



Driving Wisconsin's 'Brain Drain'?

How Outdated Transportation Policies
Undermine Wisconsin's Ability to
Attract and Retain Young Talent for
Tomorrow's Economic Prosperity

WISPIRG
Foundation

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By Bruce Speight, WISPIRG Foundation

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Executive Summary

Millennials are traveling in different ways than their parents did. Today's youth are leading the decline in vehicle miles traveled while increasing how much they bike, walk, and take transit. Young people increasingly tell surveys that they want to live a lifestyle that isn't dependent on driving, and they are drawn to the vibrancy and convenience of more walkable communities.

Many of today's youth are postponing or avoiding what used to be a rite of passage – getting a car and a driver's license. Mounting evidence suggests that Millennials, the most technologically “connected” and savvy of all generations, often prefer interacting with friends and family on their phones or checking social media while riding a bus or train to sitting behind the wheel in traffic.

State and federal policy makers, however, have done little to understand the changing transportation preferences of today's youth and ensure that today's transportation investments in Wisconsin will meet tomorrow's needs.

To better understand how the availability of non-driving modes of transportation can retain and recruit young talent for Wisconsin, the WISPIRG Foundation surveyed 530 college students across Wisconsin. While the survey was not conducted with a scientifically selected sample, the

results of our survey nonetheless illustrate that the Millennial generation is seeking a different transportation future than the spending priorities of state leaders. It underscores that transportation options may be a factor in decisions about where Millennials decide to locate in the future.

The key findings are:

- 60 percent of respondents said they would be at least “somewhat more likely” to stay in Wisconsin after graduation if they could live in a place where they could get around without driving. Of that group, a majority said the ability to live in places with transportation alternatives would make them “much more likely” to remain in Wisconsin. Only 23 percent of all respondents said that it would not make them more likely to stay in Wisconsin.
- 47 percent of all respondents said that living in a place after graduation where there are options other than driving is “very important.” An additional 35 percent said that having transportation options was “somewhat important” and only 14 percent said that it was “not important.” Thus, “very important” outscored “not important” by more than three-to-one.

- 84 percent of respondents said that it was either “very important” or “somewhat important” for them to have transportation options other than a car to get around. 56 percent said it was “very important” to have options other than a car, and only 10 percent said it was “not important.”

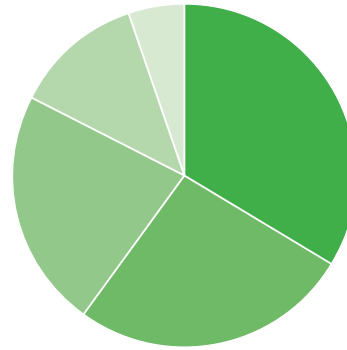
Ninety percent of our survey respondents said that they plan to own a car after graduation and nearly half of all respondents currently commute to school by car. As such, the survey respondents seem a typical cross-section of today’s youth. But, given the state’s emphasis on building new highways and its relative neglect of emerging transportation modes, such as transit and biking, the findings of our survey suggest that Wisconsin’s current transportation spending priorities, including recent cuts to transit funding, could undermine Wisconsin’s ability to attract and retain young talent.

WISPIRG Foundation urges state and federal leaders to:

- Collect more data on the transportation preferences of young people,
- Revisit past traffic growth projections for proposed highway expansion projects in light of recent trends in driving,
- Save money by scaling back or cancelling unneeded highway expansion, and
- Increase funding for the transit, bike, and pedestrian infrastructure that more and more Millennials are demanding and gravitating towards.

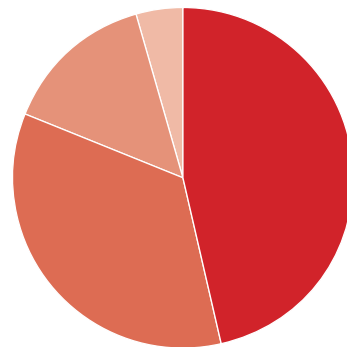
Out-of-touch and uninformed transportation policy decisions risk losing the opportunity to attract the young talent and educated workforce that are important to our economic prosperity in the future. Today’s policies and spending priorities need an update that considers these factors.

How likely would you be to stay in Wisconsin after graduation if you could live in a place where trips for work, recreation, and errands didn't require a car?



■ Much more likely	177	34%
■ Somewhat more likely	137	26%
■ Not more likely	118	23%
■ Don't know	64	12%
■ Other/invalid	27	5%

After graduation, is it important to you to live in a place where there are other options for getting around besides driving?



■ Very important	243	47%
■ Somewhat important	180	35%
■ Not important	75	14%
■ Don't know	23	4%

Introduction: Wisconsin's Brain Drain

Recruiting and retaining young talent is essential for communities to thrive in today's knowledge-based economy. Studies suggest that the most successful cities and economic regions in the 21st century will be those that attract and retain young college graduates and are places they want to locate.

Harvard economist Edward Glaeser has found that the presence of college graduates has been the best social or economic predictor of a city's future growth in each of the last several decades. He shows how this outcome stems from greater skills and resulting higher productivity that causes faster growth.

Most relevant to Wisconsin, the research shows that the effect is particularly pronounced among cold weather cities and those cities that have experienced some level of decline.¹ In other words, attracting and retaining young, educated talent is particularly important to a city like Milwaukee. Economic development in this context isn't about chasing smokestacks or courting particular companies, it's about being a place with a lifestyle and amenities where Millennials want to be and where employers, as a result, want to locate.

“Wisconsin is experiencing a massive brain drain.”

- Morris Davis, Associate Professor and Academic Director, James Graaskamp Center for Real Estate, University of Wisconsin-Madison Grainger School of Business

It doesn't take an expert to know that Wisconsin has a problem with retaining young talent. A poll commissioned by the Wisconsin Policy Research Institute and released in August 2010, found that a majority of Wisconsinites believe the state's best and brightest are leaving Wisconsin to work elsewhere.²

In February 2014, at the Governor's Conference on Economic Development sponsored by the Wisconsin Economic Development Corporation,

Morris Davis, Associate Professor and Academic Director of the James Graaskamp Center for Real Estate at UW Madison's School of Business, noted that Wisconsin had suffered a net loss of residents aged 21 to 29 with college degrees in each of the past five years.³ According to U.S. Census data, Wisconsin has been a net exporter of college educated talent for the past decade.⁴

With a world-class public university system and high concentration of higher education institutions, Wisconsin recruits young talent from all over the country and the world. This represents a tremendous opportunity for young talent to become attached to Wisconsin and its lifestyle. But the opportunity is lost if young graduates do not decide that they want to locate in Wisconsin after graduation. Losing that talent erodes our economic competitiveness and future.

To make matters worse, Wisconsin already faces a significant skills gap. According to the Georgetown University Center on Education and Workforce Development, 558,000 of the expected 925,000, or 61 percent, of expected job vacancies in 2018 will require postsecondary education. As of 2011 Census Bureau data, 39.6 percent of Wisconsin's 3 million working age adults (25-64 year olds) hold a two- or four-year degree.⁵

In response, economic and civic leaders, academics, and politicians have made the retention of young talent a priority. Milwaukee 7, a regional economic development initiative by the seven counties in the greater Milwaukee metropolitan area, has identified talent attraction and retention as a key "lever for regional prosperity." According to the Milwaukee 7 website, "the region is experiencing brain drain of its young, college educated. According to the Wisconsin Policy Research Institute, we currently add 1,800 young professional annually, but need to add 5,300 annually to compete."⁶

It is not simply a question of supply and de-

mand or the disproportionate size of the "Millennial generation" within the population. The prosperity of Wisconsin's communities increasingly depends on whether they are places where mobile young people want to locate. This is a problem for Wisconsin.

The challenge is finding solutions. Thus far, solutions have focused on what it will take to lure more young college graduates to move to and stay in Wisconsin, and they include providing educational incentives to keep Wisconsin grads in Wisconsin, improving the business climate, and luring more good-paying jobs to the state – all laudable goals.

Growing evidence, however, suggests that young people chose where they want to live largely on the lifestyle and amenities of those communities, and that they gravitate towards more walkable, bike-able, and transit-friendly communities where lifestyles are less dependent on driving.

Could modernizing transit, bike, and pedestrian infrastructure be one strategy to reverse the brain drain and make Wisconsin communities a destination where Millennials seek to locate?

Wisconsin pales in comparison to neighboring states like Minnesota and Illinois when it comes to providing graduates destinations that offer vibrant, accessible and convenient multi-modal transportation. Getting around without a car is a challenge in most Wisconsin communities. Few young professionals would currently find it convenient to commute even occasionally for work and pleasure by transit or bike due to a lack of adequate infrastructure.

The findings of this survey suggest that Wisconsin needs to rethink its transportation priorities. Understanding, acknowledging and, most importantly, accommodating the changing transportation preferences of Millennials may contribute to retaining the young talent that will enable Wisconsin's economy to grow and thrive in the 21st century.

Millennials on the Move: Understanding the Millennial Generation

All generations, like people, have their own “personality.” Studies increasingly suggest that the Millennial generation might be distinguished by their transportation preferences and a greater emphasis on place and the amenities it provides, including more and better transportation options. An April 2014 survey of Millennials in 10 U.S. cities found that a large majority (60 percent) of Millennials want access to better transit options and the ability to be less reliant on a car.⁷

The biggest changes in driving behavior are occurring among the youngest Americans – those who will be the primary users of the transportation system 10 or 20 years from now. The average young American aged 16 to 34 drove 23 percent fewer miles in 2009 than the average young person in 2001. Meanwhile, the number of passengers miles traveled by young people on public transportation increased 40 percent nationwide from 2001 to 2009. Additionally, in 2009, young Americans also walked up to 16 percent more and biked up to 24 percent more than they did in 2001.⁸

For baby boomers, driving a car represented freedom and spontaneity. But today, especially for younger people, owning a car increasingly repre-

sents big expenses and parking hassles.

New technologies, such as vehicle-sharing services and transit with onboard Wi-Fi and real-time navigation apps, are increasingly providing Millennials, the most technologically savvy and “connected” generation of all, the mobility benefits of access to a car without having to bear the burden of owning one. University campuses across the country increasingly seek to appeal to Millennials and improve the vibrancy of campus life by improving walkability, introducing shuttle buses, encouraging biking, and limiting the number of cars on campus.⁹ Millennials carry more student debt than their predecessors, and are wary of taking on additional car loans. So many factors work together to make Millennials less focused on driving and more drawn to other modes of travel.

But do Millennials really care enough to affect their decisions about where to live? A survey conducted in April 2014 by the Rockefeller Foundation and Transportation for America and described at the beginning of this section found that more than half (54 percent) would consider moving to another city if it had more and better transportation options, and almost half (46 percent) would



seriously consider giving up their car if they have a range of transportation options available. Two-thirds of Millennials (66 percent) say that access to high quality transportation is one of the top three criteria for deciding where to live.¹⁰

Additionally, the American Planning Association recently released a new survey of Millennials (21-34 years of age) and 'Active' Boomers (50 to 65 years) showing that both groups value alternatives to driving when considering where they want to live. 81 percent of Millennials and 77 percent of Active Boomers say aordable and convenient transportation alternatives to the car are at least somewhat important when deciding where to live and work. Looking to the future, 31 percent of Millennials and 21 percent of Active Boomers said they want some combination of trains, light rail, buses, carpooling, car sharing, ride sharing, bicycling, bike sharing or walking to be their primary way of getting around, and 59 percent of Millennials and 58 percent of all respondents feel there are not enough non-car transportation options in their area.¹¹

Another Millennial trait that represents a departure from previous generations is their inclination to choose where to live first and then where to work. Historically, it has been assumed that

jobs, family and housing are the primary motives behind location for young professionals, but the Millennial generation is placing a strong emphasis on place.¹²

Joseph Cortright, in his report "The Young and the Restless in the Knowledge Economy," argues that the dynamics surrounding attracting and retaining a young educated workforce, a major driver of today's knowledge-based economy, are indeed changing. While for decades many cities sought to attract business as a strategy to attract workers and talent, Cortright argues that this dynamic might be changing to one where places compete for people, and businesses follow, based on survey data and studies tracking migration behavior. In other words, as Cortright writes: "While economic growth is still an important determinant of migration, many young adults, particularly the well-educated, seem to be putting a higher priority on quality of life factors than economic ones."¹³

Cortright concludes that "[p]laces with a substantial pool of talented young workers and that are attractive destinations for relocation will do well. Other places will not." He recommends that those who seek to attract and retain young talent "make people the focus of economic development."

Surveying the Transportation Preferences of Young People in Wisconsin

“Having the ability to get almost anywhere in the Madison area without a car is one of my favorite parts about this college and has definitely impacted my thoughts on where I want to live post-graduation. Ideally I would move to Chicago where I could get around everywhere without a car and continue the experience I have had in Madison so far.”

- Mackenzie, University of Wisconsin Madison freshman

To better understand the transportation preferences of young people in Wisconsin and how these preferences might influence decisions about where to locate after graduation, the WISP-IRG Foundation conducted a survey of 530 college students across Wisconsin. Surveys were collected in-person on college campuses and online at fourteen different campuses. The surveys are from students at eleven University of Wisconsin campuses including both four-year and two-year campuses,

Milwaukee Area Technical College, and two private schools - Marquette University and Cardinal Stritch. Students were asked 17 questions, all pertaining to their status as a student (part-time vs. full-time and commuter vs. residential), their current mode of travel, and their transportation preferences. The results indicated that roughly 80 percent of respondents were full-time students and three quarters were commuter students.

The survey was not conducted with a scien-



Photo: Oran Virjiny

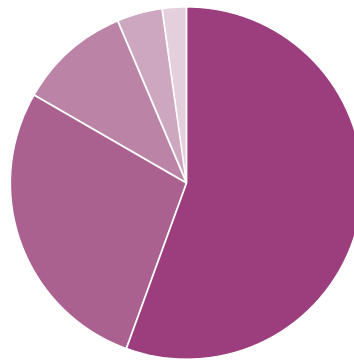
tifically selected sample. Surveys were collected in person on campuses and via an online link. The online link was distributed by having faculty at numerous campuses statewide forward the link to their students and by forwarding the link to WISPIRG's student mailing list. Some of the respondents could have been students who were more likely to know and like WISPIRG Foundation, which has provided public education on this topic in the past. However, the sample does not appear to have exceptional circumstances that have estranged respondents from cars. On the contrary, 90 percent of our survey respondents said that they plan to own a car after graduation and nearly half of all respondents currently commute to school by car.¹⁴

The results of the survey nonetheless suggests that the Millennial generation seeks a different transportation future than their predecessors and that transportation options may be a factor in future decisions about where today's Wisconsin students decide to live. Students who completed the survey demonstrated a strong desire to have access to transit and transportation options other than driving, with four out of five respondents indicating that transit accessibility was at least "somewhat important" to them. Nearly half of all respondents indicated that having options other than driving was very important to them after graduation, and one-third indicated that it would greatly influence whether they decide to live in Wisconsin after graduation.

Here are the major findings of the survey:

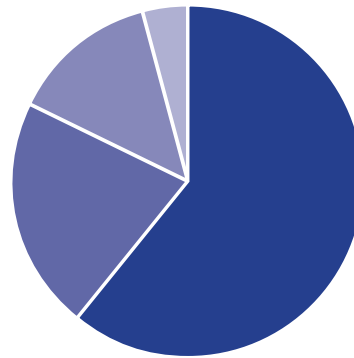
- **60 percent of surveyed college students said that their decision whether or not to stay in Wisconsin after graduation hinges at least somewhat on whether there are places to live where travel for work and recreation doesn't require a car.** Of that group, a majority said the ability to live in places with transportation alternatives would make them "much more likely" to remain in Wisconsin. Only 23 percent of all respondents said that it would not make them more likely to stay in Wisconsin.
- **84 percent of respondents said that it was either "very important" or "somewhat important" for them to have transportation options other than a car to get around.** 56 percent said it was "very important" to have options other than a car, and only 10 percent said it was "not important."
- **47 percent of all respondents said that living in a place after graduation where there are options other than driving is "very important."** An additional 35 percent said that having transportation options was "somewhat important": a combined share of 82 percent between these two groups. Only 14 percent said that it was "not important." Thus, "very important" outscored "not important" by more than three-to-one.
- The number one reason respondents gave for not currently taking transit was inconvenience - that it took too long. However, **61 percent indicated that they would be "very likely" to take transit if it were more convenient,** and an additional 22 percent indicated they would be 'somewhat likely' if transit were more convenient.

How important is it for you to have transportation options other than an automobile to get around?



Very important	293	56%
Somewhat important	146	28%
Not important	54	10%
Don't know	22	4%
Other/invalid	11	2%

If public transportation were more convenient, how likely would you be to use public transportation to get to school?



Very likely	313	61%
Somewhat likely	111	22%
Not likely	69	13%
Don't know	21	4%

Wisconsin's Changing Transportation Trends

Wisconsinites are driving fewer miles per capita today than we did in 1997. We drove fewer total miles in 2012 than we did in 2003.¹⁵ This is a change from previous travel patterns when the Baby Boom generation was at peak driving age. For decades the annual number of miles traveled in cars in Wisconsin increased steadily. Between 1970 and 2004, total vehicle-miles traveled (VMT) more than doubled. But, in 2004 something remarkable happened: after decades of reliable growth, VMT reached a peak. And, Wisconsinites are not alone. Across the United States, Americans on average are driving less than we did in 2004.

Even the Wisconsin Transportation Finance and Policy Commission, comprised of numerous representatives from the road building industry, noted in its March 2013 report that vehicle miles traveled (VMT) is likely to remain stagnant for the next decade.¹⁶

At the same time, Wisconsinites are responding to opportunities to drive less:

- Transit ridership in Madison has risen in 12 of the last 13 years and hit an all-time high in 2013.¹⁷
- In La Crosse, annual transit ridership has risen from 750,000 trips in 1997 to more than 1.3 million in 2012.¹⁸



Photo: Michael Leland

- Wisconsinites in the state's two largest cities are also increasingly choosing to commute to work by bicycle. Between 2000 and 2011, the number of people bicycling to work in Milwaukee grew 227 percent. In Madison, the number surged 147 percent. Fully 4.7 percent of all commuting in Madison in 2011 was done by bicycle.¹⁹

Wisconsin's Out-of Touch Transportation Budget

Despite major shifts in travel behavior, the state of Wisconsin continues to spend money on transportation as though nothing has changed—prioritizing big highway expansion projects over other worthy priorities, such as repairing local potholes and providing more and better transportation options for Wisconsinites. Over the past fifteen years, total spending on major highway development in Wisconsin has increased by 90 percent.²⁰ State leaders moreover approved in the 2011-2013 biennial budget the enumeration of four new major highway projects, totaling at least \$1.2 billion. WISPIRG Foundation research found unanswered questions, outdated justifying data, and insufficient review for the four projects,²¹ one of which was eventually rescinded after public opposition and uproar. State transit funding received a four percent increase in the 2013-2015 budget that only partly remedied the 10 percent cut in the previous biennium, leaving state transit funding in 2015 less than in 2011.

A January 2013 WISPIRG Foundation report, *Highway Boom, Budget Bust*, analyzed Wisconsin's planned transportation spending priorities in the state transportation improvement plan



Photo: Antonia McCinn

(STIP). This report concluded that Wisconsin's transportation spending priorities are not only out-of-touch with state trends, but weighted more heavily towards highway expansion than many other states:

According to the Tri-State Transportation Campaign's report, *Tracking State Transportation Dollars*, and their data on Wisconsin, which was released in August 2012, Wisconsin's Department of Transportation was planning to spend 30 percent, or \$1.6 billion, of its State Transportation Improvement Plan (STIP) dollars on *new* road capacity, making new capacity second only to the category of road maintenance and minor widening projects, which total \$2.4 billion or 46 percent of STIP dollars. Only ten other state governments were planning to spend a larger

portion of their transportation improvement funds on new roads – and many of those states' populations are some of the fastest growing in the nation, such as Nevada, Arizona, Texas, North Carolina and Utah.²²

The Tri-State report also found that Wisconsin was planning to spend only five percent of its state budget on transit projects, a smaller percentage of state transportation dollars than spent by our neighbor states of Iowa, Minnesota, Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio.²³

Major changes are afoot in transportation behavior among Wisconsinites but they are not yet reflected in state policies. Compared to what might have been predicted just a few years ago, Wisconsinites are driving fewer miles. The state needs to consider how changing trends should reshape its transportation investment strategy.

Recommendations

Finding a way to attract and retain young talent is essential to Wisconsin’s future economic prosperity. State leaders must find a way to recruit our young graduates to stay in Wisconsin, and to make Wisconsin an appealing and desirable place for Millennials to settle if we are going to compete in the 21st century knowledge-based economy.

For too long, policy leaders have remained committed to an anachronistic view of transportation that treats driving as synonymous with economic health and consumer happiness, while neglecting everything else. The changing transportation preferences of young people—as evidenced by national studies and reinforced by this



Photo: monkeybusinessimages/Bigstock

survey – throw that assumption into doubt. Policy makers and the public need to be aware that state and federal transportation policy – dominated by road-building—are fundamentally out-of-step with the transportation patterns and expressed preferences of growing numbers of students and young professionals in Wisconsin. It is poor transportation policy and poor economic development.

State and federal transportation officials and engineers need to plan for the future, not the past. Millennials are expressing changing attitudes about how they get around and vehicle miles traveled are decreasing, yet transportation plans assume year-on-year increases in vehicle miles with extravagant highway expansion proposals. Meanwhile, state and federal leaders are doing little to understand future preferences and to develop plans to accommodate them.

The time has come to reset and reassess transportation policy in Wisconsin in light of shifting travel trends and the needs of a 21st century economy. WISPIRG Foundation urges state and federal leaders to:

- **Collect more data on the transportation preferences of young people** to ensure that taxpayer expenditures on transportation infrastructure are wise, efficient, and in touch with

tomorrow's needs, not the needs of years gone by. With surveys and studies showing that the transportation preferences of Millennials may diverge from previous generations, policy leaders should consider how Millennials want to travel and ensure that transportation policy reflects changes in travel behavior.

- **Revisit past traffic growth projections** for proposed highway expansion projects in light of recent trends.
- **Save money by scaling back or cancelling unneeded highway expansion.** A May 2013 WISPIRG Foundation review of seven recently completed highway projects found that traffic on many new roads is failing to materialize as projected by the Wisconsin Department of Transportation (WISDOT).²⁴
- **Increase funding for the transit, bike, and pedestrian infrastructure** that more and more Millennials are demanding and gravitating towards. One way to accomplish that goal would be to shift some funding from highway expansion projects toward increased support of public transportation, local road repair, and bicycle and pedestrian infrastructure.

Conclusion

The future of transportation in Wisconsin may be very different than it was in the 20th century. In early March 2014, Fitch Ratings, a global leader in credit ratings and research, concluded: “In our view, the transportation needs of the next 50 years will be markedly different from those of the past 50 years. U.S. policymakers must begin adapting their current decisions to these future needs.”²⁵

Transportation planning must assess these trends in order to ensure that today’s transportation investments are wise, efficient and forward-thinking. Assuming a return to past travel habits risks wasting the public resources that fund our

transportation system and undermining future growth and economic prosperity.

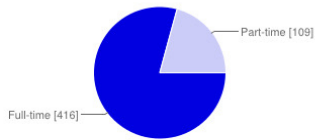
As more research reveals Millennials’ increasing emphasis on a desirable location and quality of life factors, including access to a variety of transportation options, when choosing where to work and live, Wisconsin leaders must think anew about economic development and consider re-focusing resources on the transit, bike, and pedestrian infrastructure towards which Millennials are gravitating. Doing so will meet the needs of a new generation and ensure that we are doing our best to foster economic growth, meet our most basic infrastructure needs, and retain young talent.

Appendix A

530 responses

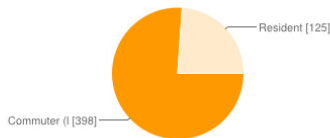
Summary

Do you go to school full-time or part-time?



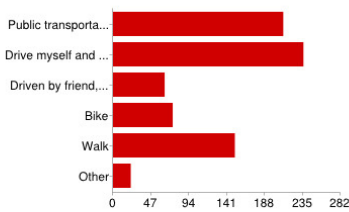
Full-time	416	79%
Part-time	109	21%

What type of student are you?



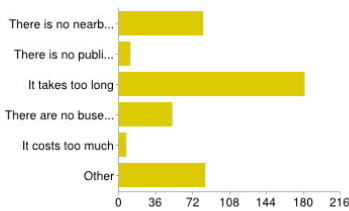
Commuter (live off-campus and commute to class)	398	76%
Resident	125	24%

How do you get to school?



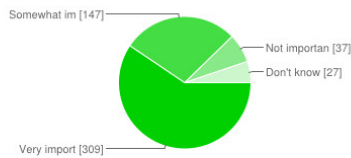
Public transportation	211	28%
Drive myself and park	236	31%
Driven by friend, family member, etc.	64	8%
Bike	74	10%
Walk	151	20%
Other	22	3%

If you drive or get a ride to school, what is the reason you don't use public transportation?



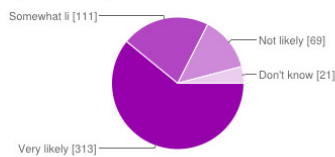
There is no nearby public transportation where I live	82	20%
There is no public transportation close enough to campus	11	3%
It takes too long	181	43%
There are no buses scheduled for the times I need to travel	52	12%
It costs too much	7	2%
Other	84	20%

How important is it to you to avoid or reduce costs associated with having a car, such as maintenance, repair, gas, insurance, and parking?



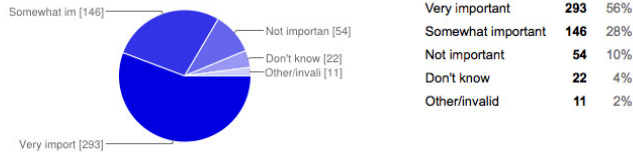
Very important	309	59%
Somewhat important	147	28%
Not important	37	7%
Don't know	27	5%

If public transportation were more convenient, how likely would you be to use public transportation to get to school?

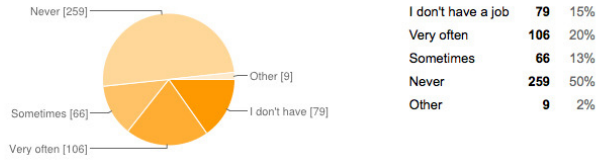


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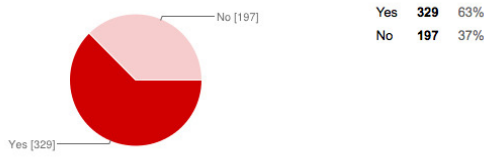
How important is it for you to have transportation options other than an automobile to get around?



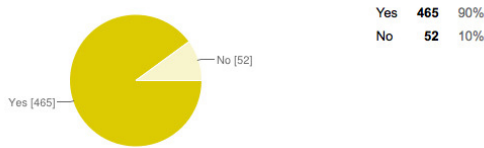
How often do you use public transportation to get to work?



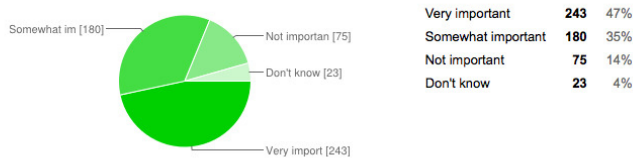
Do you currently own a car?



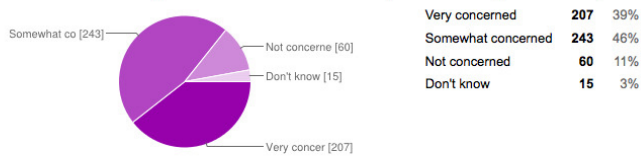
Do you plan to own a car after you graduate?



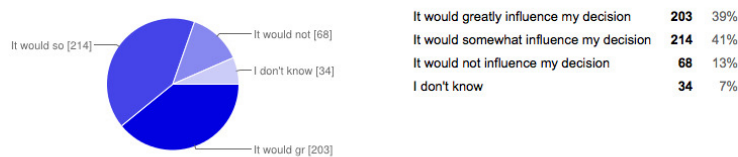
After graduation, is it important to you to live in a place where there are other options for getting around besides driving?



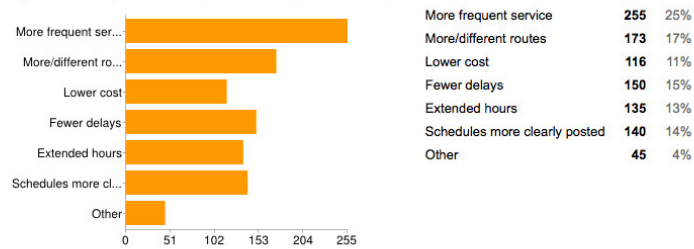
How concerned are you about the environmental impacts of driving, such as air pollution, global warming, smog, and water run-off?



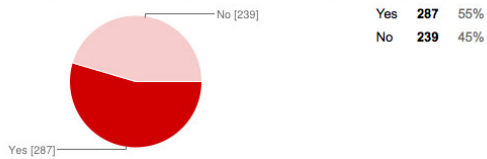
If public transportation were more convenient to you, how would the environmental impacts of driving influence your decision to take public transportation?



If you do take public transportation to get to school, how do you think it could be improved?

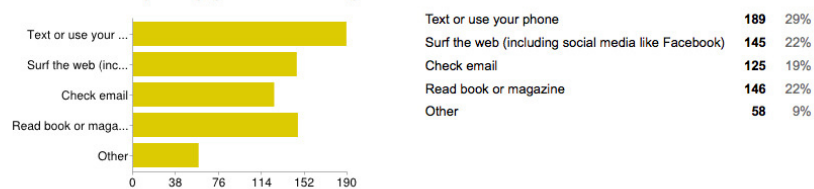


During time you spend traveling, is it important to you to engage in other activities?

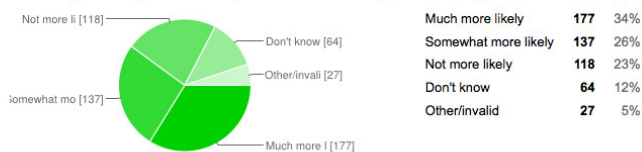


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What activities do you engage in while traveling?



How likely would you be to stay in Wisconsin after graduation if you could live in a place where trips for work, recreation, and errands didn't require a car?



Endnotes

- 1 The best single predictor of population growth since the invention of the air conditioner is winter temperature. See Glaeser, Edward L. and Albert Saiz. "The Rise of the Skilled City." Working Paper No. 04-2, Working Papers Research Dept. December 2003. <http://www.philadelphiafed.org/research-and-data/publications/working-papers/2004/wp04-2.pdf>
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- 3 "Combatting the Brain Drain is the Key to Wisconsin's Growth, Conference Speaker Says," Wisconsin State Journal, February 13, 2014. http://host.madison.com/wsj/business/combatting-the-brain-drain-is-the-key-to-wisconsin-s/article_48ceca4e-9009-59b5-b0d4-521f30f96c3b.html.
- 4 Wisconsin Business Alliance website. <http://www.wisconsinbusinessalliance.com/2014/01/17/1374/>
- 5 "A Stronger Wisconsin Through Higher Education." Lumina Foundation. June 2013. http://www.luminafoundation.org/stronger_nation_2013/downloads/pdfs/wisconsin-brief-2013.pdf
- 6 Milwaukee 7 website. <http://mke7.com/Strategic-Framework/Talent-Attraction-and-Retention>
- 7 "Access to Public Transportation a Top Criterion for Millennials When Deciding Where to Live, New Survey Shows." Rockefeller Foundation and Transportation for America. April 22, 2014. http://t4america.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Press-Release_Millennials-Survey-Results-FINAL-with-embargo.pdf.
- 8 Davis, Benjamin, Tony Dutzik and Phineas Baxandall. *Transportation and the New Generation*. WISPIRG Foundation. April 2012.
- 9 Van Heeke, Tom, Elise Sullivan, and Phineas Baxandall. *A New Course*. Frontier Group and WISPIRG Foundation. February 2014. <http://wispirg-foundation.org/reports/wif/new-course>.
- 10 "Access to Public Transportation a Top Criterion for Millennials When Deciding Where to Live, New Survey Shows." Rockefeller Foundation and Transportation for America. April 22, 2014. http://t4america.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Press-Release_Millennials-Survey-Results-FINAL-with-embargo.pdf. The survey interviewed 703 Millennials.
- 11 "Investing in Place." American Planning Association. May 2014. <http://www.planning.org/policy/polls/investing/pdf/pollinvestingreport.pdf>.
- 12 Florida, Richard. *The Flight of the Creative Class*. 2005. Harper Collins.
- 13 Cortright, Joseph. "The Young and the Restless in the Knowledge Economy." CEOs for Cities. December 2005. <http://documents.scribd.com/s3.amazonaws.com/docs/5lafnpazr4ljeglo.pdf?t=1334675676>.
- 14 Of the 530 respondents, 28 percent currently commute by transit, 31 percent commute individually by car, 8 percent carpool or rideshare, 10 percent bike, and 20 percent walk. These non-driving percentages would be exceptionally high among a cross-sample of older adults, but university campuses are places with high levels of alternative transportation.
- 15 "Road Mileage and Annual VMT in Wisconsin." Wisconsin Department of Transportation. <http://www.dot.state.wi.us/travel/counts/docs/vmt-historical.pdf>.
- 16 "Keep Wisconsin Moving." Wisconsin Transportation Finance and Policy Commission. January 2013. <http://www.dot.state.wi.us/about/ftp/docs/keep-wi-moving-report.pdf>.
- 17 Data provided by Metro Transit, April 2014.
- 18 Van Heeke, Tom, Tony Dutzik, and Bruce Speight. *Road Overkill*. Frontier Group and WISPIRG Foundation. May 2013. <http://wispirg.org/reports/wip/road-overkill>
- 19 Van Heeke, Tom, Tony Dutzik, and Bruce Speight. *Road Overkill*. Frontier Group and WISPIRG Foundation. May 2013. <http://wispirg.org/reports/wip/road-overkill>
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- 23 Speight, Bruce. *Highway Boom, Budget Bust*. WISPIRG Foundation. January 24, 2013. <http://wispirgfoundation.org/reports/wip/highway-boom-budget-bust>
- 24 Van Heeke, Tom, Tony Dutzik, and Bruce Speight. *Road Overkill*. Frontier Group and WISPIRG Foundation. May 2013. <http://wispirg.org/reports/wip/road-overkill>
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