



Badger Poll™ Release 15-3
University of Wisconsin Survey Center
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SPECIAL MATERIAL ON GAMBLING COMPACTS
by G. Donald Ferree, Jr.

Wednesday, the state Supreme Court ruled that the gambling compacts negotiated by Governor Jim Doyle and various Indian tribes were void because the Governor had exceeded his powers. While it has not directly measured public opinion on this particular case, a number of questions asked on three separate Badger Polls™ may shed some light on likely public reaction to this court decision. Specifically, the Wisconsin public has been pretty evenly split on the MERITS of the compacts. There has been a sense that Indian casinos do the state good on balance, although some suggestion that this perception is on the wane. Finally, when it comes to the procedural point, the public has demonstrated some sympathy with the notion that the Legislature should be involved with these compacts.

Three times, in March 2003, May 2003 and February 2004, the Badger Poll™ has asked questions at least partially relevant to the subject addressed by the Court. Each time, opinion has been closely divided on whether residents favored or opposed the Doyle compacts. The two most recent times, indeed, it was literally a split (46%-46% on the survey done in January and February, 47%-47% on the one about a year ago, in May of 2003). In March of that year, there was a modest majority (52%-44%). In any event, the Poll has always found a substantial body of opinion on both sides of the idea of the Governor's deals.

Twice, in March 2003 and April 2004, we have asked about the impact of casino gambling on Wisconsin. Last year, half said it had a positive impact, only a little over one in ten said the impact was negative and about a third doubted there was any real effect at all. This year, just before the primary, we asked the same question. Then, perhaps reflecting all the controversy about casino expansion (recall the heavy blitz late last year and early this), opinion is much more divided. To be sure, more feel the impact has been positive (37%) than negative (25%), but one third note no impact, so in net terms the public is split.

Twice (both times last year, in March and May), the Badger Poll™ has explicitly addressed the question of who should (if not who legally must) pass on the compacts. Respondents were reminded that, "in the past, the deals were made just between the Governor and the tribes." After this they were queried, "regardless of whether you favor or oppose the arrangement, do you think they should require a vote of the Legislature, or is this the sort of thing a Governor should be able to do by himself?". Both times, clear majorities (68%-29% in March, 75%-22% in April), despite the fact that many favored the pacts in substance, felt that the Legislature should have to be part of the

process.

All this means that public reaction to the decision will likely depend on which aspect of this complex issue is viewed as central. The public was split on the substance of the pacts, on balance the impact of casinos is neutral or mildly positive, and they are sympathetic to the notion that the Legislature should have a role to play. But of course, the impact of the decision in voiding the compacts which produced substantial revenue, is not only to disappoint those who actually liked the compacts but also to potentially create a large budget gap. The impact of THIS on public opinion remains to be seen.

Statewide Marginals and Percentages for Key Groups

What follows is the exact question wording for casino compact related items referred to above. Though we have not discussed subgroups, results are displayed for a number, and the questions which define groups along gender, partisan, and age lines are also shown. The first column is the percentage of the entire sample giving each response. The second and third reports the percentages for men and women separately. The fourth, fifth, and sixth columns show self-described Democrats, Independents, and Republicans. Columns seven through ten group respondents by age.

Badger Poll #13. January 27-February 3, 2004. 500 respondents.

Q01. INTERVIEWER: (DO NOT ASK) Enter respondent's gender

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
MALE	49%	100%	--%	38%	56%	59%	47%	46%	53%	47%
FEMALE	51	--	100	62	44	41	53	54	47	53

CASIN06. Over the past year, Governor Doyle has been making deals with Indian tribes allowing them to expand their gambling and essentially making the arrangements permanent instead of expiring every few years, in exchange for a bigger cut of their gambling money for the state. In general, do you favor or oppose these deals?

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
FAVOR	46%	43%	50%	55%	49%	34%	66%	47%	48%	36%
OPPOSE	46	51	42	35	46	61	30	42	47	56
DON'T KNOW	7	6	8	10	5	4	4	11	5	9
REFUSED	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

CASIN09. In general, do you think having the Indian casinos has been good for Wisconsin, bad for Wisconsin, or not really made much difference one way or the other?

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
GOOD	37%	38%	36%	41%	36%	38%	50%	39%	38%	29%
BAD	25	28	22	18	26	32	10	21	27	30
NO DIFFERENCE	33	30	35	35	35	26	32	36	30	36
DON'T KNOW	5	4	5	6	3	2	5	4	4	6
REFUSED	1	--	1	1	--	1	3	--	1	--

QD05. Generally speaking, do you consider yourself a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
DEMOCRAT	33%	25%	40%	100%	--%	--%	39%	33%	27%	39%
REPUBLICAN	27	32	21	--	--	100	27	30	24	26
INDEPENDENT	26	30	22	--	100	--	10	21	34	24
OTHER	10	9	10	--	--	--	18	9	10	6
NONE	3	2	4	--	--	--	1	3	4	2
DON'T KNOW	2	1	2	--	--	--	5	2	1	1
REFUSED	1	*	1	--	--	--	--	1	--	1

QD11. In what year were you born? (ENTER FOUR-DIGIT YEAR) (Calculated and grouped as below)

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
18-29	11%	11%	11%	13%	4%	11%	100%	--%	--%	--%
30-44	25	23	26	25	21	28	--	100	--	--
45-59	39	42	35	32	50	36	--	--	100	--
60 and over	23	22	24	28	21	23	--	--	--	100
DK/REFUSED	2	1	2	1	3	2	--	--	--	--

BADGER POLL #9. May 13-21, 2004. N=505.

Q01. INTERVIEWER: (DO NOT ASK) Enter respondent's gender

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
MALE	49%	100%	--%	34%	55%	60%	53%	53%	38%	56%
FEMALE	51	--	100	66	45	40	48	47	62	44

CASIN06. Recently Governor Doyle has been making deals with Indian tribes allowing them to expand their gambling and essentially making the arrangements permanent instead of expiring every few years, in exchange for a bigger cut of their gambling money for the state. In general, do you favor or oppose these deals?

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
FAVOR	47%	44%	50%	58%	42%	38%	47%	52%	49%	38%
OPPOSE	47	53	40	35	52	58	44	43	44	57
DON'T KNOW	5	2	8	6	4	4	6	4	8	4
REFUSED	1	*	2	1	1	1	3	1	--	1

CASIN07. In the past, the deals were made just between the Governor and the tribes. Regardless of whether you favor or oppose the arrangement, do you think they should require a vote of the Legislature, or is this the sort of thing a Governor should be able to do by himself?

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
SHOULD HAVE BEEN VOTED	75%	77%	73%	71%	80%	78%	74%	76%	73%	78%
GOVERNOR CAN DO ALONE	22	21	22	26	18	21	22	21	24	18
DON'T KNOW	3	1	4	3	2	2	3	3	2	3
REFUSED	1	*	1	1	--	--	1	--	1	1

QD05. Generally speaking, do you consider yourself a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
DEMOCRAT	30%	20%	38%	100%	--%	--%	25%	34%	32%	28%
REPUBLICAN	30	37	24	--	--	100	35	31	23	30
INDEPENDENT	25	28	22	--	100	--	26	19	31	29
OTHER	9	10	9	--	--	--	11	12	11	4
NONE	5	4	6	--	--	--	5	4	3	7
DON'T KNOW	*	*	--	--	--	--	--	*	--	--
REFUSED	1	1	2	--	--	--	--	1	--	2

QD11. In what year were you born? (ENTER FOUR-DIGIT YEAR) (Calculated and grouped as below)

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
18-29	18%	20%	17%	15%	19%	21%	100%	--%	--%	--%
30-44	30	32	28	34	23	31	--	100	--	--
45-59	28	21	33	30	34	21	--	--	100	--
60 and over	21	25	18	20	25	21	--	--	--	100
DK/REFUSED	3	2	4	1	--	5	--	--	--	--

Badger Poll #7. March 4-12, 2003. N=507.

Q01. INTERVIEWER: (DO NOT ASK) Enter respondent's gender

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
MALE	49%	100%	--%	37%	61%	55%	55%	47%	47%	54%
FEMALE	51	--	100	63	39	45	46	53	53	47

CASIN06. Recently Governor Doyle has been making deals with Indian tribes allowing them to expand their gambling and essentially making the arrangements permanent instead of expiring every few years, in exchange for a bigger cut of their gambling money for the state. In general, do you favor or oppose these deals?

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
FAVOR	52%	53%	51%	68%	42%	46%	67%	52%	54%	43%
OPPOSE	44	43	45	27	53	51	31	41	45	52
DON'T KNOW	4	3	4	4	4	3	2	6	1	5
REFUSED	1	*	1	*	1	1	--	1	1	1

CASIN07. In the past, the deals were made just between the Governor and the tribes. Regardless of whether you favor or oppose the arrangement, do you think they should require a vote of the Legislature, or is this the sort of thing a Governor should be able to do by himself?

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
SHOULD HAVE BEEN VOTED	68%	69%	67%	62%	70%	75%	75%	72%	59%	70%
GOVERNOR CAN DO ALONE	29	30	27	33	27	24	22	25	37	27
DON'T KNOW	3	1	5	4	3	1	3	3	3	3
REFUSED	*	--	1	1	*	--	--	--	1	1

CASIN09. In general, do you think having the Indian casinos has been good for Wisconsin, bad for Wisconsin, or not really made much difference one way or the other?

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
GOOD	52%	58%	47%	57%	50%	52%	59%	49%	57%	49%
BAD	12	11	13	6	18	12	12	12	11	13
NO DIFFERENCE	31	30	32	30	28	34	26	34	28	35
DON'T KNOW	5	2	7	7	4	1	3	6	4	3
REFUSED	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

QD05. Generally speaking, do you consider yourself a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
DEMOCRAT	34%	26%	41%	100%	--%	--%	39%	31%	32%	34%
REPUBLICAN	26	29	23	--	--	100	29	28	24	25
INDEPENDENT	26	33	20	--	100	--	16	23	29	33
OTHER	8	8	9	--	--	--	7	13	8	4
NONE	4	4	5	--	--	--	4	5	3	4
DON'T KNOW	1	*	1	--	--	--	3	--	1	--
REFUSED	1	1	1	--	--	--	2	*	1	1

QD11. In what year were you born? (ENTER FOUR-DIGIT YEAR) (Calculated and grouped as below)

	TOT	GENDER		PARTISANSHIP			AGE IN YEARS			
		M	F	DEM	IND	REP	<30	<45	<60	60+
18-29	13%	15%	12%	16%	8%	15%	100%	--%	--%	--%
30-44	30	29	31	28	26	33	--	100	--	--
45-59	31	30	31	30	34	28	--	--	100	--
60 and over	24	26	21	24	29	23	--	--	--	100
DK/REFUSED	3	1	5	3	3	2	--	--	--	--