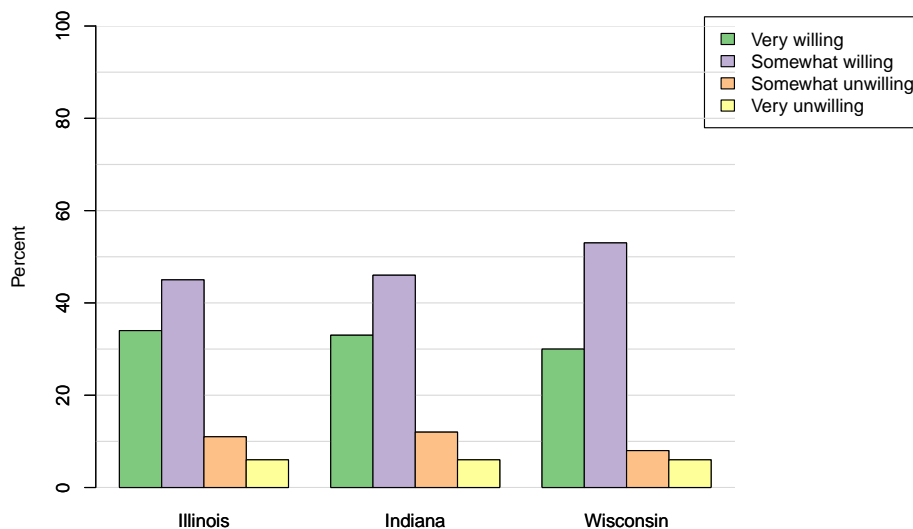
Q30. Have you ever started your own business or owned a store or company or have you ever been self-employed?

The variation across states is modest though with slightly more entrepreneurial activity in Illinois and slightly less in Wisconsin.

Differences of opinion: Those with technical training or more schooling and older people are more likely to say they have started or owned a business or have been self-employed, as are African-Americans and Republicans. Women and Democrats are less likely to have done so.

⁵<http://www.kauffman.org/microsites/kauffman-index/reports>

Respondents' attitudes toward taking economic risks also illustrates something less than a full embrace of entrepreneurship. Asked to imagine themselves in their 20s or early 30s, about a third in each state said they would be very willing to take a job with a start up company, trading a low salary for the prospect of potential large gains if the company succeeded.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Very willing	34	33	30
Somewhat willing	45	46	53
Somewhat unwilling	11	12	8
Very unwilling	6	6	6

Q28. If you were in your 20s or early 30s, how willing would you be to take a job with a new startup company if you had a chance to make a large profit if the startup became successful but you would make a low salary at first?

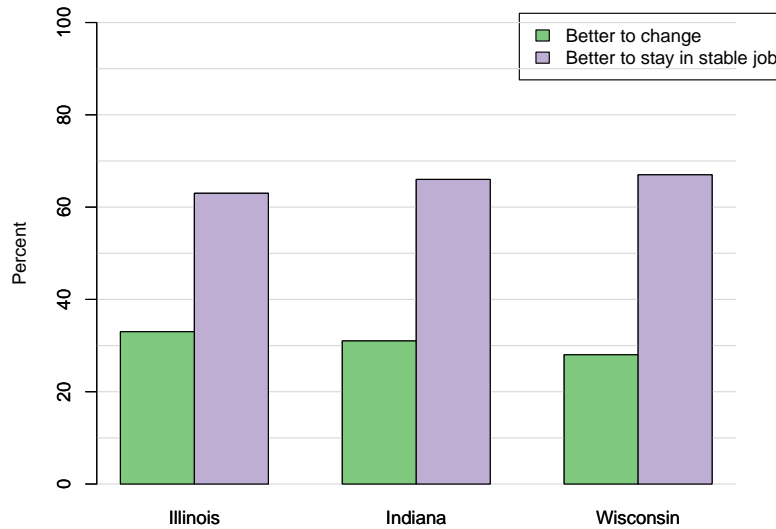
About half of respondents say they would be somewhat willing to join a start up, with less than 20 percent saying they would be unwilling or very unwilling to take this kind of risk. This hypothetical situation finds barely more very willing to take a chance than the percentage who say they had actually engaged in entrepreneurial activity. This suggests that attitudes that would support an expansion of economic risk taking are not prevalent enough to support a substantial increase in entrepreneurial activity.

Differences of opinion: As with owning a business, it is older people who say they would be more willing to risk working for a start up company compared to younger

people. The image of young people eagerly embracing start up opportunities is not supported by these data. By contrast business owners are much more likely to say they would join a start up, with conservatives also more likely to say so and liberals less. No partisan differences emerge on this dimension.

Another case of balancing risk and reward comes in the willingness to change jobs in pursuit of better opportunity. The geographic mobility that accompanied economic mobility in the years following World War II has diminished nationally over recent decades. At the same time the fragility of jobs in many industries suggests that we might expect more people to be willing to change jobs in light of a considerably reduced likelihood of lifetime employment in a single company. The aggregate data suggest that greater impermanence of employment has not resulted in more willingness to change jobs voluntarily.

Respondents were asked if they thought it is better to change jobs often when better opportunities arise or better to stay in a stable and reliable job for a long time. In a period of real wage stagnation for much of the populace it would be advantageous to shift to a higher paying opportunity rather than remain in a job with little prospect of pay increases. Still, only a third of respondents say it is better to follow opportunities while two thirds prefer the security of a reliable job despite implicit loss of opportunity and advancement.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Better to change	33	31	28
Better to stay in stable job	63	66	67

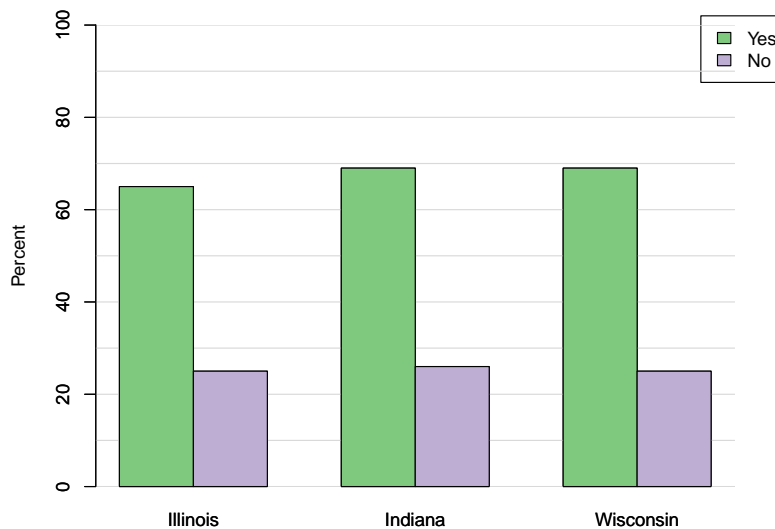
Q29. Do you think it is better to change jobs often whenever there is a better opportunity or is it better to stay in a stable and reliable job for a long time?

Differences of opinion: The better educated are more likely to embrace changing jobs in pursuit of better opportunities. Likewise business owners are much more likely to say they would change jobs often. No other group shows a statistically significant relationship to this form of economic risk taking.

One lesson from these results is that the public appetite for risk is considerably less than talk of an entrepreneurial generation with Silicon Valley dreams would suggest. While a third of the population seems through words and deeds to embrace or at least consider taking economic risks, the substantial majority are less willing to do so.

Respondents are substantially more likely to say that a young person can have a successful career in more traditional lines of work.

Despite the decline in manufacturing employment throughout the megacity region two-thirds of respondents see manufacturing as still offering a path to success.



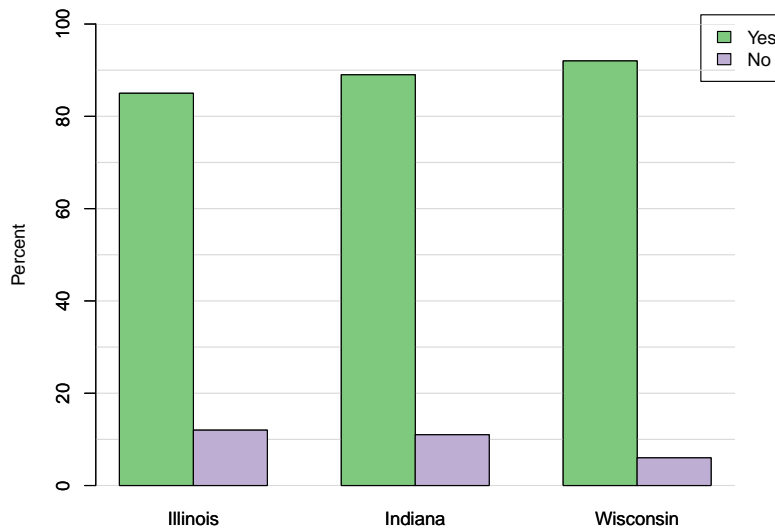
	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Yes	65	69	69
No	25	26	25

Q31. Can a young person have a successful career working in manufacturing these days?

It is certainly possible that far more would have embraced manufacturing in earlier years but this result shows the resilience of the notion that manufacturing is a path to opportunity. With advanced manufacturing growing in the region this may not be an unrealistic belief though the sheer number of jobs seems unlikely to return to the levels of several decades ago while the skill levels required are surely now considerably greater.

Differences of opinion: Neither years of schooling nor technical training predict enthusiasm for manufacturing careers, nor does age. Racial differences are modest with only those of other races more likely to embrace manufacturing. Both the married and the never married see manufacturing as a good career, compared to those widowed, divorced or separated. Republicans are more likely to say manufacturing can provide a good career while Democrats disagree.

In recent years there has been a noticeable increase in public discussion of career opportunities that do not require college degrees and which offer some significant protection from outsourcing. One such area are the traditional skilled trades. Respondents in the region overwhelmingly agree that these trades offer a route to economic success, with more than 85 percent in each state agreeing, the strongest consensus seen in these data.



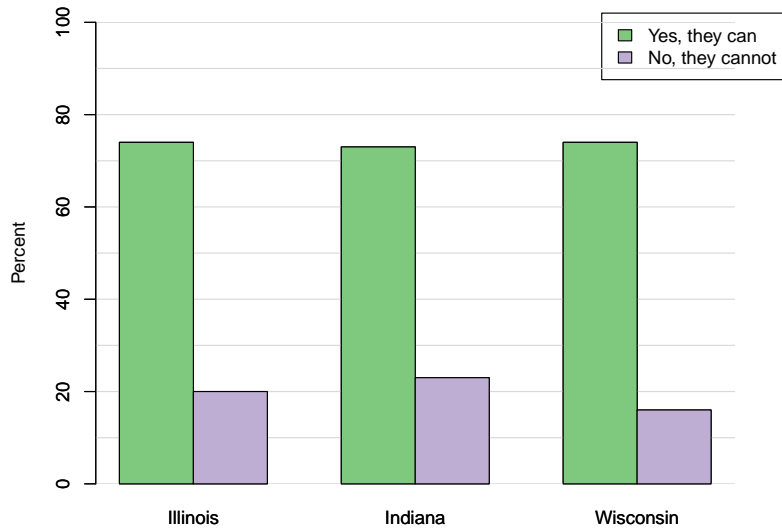
	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Yes	85	89	92
No	12	11	6

Q32. Can a young person have a successful career working in a skilled trade like an electrician, plumber or carpenter?

Differences of opinion: Views of careers in skilled trades are structured in the same way as views of manufacturing careers, with gender, education and age showing little predictive strength while race, marital status and partisanship have the same effects as for views of manufacturing.

4.5 Barriers to job success

One phenomenon often seen as limiting job prospects is incarceration. With a large prison population and extremely high incidence among African-Americans, the long term effect on work life due to imprisonment is a significant concern. While a large body of research demonstrates the negative impact on employment and earnings of imprisonment in early adulthood, some three-quarters of respondents say that incarceration does not present a permanent barrier to steady work, assuming no re-offending.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Yes, they can	74	73	74
No, they cannot	20	23	16

Q34. Can someone convicted of a crime and who spends time in jail during their 20s ever get steady work after leaving jail, assuming they stay out of legal trouble?

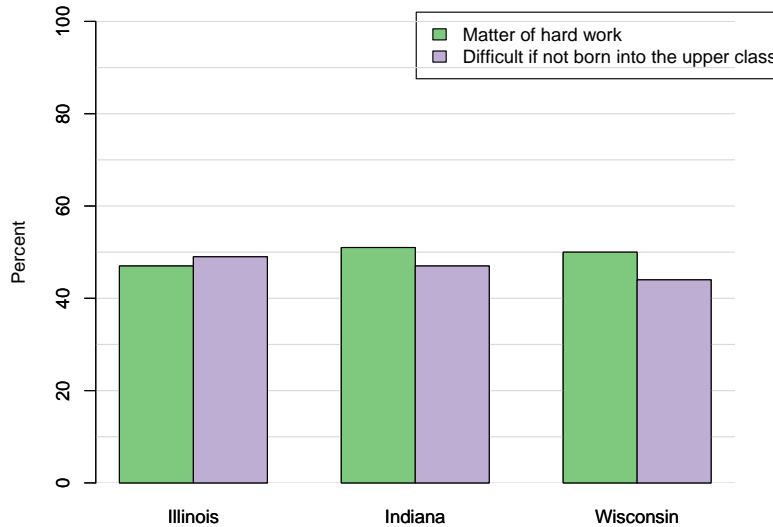
In this respondents may be expressing a normative conviction that past offending need not lead to permanent unemployment. To say that “steady work” is possible is also not the same as saying

there are no negative consequences of incarceration. These results do suggest that a substantial majority of the public doubt the most dire long term consequences of incarceration.

Differences of opinion: African-Americans are more likely to see incarceration as detrimental to future employment as do liberals. Older voters and conservatives doubt the lasting impact of incarceration. No other variables, including partisanship, structure this opinion to a statistically significant degree.

A growing body of research finds that social mobility is not as common as American ideals would suggest. A considerable amount of public discussion focuses on the limitations on upward mobility and an alleged increased role for initial advantage.

Respondents are almost evenly divided between saying that in America today success is only a matter of hard work rather than advantages of birth.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Matter of hard work	47	51	50
Difficult if not born into the upper class	49	47	44

Q35. In America today is success only a matter of hard work and ability or is it now much more difficult to succeed if you aren't born into the upper class?

This even divide in views of the American ideal of merit and mobility does not address the empirical reality of mobility but it points to the likelihood of considerable political and policy debate over the issue in coming years.

Differences of opinion: African-Americans and Hispanics are more likely to believe that circumstances of birth are more important than individual effort in structuring success. Party and ideology play very strong roles in this belief with Republicans and conservatives much more likely to say that hard work determines success while Democrats and liberals are more likely to say status of birth is critical. Interestingly business ownership, technical training and amount of education, presumably indicators of efforts to succeed, play no role in structuring this belief.

4.6 Conclusions

As a region, the Chicago megacity benefits from a workforce a little more highly educated than the nation as a whole but also has a significant fraction of people with only a high school diploma or less. The distribution of education is also uneven in the region, with half the adult population in northwest Indiana holding a high school education or less. As the job market demands higher levels of training, this fact about the distribution of education will constrain the workforce.

One way respondents report rising to workforce demands is through technical training obtained through unions, technical schools, or workplace training opportunities. More than a third of respondents report receiving some form of training beyond high school but not as part of an advanced academic degree. This training may provide skills well suited to the workplace, boosting the employment prospects of those who do not pursue a baccalaureate degree or more.

Respondents see the quality of the workforce as key to economic growth, and believe this to be more important than state government policies in stimulating growth. However, when it comes to their own preparation for work, about half admit they did not have a clear plan for the kind of work they would do. This lack of planning limits the ability of young people to choose the training they will need. Here technical training and especially the substantial availability of on-the-job training may allow those past the point of full-time student status to acquire relevant skills for the career they may have entered as a result of what was available rather than advanced planning. In this way, technical training allows people already in the workforce the opportunity to acquire skills they lacked the foresight to acquire in their early adult years.

Despite their often haphazard approach to careers, most respondents report a relatively easy experience finding work, though for one-in-ten work is extremely difficult to find. Respondents likewise report relative satisfaction with their work lives, with less than one-in-five saying they are dissatisfied.

Ease of employment and satisfaction with work do not mean that residents of the megacity are anxious to take risks for economic gain. Only a third say they have engaged in entrepreneurial actions by starting or owning a business or by being self-employed. A similar third say they would be very willing to risk working in a start up company, and a third say they would change jobs to pursue better work opportunities. While one in three residents may consider taking a risk for possible economic gain, two-in-three prefer the security of more stable employment, thus limiting risk but also foregoing potential gains. Instead there is substantial enthusiasm for traditional career paths in manufacturing and skilled trades, even for the current generation of young adults.

Two potential limitations on economic mobility are also addressed by this report. A substan-

tial majority discount the long term consequences of incarceration on employment. The public is about equally divided on whether success is only a matter of hard work and ability or whether initial advantage now matters more than it perhaps once did. This division in belief about mobility coexists with a reluctance to embrace job mobility in search of opportunity or to take jobs with possible large but risky rewards. More than sixty percent say they would move in order to lower their taxes, but that is a far more certain reward. When it comes to classic entrepreneurial risk only a third of respondents are willing to take a chance.

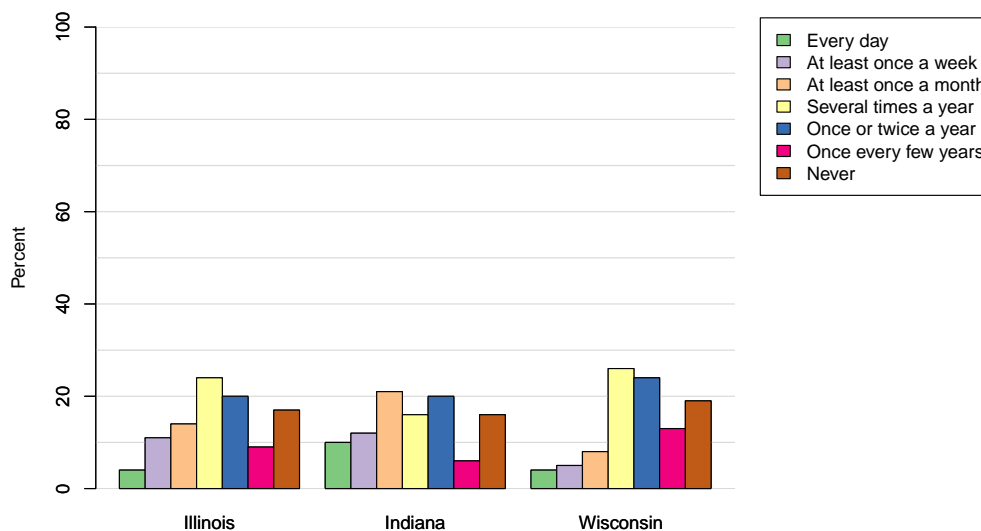
Differences of opinion: Individual characteristics such as gender, race and education are frequent predictors of education attainment, aspiration and technical training. Partisanship and ideology are only sporadically related to actions such as technical training or amount of education needed for a good career or entering the work force with clear career plans. Partisanship and ideology have much stronger effects on views of social mobility.

5 Transportation

The Chicago megacity is the transportation hub of the nation with a vast amount of commerce passing through the region via rail, road, water and air. For residents, transportation is the means of getting from here to there, whether for work or pleasure. Transportation planning is one area where respondents throughout the region are supportive of shared government expenditures to coordinate efforts, as reported above.

5.1 Interstate Travel

Residents of the megacity experience other states of the region by travel for work or pleasure. But these journeys across state lines vary noticeably by state, with residents of Indiana most regularly crossing state lines while residents of Wisconsin are notably less likely to go out of state.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Every day	4	10	4
At least once a week	11	12	5
At least once a month	14	21	8
Several times a year	24	16	26
Once or twice a year	20	20	24
Once every few years	9	6	13
Never	17	16	19

Q18. How often do you travel for work or for pleasure from your home state to one of the other two states in the tri-state region?

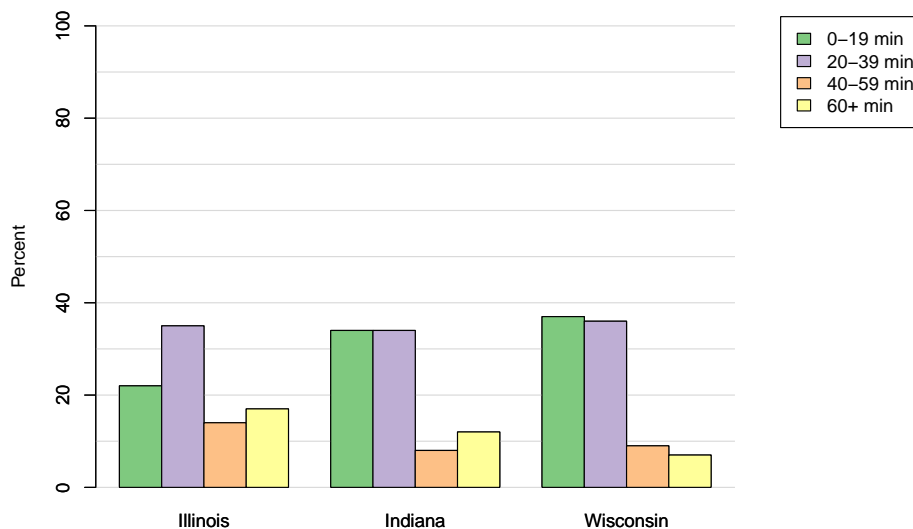
Ten percent of Indiana residents report traveling out of state every day while only four percent of Illinois and Wisconsin residents do so daily. The relative proximity of population to state lines undoubtedly accounts for much of this. Aside from daily travel, an additional 11 percent of Illinois residents and 12 percent of Indiana residents travel to another state at least once a week, while only five percent of Wisconsinites do so.

At the opposite extreme, 32 percent of Wisconsin residents only rarely or never travel to Illinois or Indiana. In contrast, 26 percent of Illinois and 20 percent of Indiana residents are so reluctant to visit their neighbor states.

Differences of opinion: Indiana residents are substantially more frequent travelers while Wisconsinites are much less likely to visit the other two states frequently. Those most frequently crossing state borders are the most educated, African Americans, married people and business owners. Older citizens are much less likely to travel, while party and ideology play no role.

5.2 Commuting

When it comes to daily travel to work, it is unsurprising that the heart of the megacity experiences the longest commutes, with 31 percent spending 40 minutes or more each way on their daily travel, compared to 20 percent in Indiana and just 16 percent in Wisconsin. Short commute times of under 20 minutes are common in Wisconsin where 37 percent spend this much time and 34 percent in Indiana while only 22 percent of Illinois residents are able to reach work so quickly.



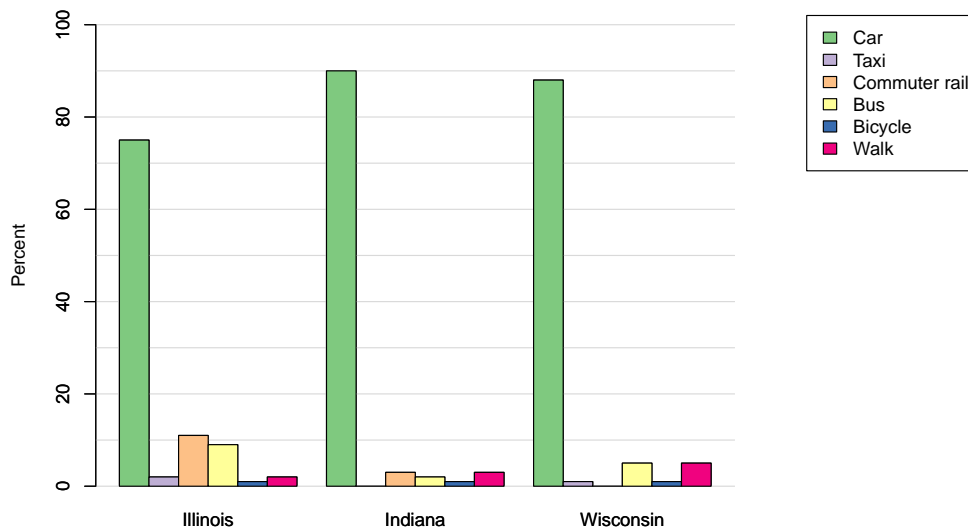
	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
0-19 min	22	34	37
20-39 min	35	34	36
40-59 min	14	8	9
60+ min	17	12	7

Q37. In your (current/most recent) job, how much time does your commute to work take each way?

Differences of opinion: Commuting times are considerably longer for Illinois residents than for those in Indiana or Wisconsin. Women have shorter commutes than men while African-Americans, Hispanics and older people have longer travel times.

Transportation mode choice depends on cost, travel time and availability. Not surprisingly commuter rail (including Amtrak) is most common in Illinois where 11 percent choose rail versus four

percent in Indiana and none in the Wisconsin sample do so. Similarly, bus transit is most common in Illinois at nine percent compared to five percent in Wisconsin and just two percent in Indiana.



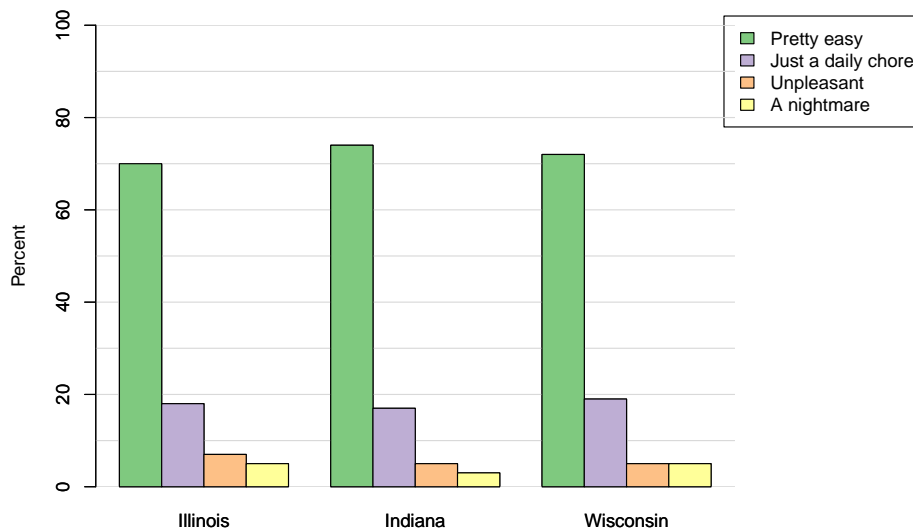
	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Car	75	90	88
Taxi	2	0	1
Commuter rail	11	3	0
Bus	9	2	5
Bicycle	1	1	1
Walk	2	3	5

Q38. What type of transportation (do/did) you use most often to get to work?

While three to six percent walk or bicycle to work, private cars remain by far the most common transit mode with three-quarters in Illinois braving the highways and near 90 percent doing so in Wisconsin and Indiana.

Differences of opinion: Use of mass transit, by rail or bus, is strongly related to state, reflecting the far greater availability of rail in Illinois. Those who live in an urban core county are much more likely to use mass transit. African-Americans and Hispanics are more likely to use mass transit than are whites while married people are slightly less likely to do so. Other factors that might plausibly play a role, such as gender, age or education fail to predict mass transit use.

As for the psychology of the commute, more than 70 percent in each state describe their commute as pretty easy. Despite the considerably longer average commute for Illinois residents, only seven percent say it is unpleasant and five percent call it “a nightmare”. Almost the same numbers, 10 percent in Wisconsin and eight percent in Indiana, experience their commute as unpleasant or worse.



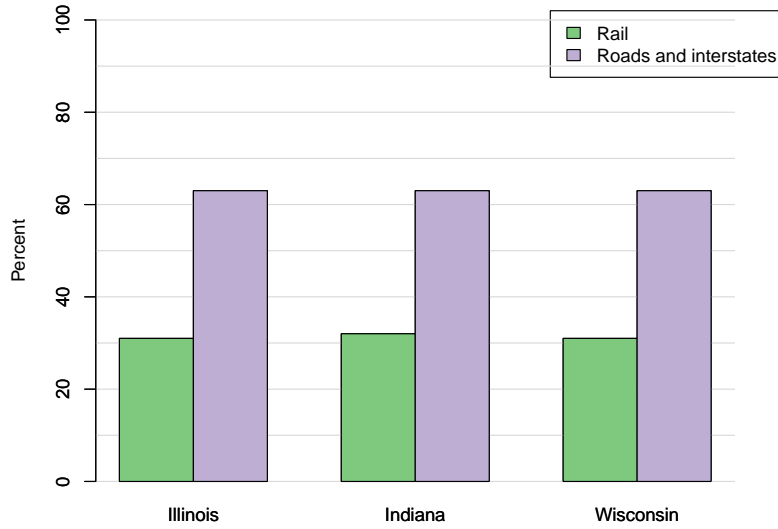
	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Pretty easy	70	74	72
Just a daily chore	18	17	19
Unpleasant	7	5	5
A nightmare	5	3	5

Q39. How would you describe your commute?

Differences of opinion: The only demographic predictor of how people feel about their commute is age. Older people who are less likely to complain about it. The overwhelmingly important predictor is simply the length of the commute.

5.3 Transportation funding priorities

Given the dominance of commuting by automobile it is not surprising that residents of the megacity put a high priority on infrastructure investment that favors highways over rail.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Rail	31	32	31
Roads and interstates	63	63	63

Q15. Which is more important for the tri-state region, improving commuter rail and Amtrak service or improving toll roads and interstates?

More than 60 percent prefer improvements in highways while just more than 30 percent would rather invest in rail improvements. Interestingly, this split in support is virtually the same across each of the three states regardless of the varying levels of rail usage or variation in commuting time. It is perhaps notable that while more than 75 percent commute by auto, somewhat fewer, six in ten, would prioritize highway improvements rather than rail.

Differences of opinion: There are no statistically significant differences in priority for transportation improvements due to state of residence, despite the large differences in rail availability and in transit times. More-educated and older voters are more supportive of improving rail, as are Hispanics. Those with longer commute times and who currently use mass transit are more supportive of rail improvements. While party and ideology played no role in choice of transit mode both are strongly predictive of views of transportation priorities, with Republicans and conservatives strongly favoring highway improvements while Democrats and liberals prefer rail improvements. This is a striking contrast between actual transit mode choices for which party and ideology play no role at all and opinion about what type of transit to fund where both play a very large role. Political preferences may be weakly or not at all

related to some behaviors yet strongly structure policy preferences about those very same topics. Democrats and Republicans are equally likely to ride the train but vastly different in their willingness to fund it.

5.4 Conclusion

Transportation systems are the networks that move people throughout the region. For more than 60 percent of the populations in each state, that daily movement means 40 minutes or more spent in round trip travel. Where alternative mass transit by rail or bus provide dense networks, as in Illinois, one in five residents opt to commute by these modes. Elsewhere private automobile remains the dominant transit mode, with near 90 percent commuting by car. Some 60 percent of residents of each state would prefer investments in highways over rail, though more prefer rail investments than currently make use of it, including in Illinois, which has the greatest availability of rail options, and Wisconsin which lacks commuter rail entirely.

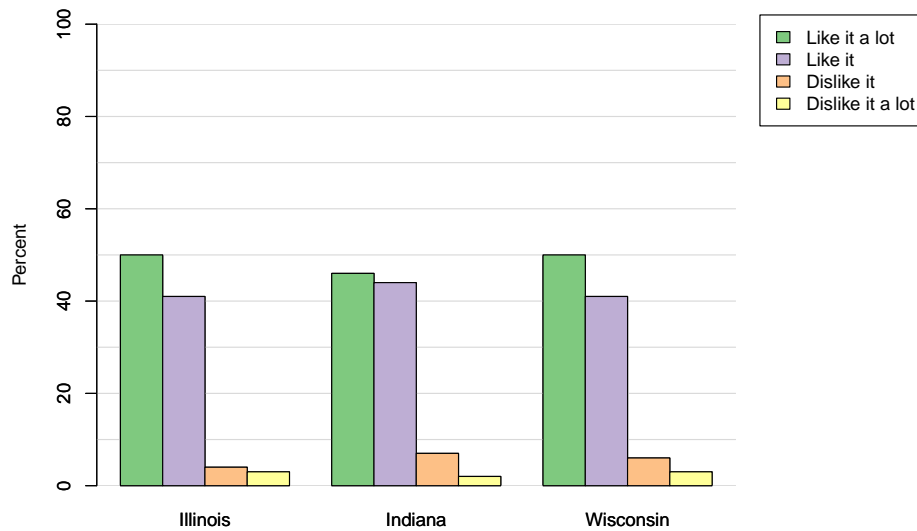
Despite variation in transit times, it appears that commuters adapt to the length of their commute. Illinois residents are not notably more unhappy with their lengthy commutes, while Wisconsin commuters seem no more grateful for their considerably shorter trip lengths.

Differences of opinion: In transportation we see fairly consistent demographic effects while party and ideology are weakly related to behavior but strongly related to opinion about transportation policy. Location and availability of transit options play a substantial role in travel times and mode choice, unsurprisingly. One surprise is that subjective feelings vary little across states but are strongly related to the individual's length of commute. Views of transportation policy do not vary between the state with the most rail infrastructure, Illinois, and that with the least, Wisconsin.

6 Home life and community issues

6.1 Neighborhoods

Most residents of the megacity region like their neighborhoods, and this satisfaction is virtually identical across the three states, with half of Illinois and Wisconsin residents saying they like their neighborhoods a lot while nearly as many, 47 percent, of Indiana residents agree. Less than 10 percent in each state say they dislike their neighborhood.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Like it a lot	50	46	50
Like it	41	44	41
Dislike it	4	7	6
Dislike it a lot	3	2	3

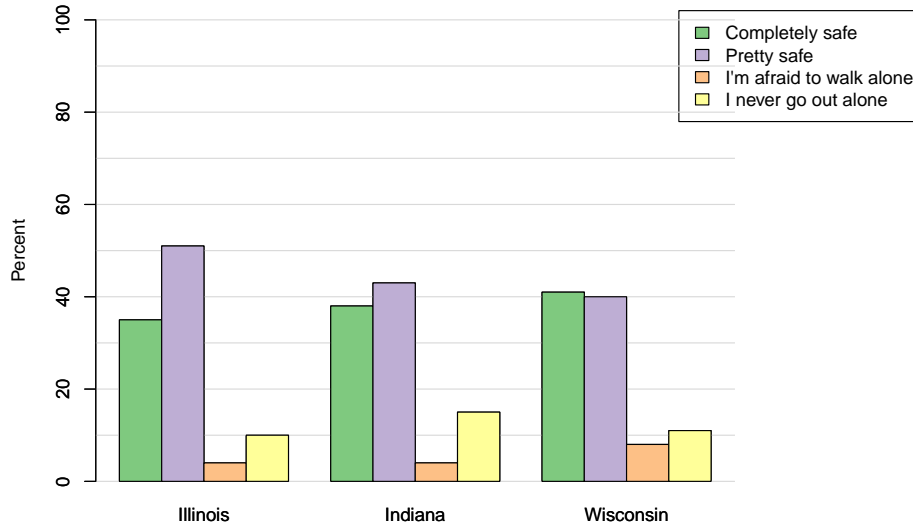
Q40. On the whole, do you like or dislike your neighborhood as a place to live?

Satisfaction with neighborhoods may represent efficient sorting of people into neighborhoods that suit them but it may also reduce residential mobility, contributing to longer commutes and reduced job mobility as “home” exerts an inertia on mobility for economic opportunities, though we saw earlier that a significant percentage said they would consider moving for tax benefits.

Differences of opinion: There are no significant differences between states in neighborhood satisfaction. Those living in urban core counties are more likely to say they

dislike their neighborhood as are African-Americans. Better educated, older and married people are more likely to express satisfaction with where they live. Party and ideology do not affect views of neighborhoods.

Perceived safety is one attribute of neighborhoods. More people say they are uncomfortable walking alone at night, 14 to 19 percent, than say they dislike their neighborhood, seven to nine percent.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Completely safe	35	38	41
Pretty safe	51	43	40
I'm afraid to walk alone	4	4	8
I never go out alone	10	15	11

Q41. How safe do you feel walking alone at night in your neighborhood?

While there is a modest variation in perceived safety across the states, more than 80 percent in each say their neighborhoods are at least pretty safe. That leaves 10 percent or more in each state who say they never go out alone in the evening. As we saw earlier with ease of finding work, a majority find their situations quite good but a persistent bifurcation separates them from those who live in far more precarious circumstances.

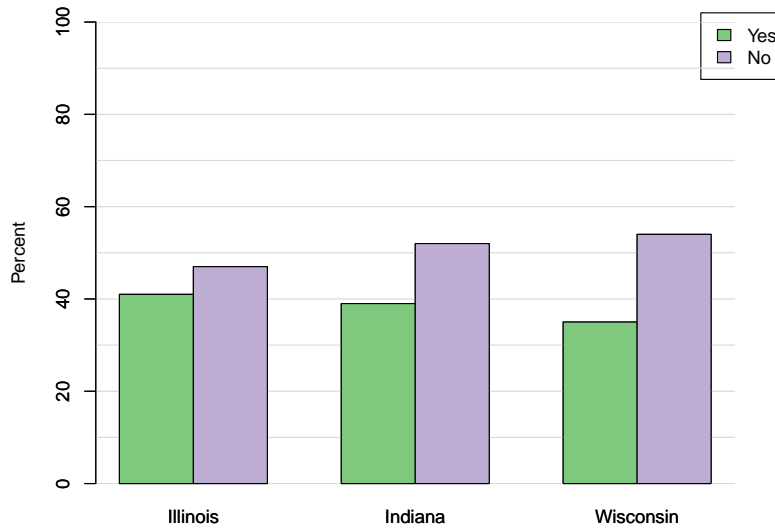
Differences of opinion: The states do not differ in their residents' perception of safety. Those living in urban core counties, women, older people, African-Americans

and Hispanics are much more likely to perceive their neighborhood as unsafe. Better educated and married people are more likely to perceive their neighborhoods as safe. Party and ideology play no role. This grouping of effects illustrates the social and demographic stratification of neighborhoods and of the perception of safety.

6.2 Policing

With high incarceration rates, especially in the African-American community and a number of recent highly visible deaths of African-Americans in confrontations with police there has been an increase in public discussion of policing practices across the country. This broader policy discussion incorporates daily policing practices and incarceration rates as well as policy and practice in the use of deadly force by police officers.

Earlier we saw that residents of the megacity region doubt that incarceration necessarily prevents post-incarceration employment. A related element of policing is arrest for minor offenses, an area that has become more prominent in discussions of policing policy.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Yes	41	39	35
No	47	52	54

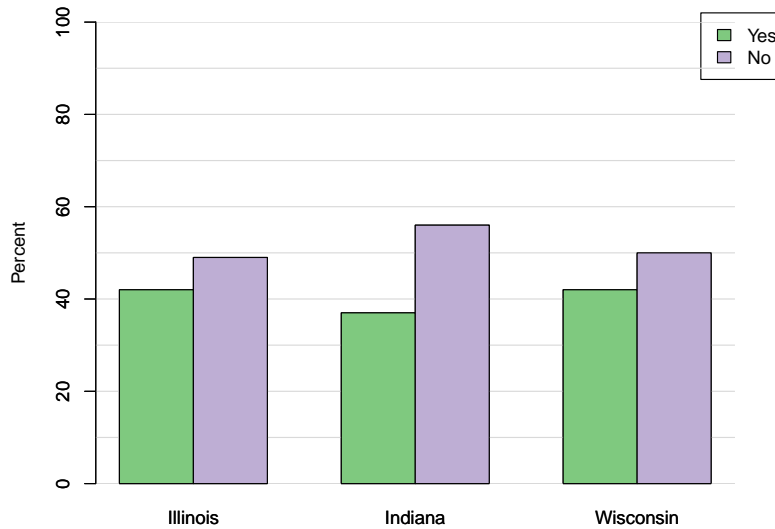
Q42. Do the police arrest too many people for minor violations?

The public of the megacity region is divided on this issue. In Illinois, 41 percent say there are

too many arrests for minor violations while 47 percent disagree. This rises to a 52 percent to 38 percent division in Indiana and a 54 percent to 35 percent split in Wisconsin.

Differences of opinion: There are no significant differences due to state. Residents of urban core counties, African-Americans, Democrats and liberals are more likely to say too many people are arrested for minor offenses, while the more educated, Republicans and conservatives are more likely to disagree. This perception is less strongly structured by race, class and location than was the perception of safety above. And while party and ideology did not structure perceptions of safety, both strongly influence policy preferences about this issue.

About 40 percent say the police are too willing to use deadly force, while about 50 percent say this is not the case. Indiana residents are slightly less likely to think police over-use force than in Illinois or Wisconsin.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Yes	42	37	42
No	49	56	50

Q43. Are the police too willing to use deadly force?

These two issues are of special importance to minority communities and urban areas. The results here show a substantial split in opinion among the general public concerning issues that are likely

to remain salient for some time. Among African-Americans in the region, between 65 and 75 percent say police are too willing to use deadly force, and 56 to 61 percent say there are too many arrests for minor offences. Among white in the megacity region the corresponding responses are 32 to 36 percent for use of force and 31 to 35 percent for arrests. Hispanics fall between these two extremes with 34 to 51 percent saying police are too willing to use deadly force and 39 to 51 percent saying there are too many minor arrests. This is one of the deepest divides of opinion we see in these data and is likely to remain a serious source of political and policy conflict.

Differences of opinion: State differences fall short of statistical significance. Those living in urban core counties and especially African-Americans say the police are too willing to use deadly force. Democrats and liberals agree. Business owners are more likely to say the police are not too willing to use deadly force as are Republicans and conservatives. As with arrest policy, these latter two are strong predictors of policy preference.

6.3 Conclusions

Most people like where they live and believe their neighborhood is pretty safe. Neighborhood satisfaction is quite similar across the three states, and over 80 percent say their neighborhood is at least pretty safe in each state. This satisfaction with neighborhoods can provide a stabilizing influence though it may also reduce mobility.

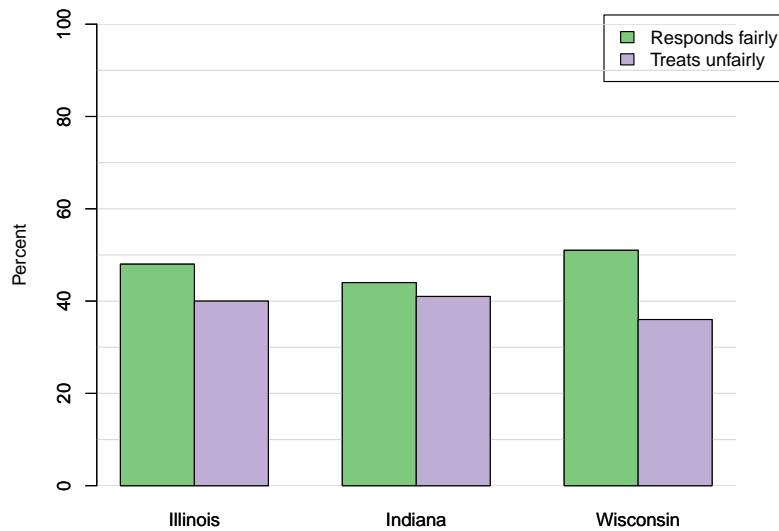
There is, however, an important if small percentage who dislike their neighborhood, from seven to nine percent in each state, and fourteen to nineteen percent who do not feel safe walking in their neighborhood. While affecting less than one in five citizens, these troubled neighborhoods are a source of strain throughout the region.

The deep divide over police practices and their consequences is likely to remain a deep source of tension in urban communities with substantial minority populations. The division of opinion on these issues is especially sharp between African-American and white citizens.

7 Governance

7.1 State government issues

Large urban areas often find themselves at odds with state legislatures where majorities, regardless of party, are from less urban regions of the state. This tension can paradoxically lead both urban and rural areas of states to feel they are treated unfairly or ignored by their state governments. In the megacity region, opinion is relatively evenly divided, though a small plurality in each state says their region is treated fairly by the legislature. Wisconsin residents stand out as notably more likely to say their region is treated fairly while the margins are a slight three percentage points in Indiana and eight percentage points in Illinois.

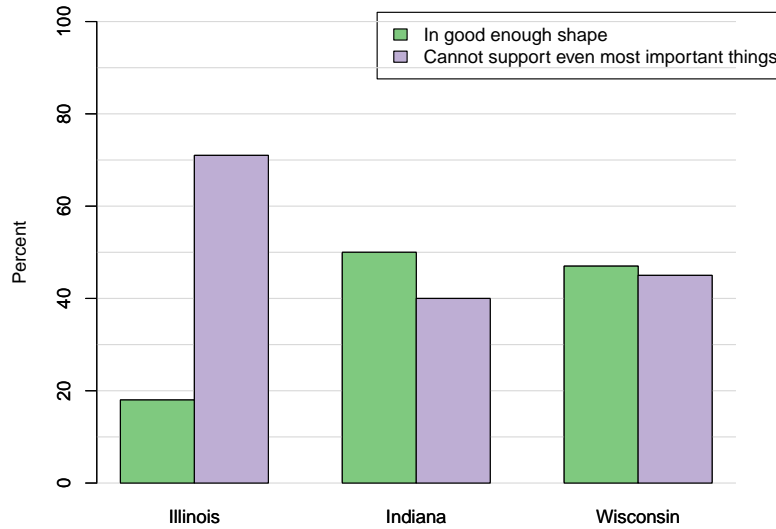


	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
Responds fairly	48	44	51
Treats unfairly	40	41	36

Q4. Thinking of your state legislature, do you think the legislature responds to the problems of your area of the state fairly or does the legislature treat your area unfairly?

Differences of opinion: Those living in urban core counties and African-Americans are more likely to perceive unfair treatment from the legislature, while those who have never been married perceive more fairness. Party plays a strong role as well, with Democrats perceiving unfair treatment while Republicans feel well treated.

State budget issues limit resources available for public purposes regardless of region. This is overwhelmingly a problem in Illinois where 71 percent say the state cannot support even the most important things at this time. Wisconsin is evenly divided with 45 percent saying the state budget is inadequate while only a 37 percent minority in Indiana see similar constraints.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
In good enough shape	18	50	47
Cannot support even most important things	71	40	45

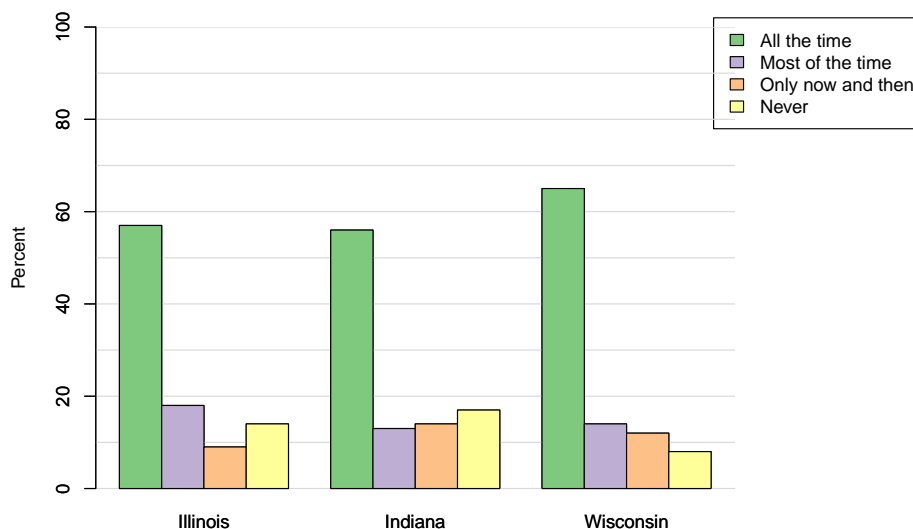
Q14. Would you say your state budget is currently in good enough shape to afford the things it is most important to do, or is the budget in such trouble that it cannot support even the most important things?

State budgets are quite variable over time as economic performance and policy choices drive times of plenty and times of penury. To the extent that some states of the region are more able to invest in their most densely populated regions this can produce differential advantage across the megacity.

Differences of opinion: The current budget crisis in Illinois dramatically increases the perception that the state cannot fund the most important things there, compared to Indiana and Wisconsin. Those with more education are slightly more positive about state budgets but party and ideology are the primary sources of structure, with Democrats and liberals seeing shortages of funding while Republicans and conservatives are more likely to perceive state budgets as adequate.

7.2 Participation in elections

It is a paradox of American politics that electoral participation is considerably higher for distant national elections than for those offices closest to voters, for mayor and local offices. While self-reports of turnout usually exaggerate aggregate turnout, the comparison of national and local elections is striking.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
All the time	57	56	65
Most of the time	18	13	14
Only now and then	9	14	12
Never	14	17	8

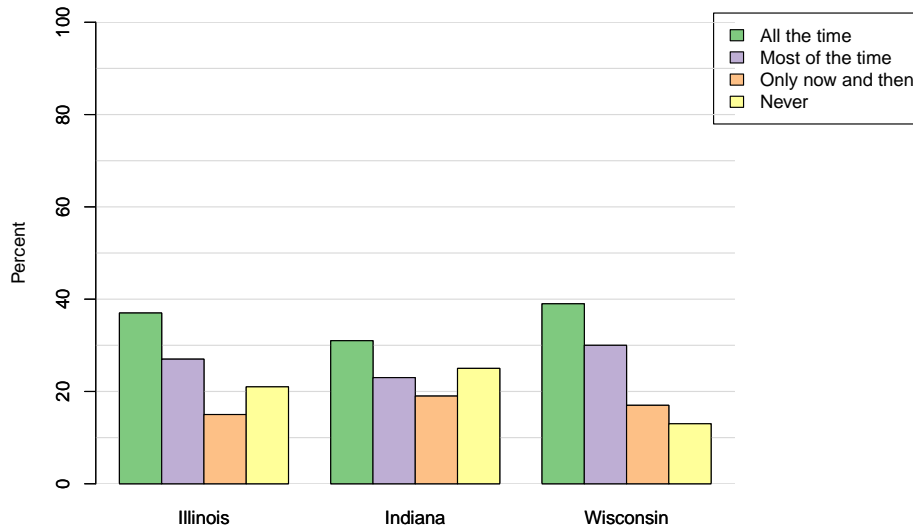
Q44. In elections, since you have been old enough to vote, how often have you voted for president?

In presidential elections, from 57 to 65 percent of respondents report voting all of the time. From 20 to 28 percent say they vote only now and then or never. There is some state to state variation here, with Wisconsin showing the highest turnout rates, a result supported by aggregate data as well which usually places the state in the top two or three in presidential year turnout.

Differences of opinion: With statistical controls in place for demographic composition, residents of Indiana are significantly more likely to vote than those in the other two states. The structure of voter turnout has been widely studied and the megacity

region nicely replicates national findings. Those in urban cores, with higher education and greater age are substantially more likely to vote. African-Americans are also more likely to vote as well. Partisanship and ideology fail to predict voter turnout, once these other demographic factors are accounted for. The widely cited finding that lower turnout favors Republicans is more an indirect effect of age and education than a direct effect of party or ideology.

Yet when it comes to mayor and city council, the offices most relevant for neighborhood and local conditions, turnout drops to under 40 percent voting all the time across all three states.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
All the time	37	31	39
Most of the time	27	23	30
Only now and then	15	19	17
Never	21	25	13

Q45. How often have you voted in local elections for your mayor and city council?

More than 30 percent in each state say they vote in local elections only now and then or never. This drop off has long been documented so it comes as no surprise that it holds in the megacity region as well, but it is a reminder that civic engagement through voting in local governance is relatively limited compared to the high stimulus but distant national contests.

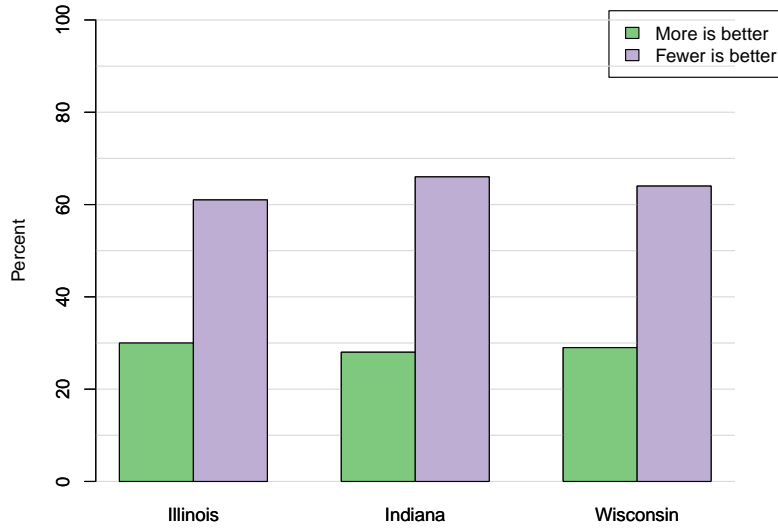
Differences of opinion: The structure of turnout changes somewhat in local megacity

elections. State differences vanish. Older voters, African-American and Hispanic voters are more likely to vote regularly in local elections, as are business owners. Women and the better educated are less regular voters, a somewhat surprising finding that is not common in other studies of turnout. At the local level, party and ideology lack direct effects on turnout, as was the case for national elections as well.

7.3 How many local governments?

Despite the sharp drop in turnout in local elections, American governance places tremendous stress on local governance almost always through the mechanism of voting. The proliferation of local government entities is striking in sheer numbers and especially so in comparison to other countries. In the Chicago megacity area there are more than 1,700 local units of government. By comparison, the similar sized Toronto area has just 28. This stark contrast was emphasized in the OECD report on the megacity region as a barrier to coordination and cooperation.

One might think Americans love elections because we have created so many governments but the sharp drop in turnout for local contests suggests the appetite for voting is more limited. The positive argument for many governments is local control responsive to local conditions while the disadvantage is lack of coordination and increased competition.



	Illinois	Indiana	Wisconsin
More is better	30	28	29
Fewer is better	61	66	64

Q46. When you think about local government, we have cities, counties, school districts, sewer districts and many others. In all, the 21 counties in the tri-state region have over 1,700 units of government. Some people think this is good because it brings government closer to the people. Others think having so many governments makes cooperation on common problems too difficult. What about you? Do you think it is better to have lots of local governments or would fewer governments be better?

When put that way to respondents, more than 60 percent in each region say that few governments would be better than the current proliferation. This does not mean that voters would support adoption of some form of far-flung regional government, a rare species in the United States in any case, but this result does suggest that there is potential support for greater cooperation across governmental entities rather than an excess appetite for local control of all policy.

Differences of opinion: Wisconsin residents are stronger defenders of many local governments than are those in Illinois or Indiana. More educated voters also prefer more local institutions while African-Americans prefer fewer. No other variables structure opinion on this issue, including party and ideology.

7.4 Conclusions

By mostly small pluralities, citizens of the megacity region think their state legislatures treat the region fairly, though Wisconsin residents are notably more positive. Some of these perceptions are undoubtedly rooted in partisan preferences, and the roughly even balance means there will be substantial levels of doubt about state relations even if that falls short of the majority view.

More consequentially, states suffering budget crises, as is currently the case in Illinois, are likely to struggle to meet even the most important goals of governance, at least in the minds of the public. When budgets are better, as in Indiana, these perceptions become more sanguine.

While it is said that “all politics is local,” voters show a strong preference for participating in the most visible yet also most distant elections for president while sharply reducing their participation in those contests closest to home. This is a universal characteristic of American elections, and no more so in the megacity than elsewhere. But there remain consequences for local governance because lower turnout means that election outcomes are less representative of the preferences of majorities of the population and instead are more responsive to the most involved or best organized electors. Paradoxically, the abundance of local governments in the megacity is not reciprocated by intense local electoral participation, and when asked, a significant majority of residents say they would prefer fewer governments and an improved ability of government to address regional problems.

8 Conclusions

Public opinion in the Chicago megacity region is far less divided by state lines than elite political competition would suggest. Only rarely do we find that majority opinion differs across the states. Whether it is large majorities favoring cooperation among political leaders or large majorities thinking states should go their own way in matters of tourism promotion, the majority view is usually the same for each of the three states. Sometimes the majority favors cooperation, sometimes it doesn't. Sometimes the majority has a positive view of careers in manufacturing and skilled trades and sometimes the majority is reluctant to embrace risky economic opportunities. What divides the region are not vastly different world views depending on where you live.

There is considerable room for conflict on matters that involve direct costs and differential benefits, as in tourism and business recruitment. Residents are in principle welcoming of cooperation when shared benefits are possible but are wary of shared costs with differential benefits. This circumscribes but does not eliminate opportunities for meaningful regional integration.

The workforce of the region is slightly above the national average in higher education but includes a sizable population with more limited educational attainment. This challenge is significantly addressed through the number of residents who have obtained job training through technical schools, unions or on the job training. This avenue can be an important element in addressing the workforce preparation of the area. While substantial majorities have found relatively easy success in the workplace, and are satisfied with their careers, there remains 10 to 20 percent of the population who struggle in the workplace.

Residents of the region are broadly satisfied with their neighborhoods and even their daily commutes but are less willing to take economic risks. Most residents feel their neighborhoods are at least fairly safe but there are very sharp differences in opinion of police policy, a likely continuing source of conflict in the cities of the region. The willingness and especially the ability of state legislatures to meet the needs of the megacity is a source of concern, especially in Illinois.

While citizens say they participate often in presidential elections, this participation drops considerable for local elections. Paradoxically, American institutional practice has created over 1700 local governments in the region. The government closest to citizens draws the lowest level of citizen participation and control through elections. A majority would support somewhat fewer local governments in order to improve regional coordination. That sentiment, however, has not been reflected in governmental practice.

Methodological Appendix

The Marquette Law School Poll of the Chicago megacity was conducted June 15-22, 2015. A total of 1872 adults over 18 years old were interviewed by a combination of landline and cell phone using random digit dialing (RDD). Interviews were completed with 1073 (57%) landline respondents and 799 (43%) cell phone respondents. The data collection was managed by LHK Partners, Inc. with telephone interviews conducted by SHC Universal.

The megacity region was defined by 21 counties in southeast Wisconsin, in the Chicago area of Illinois and in northwest Indiana. The Illinois counties are Cook, DeKalb, DuPage, Grundy, Kane, Kankakee, Kendall, Lake, McHenry and Will counties. In Indiana the counties are Jasper, Lake, LaPorte, Newton and Porter counties. The Wisconsin counties are Kenosha, Milwaukee, Ozaukee, Racine, Washington and Waukesha.

The sample was designed to be representative of the regions in each of the three states, allowing separate analysis by state and comparison of the three state components of the megacity region. The sample sizes are 600 in Illinois, 612 in Indiana and 660 in Wisconsin. The margin of errors, including design effects due to post-stratification for each state, are +/- 5.8 percentage points for Illinois, +/- 5.2 percentage points for Indiana and +/- 5.1 percentage points for Wisconsin.

Post-Stratification

Post-stratification, or weighting, compensates for patterns of non-response that shift sample characteristics from known population values. In telephone surveys it is common for potential respondents who are younger and have fewer years of formal education to exhibit higher rates of non-response resulting in these groups being under-represented in the sample. To compensate for these non-response effects the sample is weighted to bring sample characteristics into line with the population values. In this sample the population values of age groups, education levels, race, geographic area and sex were determined using the 2014 data release from the American Community Survey (ACS) conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau in each of the 21 counties in the megacity. A raking algorithm was used to simultaneously balance the weights so that the sample distribution closely approximates the known population distributions for age, education, race, geographic region, and sex. The population, raw sample size, unweighted and weighted percentages, as well as population parameters from the ACS are shown in the tables below.

Comparison of final weighted data to ACS parameters

Group	Raw N	Illinois		Parameter
		Unweighted	Weighted	
18-24	52	9	13	13
25-34	63	11	19	19
35-44	72	12	18	18
45-64	229	38	32	34
65 and over	173	29	15	15
Age NA	11	2	2	
Less than high school	19	3	14	14
High school	97	16	25	25
Some college	97	16	21	22
Associates degree	55	9	6	6
Bachelors degree	158	26	21	21
Post-graduate	166	28	12	12
Education NA	8	1	2	
Black	105	18	16	16
Hispanic	45	8	19	19
Other race	32	5	8	8
Non-Hispanic White	401	67	55	57
Race NA	17	3	3	
Urban core county	325	54	61	61
Inner suburb county	192	32	26	26
Outer suburb county	83	14	13	13
Male	305	51	48	48
Female	295	49	52	52

Comparison of final weighted data to ACS parameters (continued)

Group	Raw N	Indiana		Parameter
		Unweighted	Weighted	
18-24	45	7	12	12
25-34	49	8	17	17
35-44	83	14	17	17
45-64	236	39	36	37
65 and over	195	32	18	18
Age NA	4	1	1	
Less than high school	23	4	13	13
High school	177	29	37	37
Some college	120	20	24	24
Associates degree	67	11	8	8
Bachelors degree	106	17	12	12
Post-graduate	117	19	6	6
Education NA	2	1	1	
Black	83	14	16	16
Hispanic	49	8	11	11
Other race	29	5	2	2
Non-Hispanic White	433	71	68	71
Race NA	18	3	3	
Urban core county	322	53	60	60
Inner suburb county	290	47	40	40
Outer suburb county	NA	NA	NA	NA
Male	308	50	48	48
Female	304	50	52	52

Comparison of final weighted data to ACS parameters (continued)

Group	Raw N	Wisconsin		Parameter
		Unweighted	Weighted	
18-24	43	7	12	12
25-34	48	7	18	18
35-44	77	12	17	17
45-64	274	41	35	36
65 and over	213	32	17	17
Age NA	5	1	1	
Less than high school	27	4	11	11
High school	182	28	29	29
Some college	101	15	23	24
Associates degree	77	12	8	8
Bachelors degree	153	23	19	19
Post-graduate	115	17	9	9
Education NA	5	1	1	
Black	68	10	13	13
Hispanic	29	4	8	8
Other race	33	5	4	4
Non-Hispanic White	514	78	71	75
Race NA	16	2	3	
Urban core county	276	42	49	49
Inner suburb county	261	40	32	32
Outer suburb county	123	19	19	19
Male	328	50	48	48
Female	332	50	52	52

American Association for Public Opinion Research Transparency Initiative Disclosure

The Marquette Law School Poll follows the guidelines for disclosure of the American Association for Public Opinion Research Transparency Initiative.

1. The poll is sponsored by Marquette Law School.
2. The Marquette Law School Poll, under the direction of Prof. Charles Franklin, designed the survey instrument and sampling design. The data collection was administered by LHK Partners, Inc. with telephone interviews conducted by SHC Universal.
3. Funding for this study was provided by the Marquette Law School Alumni Annual Fund, the Patrick and Anna M. Cudahy Fund and by the Sheldon B. Lubar Fund for Public Policy Research at Marquette Law School. Their support is gratefully acknowledged.
4. The full survey instrument is available online at <https://law.marquette.edu/poll/results-data/>
5. The population surveyed consists of adult residents of the 21 county Chicago megacity region. The Illinois counties are Cook, DeKalb, DuPage, Grundy, Kane, Kankakee, Kendall, Lake, McHenry and Will counties. In Indiana the counties are Jasper, Lake, LaPorte, Newton and Porter counties. The Wisconsin counties are Kenosha, Milwaukee, Ozaukee, Racine, Washington and Waukesha.
6. The sample frame is a dual frame landline and cell telephone sample using a random digit dialing design. Sampling was stratified by state to provide approximately equal sample sizes for each state.
7. The sample was supplied by Marketing Systems Group (MSG).
8. The dual-frame random digit dial design was used to ensure that both cell phone and landlines and listed and unlisted numbers would be included in the sample. Adult respondents, age 18 and over, in the landline sample were selected using the “most recent birthday” method. Respondents were also screened to ensure they were current residents of the 21 counties included in the sampling frame. Interviews in the cell phone sample were conducted with the person who answer the phone if they were an adult age 18 or over and lived in one of the sample counties.
9. The sample is a probability design using a random digit dialed (RDD) dual-frame design of cell phone and landline numbers.
10. See 8 and 9 above.
11. The sample was designed to be representative of the counties in each of the three states, allowing separate analysis by state and comparison of the three state components of the megacity region. The sample sizes are 600 in Illinois, 612 in Indiana and 660 in Wisconsin. The margin of error, including design effects due to post-stratification for each state, are +/- 5.8 percentage points for Illinois, +/- 5.2 percentage points for Indiana and +/- 5.1 percentage points for Wisconsin.

In this sample the population values of age groups, education levels, race, geographic area and sex were determined using the 2014 data from the American Community Survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau in each of the 21 counties in the megacity. A raking algorithm was used to simultaneously balance the weights so that the sample distribution closely approximates the known population distributions for age, education, race, geographic region, and sex.

The design effects due to post-stratification for the state samples are 2.0 for Illinois, 1.65 for Indiana and 1.72 for Wisconsin. Those effects are included in the calculated margin of error reported above.

12. The design effect has been incorporated in the calculation of all reported margins of error.
13. Results reported reflect the full sample within each state, with the margins of error corresponding to those reported above in item 11.
14. The survey was administered in English by telephone (landline and cell) using live interviewers. The data were collected June 15-22, 2015.
15. Full results, including the complete instrument, topline results and crosstabs as well as this methodological report are available online at <https://law.marquette.edu/poll/results-data/>
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