## 11-23-15

## **St. Cloud State University Survey Annual Fall Statewide Survey Political Question Release**

This is the first of several news releases from the St. Cloud State University Survey Annual Fall Statewide Survey. This year a major focus of the survey was on issues such as immigration, climate change, Americans for Disability Act, views toward the police and racial equality. We also did ask questions relating to direction of the state, party identification, favorability evaluations of and job approval ranking of various public figures (favorability ratings –Obama, Clinton, Dayton, Franken, Klobuchar and Trump) and job performance ratings Obama, Dayton, Franken and Klobuchar. We also did a subsample of MN Democrats and Republicans regarding their preference for their party's nominee for President.

As there were no statewide elections this year the survey reduced our "political" sections and devoted more to our series on immigration questions, environmental issues, the Americans for Disability Act, and two questions related to police and racial equality. This release presents MN views on the direction of the state; party identification; favorable ratings and job approval ratings for some public figures and office holders. Finally, a smaller subsample covers Democrats-Republicans views on who they favor for their party's nomination for President. (Caution-smaller subsamples, and these are fluid opinions).

Again, as is our practice, the survey was part of several professors' classes and other faculty are participants. Faculty directors are Drs. Sandrine Zerbib and Ann Finan in Sociology, Dr. Amada Hemmesch Breaker (Psychology) and Dr. Nadeesch Lihinkedu Arachchige (Mathematics and Statistics). Dr. John Kulas a former faculty director (Psychology) contributed to this project. Dr. Monica Perez-Gomez (Economics) is on leave).

Students from a variety of majors are integral to this survey and are:

## Lead Student Directors

Ms. Megan Kalk, 4<sup>th</sup> Year Student, Sociology and International Relations Majors, Onamia, Minnesota.

Ms. Karen Stay, Graduate Student, Cold Spring, Minnesota

## Assistant Lead Director

Ms. Josefina Abdullah, 3rd year Student, Sociology Major, Kuala Lumper, Malaysia.

## **Student Directors**

Mr. Landry Kabore, 3rd year Student, Polictical Science and International Relations Majors, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso.

Mr. Mike Grewatz, 4th year Student, Sociology Major, Duluth, Minnesota.

Ms. Oluwatobi Oluwagbemi, 3<sup>rd</sup> year Student, International Relations and Women Studies, Ilorin, Nigeria.

## **Student Technical Consultant**

Ms. Irina Nishat 3<sup>rd</sup> year Student, Management Information Systems Major, St Cloud, Minnesota.

## Methodology

The fall 2015 St. Cloud State University Survey findings are based on telephone interviews with a representative sample of 623 (weighted) adults in Minnesota. The sample included both landline phones and cell phones. Interviews were conducted from October 12 to October 22, 2015 at the St. Cloud State University Survey Lab. The sample was obtained from Survey Sampling International (SSI) of Fairfield, Connecticut

## Sample Design

The sample was designed to represent all adults (age 18 and older) with a landline or cell phone in Minnesota. The final sample consists of one land line sample and two cell samples. Interviewing began using the landline sample and one cell sample. As available cell telephone numbers ran out, a new smaller sample were ordered and added to the original cell sample. Samples were compared for duplicates; none was found. More methodology detailed are found in a separate methodology section.

The original landline sample was comprised of 2,884 phone numbers after the initial numbers (6,500) were drawn and reviewed for nonworking numbers. All sample landline numbers were released to the interviewers.

The completed sample consists of 623 interviews. Of the 623 interviews, 277 are landlines and 346 are cell phone numbers. In samples of 623 interviews, the error due to sampling and other random effects is approximately plus/minus 4.0 percent at the 95 percent confidence level. This means that if one were to have drawn 20 samples of the adult Minnesota population and administered the same instrument, it would be expected that the percentages in the sample findings would differ from the true population percentages by more than 4.0 percent only one time in twenty.

The original sample consisted of 2,868 landline and 4,050 wireless (cell) phone numbers. However, only 2,282 cell phones that were active were drawn. After completing the survey, the total sample consisted of 552 (weighted). In the sample, 337 were on landline phones and 215 were on cell phones. The questionnaire consisted of approximately 40 questions.

Several steps were taken to ensure that the telephone sample of adults in the state was representative of the larger adult state population. Interviewers for landline numbers alternately asked to speak with men and women, and oldest and youngest person (age at least 18 years old) at the households that were called. This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender. For cell phone numbers, the interview was completed with the person of initial contact, provided the contact person was at least 18 years of age and a Minnesota resident.

The margin of sampling error for the complete set of weighted data is  $\pm 5$  percent (at the 95 percent confidence level). In all sample surveys there are other possible sources of error for which precise estimates cannot be calculated. These include interviewer and coder error,

respondent misinterpretation, and analysis errors. When analysis is made of sub-samples such as respondent gender, the sample error may be larger.

As is often the case with survey research, the initial findings were weighted to compensate for patterns of nonresponse that might bias results. The use of these weights in statistical analysis approximates the demographic characteristics of the sample with the demographic characteristics of the Minnesota population. Parameters used for this survey were determined using the 2012 American Community Survey -1 Year Estimates provided by the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS-USA) and found at <a href="https://usa.ipums.org/usa/">https://usa.ipums.org/usa/</a>. IPUMS is composed of microdata which allows us to estimate population distributions across any category we define. For instance, we are able to accurately estimate the voting age population in Minnesota because we can estimate age population distribution at every age level. In this year survey only minor weighting was done on two variables (age and education).

## **Findings: Direction of the State**

Almost 6 of 10 adult Minnesotans surveyed (58%) think the state heading in the right direction whereas 25% see it going on the wrong track. This is the highest right direction if 13+ years and much higher than are Americans nationwide. The Real Clear Politics average of all polls for the last half of October and November show a 29%- right and a 63%s wrong direction nationwide (<u>http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/other/direction\_of\_country-902.html</u>).

Let's begin by asking a general question about Minnesota. Do you think things in the state are generally going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten off on the wrong track? 1. RIGHT DIRECTION

2. NEUTRAL - [VOLUNTEERED]

3. WRONG TRACK 8. DON'T KNOW 9. REFUSED

# THE TABLES ARE FAIRLY RAW FREQUENCY RESULTS FROM SPSS. Generally use the valid percent column. *AND ROUND OFF ALL NUMBERS SO AS NOT TO GVIE A FALSE SENSE OR PRECISION*

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1. RIGHT TRACK	360	57.8	58.0	58.0
	2. NEUTRAL [VOLUNTEERED]	71	11.4	11.5	69.5
	3. WRONG DIRECTION	158	25.4	25.5	95.0
	4 DONT KNOW	31	5.0	5.0	100.0
	Total	620	99.6	100.0	
Missing	5 REFUSED	3	.4		
Total		623	100.0		

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For historical interest.	below are the	findings from	n the "right a	lirection-wrong	track" o	question f	or the	nast 12	vears.

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Right Direction	38%	48%	50%	46%	41%	46%	42%	43%	26%	26%	35%	46%	53%
Neutral	14%	8%	8%	9%	9%	11%	12%	9%	12%	14%	9%	11%	13%
Wrong Track	42%	36%	36%	39%	44%	37%	39%	44%	56%	55%	48%	38%	28%
Don't Know	6%	8%	6%	6%	6%	6%	7%	4%	6%	5%	8%	5%	5%

We examined differences between self-identified Democrat and Republican respondents. Democrats (combined Democrat and independents leaning Democrats) were 76% right direction, while combined Republicans were 47% = right direction. Females were more positive than males (64% to 51%); while those with lower education (high school education or less) and lower combined household income before taxes were often 50% right direction or less compared to those respondents with higher income and college or graduate education were in the 60% to 70% + range.

### **Findings: Political Party Identification**

Party identification (combined party and independents feeling closer to a party-and vote almost identically) were about the same as last fall's study Last year 34% if MN respondents identified themselves as Republicans compared to about 32% this year. Democrats 43% in 2014 and 43% this year. We then made a new variable Party 3 in which the those that felt close to a party (party2) were combined with Party 1.

Do you usually consider yourself to be a Democrat, Republican, Libertarian party member, Green party member, Minnesota Independence party member, Tea Party, another party, or are you an independent who is not a member of any party? [DO NOT READ RESPONSES]

DEMOCRAT
REPUBLICAN
LIBERTARIAN
GREEN
MN INDEPENDENCE PARTY
TEA PARTY
OTHER PARTY
INDEPENDENT, NOT A MEMBER OF ANY PARTY
NOT POLITICAL [VOLUNTEERED]
DON'T KNOW
REFUSED

Q: PARTY2

Although you are an independent, do you usually consider yourself to be closer to the Republicans, Democrats, the Libertarian Party, the Green Party, the Tea Party, or the Minnesota Independence Party?

1. REPUBLICAN

- 2. DEMOCRAT
- 3. LIBERTARIAN
- 4. GREEN

5. TEA PARTY

6. MN INDEPENDENCE PARTY

7. NOT CLOSE TO ANY PARTY [VOLUNTEERED]

8. DON'T KNOW

9. REFUSED PARTY3 combined party

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1. DEMOCRAT	263	42.1	43.2	43.2
	2. REPUBLICAN	192	30.8	31.6	74.8
	3. LIBERTARIAN	16	2.6	2.7	77.5
	4. GREEN	12	1.9	1.9	79.4
	5. TEA PARTY	10	1.6	1.7	81.1
	6. MN INDEPENDENCE PARTY	14	2.2	2.3	83.4
	7. NOT CLOSE TO ANY PARTY [VOLUNTEERED]	53	8.5	8.7	92.1
	I8 NDEPENDENT	14	2.3	2.4	94.5
	9 NOT POLITICALLY INVOLVED	23	3.6	3.7	98.2
	10 DONT KNOW	11	1.8	1.8	100.0
	Total	608	97.5	100.0	
Missing	11 REFUSED	15	2.5		
Total		623	100.0		



## FINDINGS: REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTY IDENTIFIERS SELECT THEIR PARTY'S CHOICE FOR PRESIDENT AT THE TIME OF THIS SURVEY

We asked MN. Republicans and Democrats who they would support as their parties nominees for president. There are all kinds of qualifiers such as: this is a smaller sample of the larger sample, so the margin of error could be 7-9% or so. These are very fluid opinions and literally can change overnight. See Ben Carson's drop during the week of 11-6 to the present.

We can do breakdowns by age, education, income, some religion (parts of the state later) and a few more if requested. For the sample of MN Republicans as of several weeks ago, the findings were Carson (26%) Trump (16%), don't know (36%) and all the rest 4% or less. Carson does much better about Evangelical Christians Trump slightly better among Republican males.

For the Democratic race: Clinton (53%), Sander's (33%), Biden 7%), and the rest are blips. Clinton has a sizeable lead over Sanders among MN Democrat females-almost a 2 to 1

advantage. She does slightly better among those with a college or graduate education. Sanders does a bit better without a religious affiliation.

Q: GOP\_PRES

If the Republican primary election were held today, which of the candidates would you support as your party's nominee for president? [DO NOT READ RESPONSES]

- 1. Donald Trump
- 2. Ben Carson
- 3. Carly Fiorina
- 4. Marco Rubio
- 5. Jeb Bush
- 6. Ted Cruz
- 7. John Kasich
- 8. Chris Christie
- 9. Mike Huckabee
- 10. Rand Paul
- 11. Rick Santorum
- 12. Scott Walker
- 13. George Pataki
- 14. Bobby Jindal
- 15. Lindsey Graham
- 16. Other
- 17. Don't plan to vote
- 18. Don't Know / No Opinion
- 19. Refused

Q: DEM\_PRES

If the Democratic primary election were held today, which of the candidates would you support as your party's nominee for president? [DO NOT READ RESPONSES]

- 1. Hillary Clinton
- 2. Bernie Sanders
- 3. Joe Biden
- 4. Jim Webb
- 5. Martin O'Malley
- 6. Lincoln Chafee
- 7. Other
- 8. Don't plan to vote
- 9. Don't Know / No Opinion
- 10. REFUSED

Q: GOP_PRES			
If the Republican primary	election were held today, which of the	candidates would you suppo	ort as your par

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1. DONALD TRUMP	29	4.6	15.6	15.6
	2. BEN CARSON	47	7.6	25.6	41.2
	3. CARLY FIORINA	8	1.2	4.2	45.4
	4. MARCO RUBIO	13	2.1	7.2	52.6
	5. JEB BUSH	4	.6	1.9	54.5
	6. TED CRUZ	4	.7	2.3	56.8
	11. JOHN KASICH	4	.6	2.0	58.8
	14. RAND PAUL	2	.3	.9	59.7
	16. SCOTT WALKER	0	.1	.2	59.9
	18. BOBBY JINDAL	0	.1	.2	60.1
	19. LINDSEY GRAHAM	1	.1	.4	60.4
	7. OTHER	7	1.1	3.9	64.3
	8. DON'T KNOW	66	10.6	35.7	100.0
	Total	185	29.6	100.0	
Missing	19 REFUSED	3	.5		
	10. DON'T PLAN TO VOTE	4	.6		
	System	431	69.2		
	Total	438	70.4		
Total		623	100.0		

Q: DEM\_PRES If the Democratic primary election were held today,

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1. HILLARY CLINTON	99	15.9	39.0	39.0
	2. BERNIE SANDERS	61	9.8	23.9	62.9
	3. JOE BIDEN	14	2.2	5.4	68.4
	5. MARTIN O'MALLEY	1	.2	.4	68.8
	6. LINCOLN CHAFEE	1	.2	.4	69.2
	7. OTHER	6	.9	2.2	71.4
	8. DON'T KNOW	73	11.7	28.6	100.0
	Total	254	40.8	100.0	
Missing	9. REFUSED	4	.6		
	10. DON'T PLAN TO VOTE	5	.8		
	System	360	57.9		
	Total	369	59.2		
Total		623	100.0		



Q: GOP\_PRES If the Republican primary election were held today, which of the candidates would you support as your par

Q: GOP\_PRES If the Republican primary election were held today, which of the candidates would you support …

11.



## **Findings:** Favorable-Unfavorable ratings (Obama, Dayton, Klobuchar, Franken, Trump, and Clinton)

We explored if the overall opinion of Minnesotans toward Barack Obama, Mark Dayton, Amy Klobuchar, Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton and Al Franken were very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable. Normally very and mostly favorable are combined into a favorable rating and mostly unfavorable and very unfavorable are combined into an unfavorable rating.

In order of highest to lowest positive.—(no titles were given) Amy Klobuchar (59% positive and 23% negative; Al Franken (55% positive-30% negative; Barack Obama (54% positive and 43% negative; Mark Dayton (53% positive-and 28% negative); Hillary Clinton (41% positive and 49% negative); and Donald trump (25% positive and 49% negative).

By party Obama has an 88% Democratic favorability rating and 19% from Republicans, Dayton (73% D and 39% R), Franken (89% D and 26% R), Klobuchar (73% D and 43% R), Trump (10% D and 44% R) and Clinton (78% D and 13% R). Generally Democrats do better among those with a college education or higher. There is a gender gap for most with women more likely to rate Democrats more favorably. Not all MN women love Donald Trump (males 34% favorable –Females-16% favorable).

Most of these patterns are also found for the job approval ratings. Generally Evangelical Christians have higher positive feelings for Republicans.

More breakdowns available upon request.

### Q: RATEOBAMA

Is your overall opinion of Barack Obama very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable? [DAYTON KLOBUCHAR FRANKEN TRUMP CLINTON]

- 1. VERY FAVORABLE
- 2. MOSTLY FAVORABLE
- 3. MOSTLY FAVORABLE
- 4. VERY UNFAVORABLE
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

SOME BREAKDOWNS

### **Frequency Table**

#### Q: RATEOBAMA

Is your overall opinion of Barack Obama very favorable,

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1. VERY FAVORABLE	94	15.0	15.2	15.2
	2. MOSTLY FAVORABLE	238	38.2	38.7	53.9
	3. MOSTLY UNFAVORABLE	114	18.3	18.5	72.4
	4. VERY UNFAVORABLE	146	23.4	23.7	96.1
	5 dont now	24	3.9	3.9	100.0
	Total	616	98.8	100.0	
Missing	6 refused	7	1.2		
Total		623	100.0		

## DAYTON How about Mark Dayton?

[IF NEEDE	D REPEAT: Is your overall opinion of Mark	x Dayton very favora			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1. VERY FAVORABLE	87	14.0	14.2	14.2
	2. MOSTLY FAVORABLE	238	38.3	38.8	53.1
	3. MOSTLY UNFAVORABLE	79	12.7	12.9	65.9
	4. VERY UNFAVORABLE	91	14.6	14.8	80.7
	8. DON'T KNOW	118	19.0	19.3	100.0
	Total	614	98.6	100.0	
Missing	9. REFUSED	9	1.4		
Total		623	100.0		

O: FRANKEN How about Al Franken?	HENEFDED DEDEAT. Ic x	your overall opinion of A	l Franken very favorah
Q. FRANKEN HOW about AI Flanken.	III NEEDED KEI EAL. IS J	your overan opinion of A	I FTAIIKCII VELY TAVOLAD

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1. VERY FAVORABLE	125	20.0	20.2	20.2
	2. MOSTLY FAVORABLE	213	34.2	34.5	54.8
	3. MOSTLY UNFAVORABLE	76	12.2	12.3	67.1
	4. VERY UNFAVORABLE	112	18.0	18.2	85.2
	8. DON'T KNOW	91	14.6	14.8	100.0
	Total	617	99.0	100.0	
Missing	9. REFUSED	6	1.0		
Total		623	100.0		

Q: KLOBUCHAR How about Amy Klobuchar? [IF NEEDED REPEAT: Is your opinion of Amy Klobuchar very favorable, most

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1. VERY FAVORABLE	166	26.6	26.9	26.9
	2. MOSTLY FAVORABLE	177	28.5	28.8	55.8
	3. MOSTLY UNFAVORABLE	72	11.6	11.7	67.5
	4. VERY UNFAVORABLE	69	11.1	11.2	78.7
	8. DON'T KNOW	131	21.0	21.3	100.0
	Total	616	98.8	100.0	
Missing	9. REFUSED	7	1.2		
Total		623	100.0		

### Q: TRUMP How about Donald Trump?

[IF NEEDED REPEAT: Is your overall opinion of Donald Trump very favor

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1. VERY FAVORABLE	33	5.4	5.4	5.4
	2. MOSTLY FAVORABLE	120	19.3	19.5	24.9
	3. MOSTLY UNFAVORABLE	117	18.8	19.0	43.9
	4. VERY UNFAVORABLE	288	46.3	46.7	90.6
	8. DON'T KNOW	58	9.3	9.4	100.0
	Total	616	99.0	100.0	
Missing	9. REFUSED	7	1.0		
Total		623	100.0		

### Q: CLINTON How about Hillary Clinton?

[IF NEEDED REPEAT: ;Is your overall opinion of Hillary Clinton ve

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1. VERY FAVORABLE	81	13.0	13.1	13.1
	2. MOSTLY FAVORABLE	191	30.6	31.0	44.1
	3. MOSTLY UNFAVORABLE	134	21.6	21.8	65.9
	4. VERY UNFAVORABLE	165	26.5	26.8	92.7
	8. DON'T KNOW	45	7.2	7.3	100.0
	Total	616	98.8	100.0	
Missing	9. REFUSED	7	1.2		
Total		623	100.0		





Q: DAYTON How about Mark Dayton?





[IF NEEDED REPEAT: "Is your overall opinion of Mark Dayton very favora

## Q: FRANKEN How about Al Franken?





[IF NEEDED REPEAT: "Is your overall opinion of Al Franken very favorab

## Q: KLOBUCHAR How about Amy Klobuchar?





[IF NEEDED REPEAT: "ls your opinion of Amy Klobuchar very favorable, most

Q: TRUMP How about Donald Trump?



## [IF NEEDED REPEAT: Is your overall opinion of Donald Trump very favor

Q: CLINTON How about Hillary Clinton?



[IF NEEDED REPEAT: " Is your overall opinion of Hillary Clinton ve

Cases weighted by Weight

# FINDINGS: JOB PERFORMANCE RATINGS [OBAMA DAYTON KLOBUCHAR FRANKEN ]

Now we have a few questions on the performance of some political leaders currently in office. How would you rate the overall performance of Barack Obama as President? Would you rate his performance as excellent, pretty good, only fair or poor? [DO NOT READ RESPONSES]

- 1. EXCELLENT
- 2. PRETTY GOOD
- 3. ONLY FAIR
- 4. POOR
- 8. DON'T KNOW
- 9. REFUSED

## **Frequency Table**

Q:	RATEBAMA	Now we	have a	few o	questions	on the	performance
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		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1. EXCELLENT	84	13.6	13.7	13.7
	2. PRETTY GOOD	197	31.7	31.9	45.6
	3. ONLY FAIR	149	23.9	24.1	69.7
	4. POOR	181	29.1	29.3	99.0
	8. DON'T KNOW	6	1.0	1.0	100.0
	Total	618	99.3	100.0	
Missing	9. REFUSED	5	.7		
Total		623	100.0		

Q: JOBDAYTON How about Mark Dayton? [DO NOT READ RESPONSES UNLESS ASKED TO REPEAT QUESTION: Is your ove

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1. EXCELLENT	77	12.3	12.4	12.4
	2. PRETTY GOOD	204	32.7	33.1	45.6
	3. ONLY FAIR	160	25.6	26.0	71.5
	4. POOR	101	16.2	16.4	87.9
	8. DON'T KNOW	74	11.9	12.1	100.0
	Total	615	98.7	100.0	
Missing	9. REFUSED	8	1.3		
Total		623	100.0		

#### : JOBFRANKEN How about Al Franken?

[DO NOT READ RESPONSES UNLESS ASKED TO REPEAT QUESTION: Is your o

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1. EXCELLENT	92	14.7	14.9	14.9
	2. PRETTY GOOD	209	33.6	33.9	48.8
	3. ONLY FAIR	121	19.3	19.6	68.4
	4. POOR	108	17.3	17.5	85.9
	8. DON'T KNOW	87	13.9	14.1	100.0
	Total	616	98.9	100.0	
Missing	9. REFUSED	7	1.1		
Total		623	100.0		

#### Q: JOBKLOBUCHA How about Amy Klobuchar

[DO NOT READ RESPONSES UNLESS ASKED TO REPEAT QUESTION:

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1. EXCELLENT	139	22.2	22.5	22.5
	2. PRETTY GOOD	170	27.3	27.6	50.1
	3. ONLY FAIR	124	19.9	20.1	70.2
	4. POOR	78	12.5	12.7	82.9
	8. DON'T KNOW	106	16.9	17.1	100.0
	Total	617	99.0	100.0	
Missing	9. REFUSED	6	1.0		
Total		623	100.0		

## Bar Chart





Q: JOBDAYTON How about Mark Dayton? [DO NOT READ RESPONSES UNLESS ASKED TO REPEAT QUESTION: " Is your ove Q: JOBFRANKEN How about Al Franken?

[DO NOT READ RESPONSES UNLESS ASKED TO REPEAT QUESTION: " Is your o



[DO NOT READ RESPONSES UNLESS ASKED TO REPEAT QUESTION: "ls your o



## Q: JOBKLOBUCHA How about Amy Klobuchar