St. Cloud State University

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Fall 2022

SCSU Annual Fall Statewide Survey [Fall 2022]

St. Cloud State University

November 3, 2022

St. Cloud State University Survey Annual Fall Statewide Survey
2022 Political Report

This pre-election political report is the first of several anticipated news releases from the St. Cloud State University Survey Annual Fall Statewide Survey. The 2022 St. Cloud State University Fall Survey findings are based on telephone interviews with a representative sample of 235 adults in Minnesota, with a margin of error of ±8%.[1] The weighted sample included both landline phones (14% of the sample) and cell phones (86% of the sample). Interviews were conducted October 10-30, 2022 at the St. Cloud State University Survey Lab by SCSU students as part of their required coursework in several social science classes. For more detailed explanation of the sampling methodology and weighting procedure, please see Appendix B.

The questions for this year's survey (see Appendix C for full questionnaire and exact question wording) were developed by the faculty and student directors of the Survey Center to measure attitudes on topics of public interest as well as topics related to the research interests of the principal investigators. Obviously, the midterm elections were of primary interest this year, so we have included questions relating to respondents' preference for which party should control Congress after the midterms and their vote choices for statewide races. We also asked a number of related questions capturing partisan and ideological preferences and attitudes on major issues facing the state and nation, including the abortion, inflation, climate change, and immigration.

One final word of caution about the interpretations of the data offered here: A variety of unique challenges in this year's survey make it difficult to offer much confidence in interpreting the results on most of the survey items here. The margin of error is unusually large, and there is evidence of a significantly low response rate from conservative Republicans, which continues a trend that has plagued survey researchers since at least 2016. Every effort has been made to mitigate systematic bias in our estimates through practices like weighting the data to better approximate the target population and careful diagnostic examinations of the "Don't Know" and "Refused" response options, but we still want to explicitly caution readers against drawing firm conclusions from the data (especially on the "horse race" questions) when the potential error in the estimates is so large.

Findings: Direction of the State and Nation

This year's results suggest a continuation of a negative trend in public perceptions of the direction of both the state and the nation. With 40% of Minnesotans responding that the state is heading in the right direction and 46% believe we are on the wrong track, we find a statistical dead heat between the positive and negative views at the state level – well within the ±8% margin-of-error. This result represents a significant decline from our high of 70% "right direction" in 2017 and the percent of residents reporting "wrong track" has risen 20 percentage points from a recent low of 26% in 2018.

We also asked respondents the same question regarding the direction of the nation, and Minnesotans expressed even less confidence that the nation is heading in the right direction. Only 20% of our respondents felt the nation is heading in the right direction, compared with 70% who believe our country is on the wrong track. The -50% spread between "right direction" and "wrong track" is well outside the margin-of-error for this study and represents an increase from the 28-66 split we found in the 2020 election cycle.

[Table 1 Here]

This continues a trend of pessimism that began during the pandemic, and these figures suggest that Minnesotans are slightly less confident than the national average. The Real Clear Politics average of all national polls for the

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[1] NOTE: The margin-of-error for our sample of 235 is ±6.4% but weighting of the data required an alternate calculation of the error to reflect the weighting process. This formula produces a slightly higher margin-of-error of ±8%. The data were weighted on gender, age, and educational attainment in order to more accurately reflect the true population. More details may be found in Appendix B, and in a separate methodology report that will be available on our website in late November.

period between 10/18 and 11/1 show that 26% of Americans believe our country is moving in the right direction and 68% feel we are on the wrong track nationwide (http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/other/direction_of_country-902.html).

Partisan Polarization in Perceptions of the Direction of the State and Nation

We also examined differences between Democrats and Republicans and found predictable differences in the perceptions of these groups. On the state level, with a Democratic governor in office, Democrats were much more optimistic about the direction of the state than Republicans, with 71% of Democrats reporting "right direction" as opposed to only 17% of Republicans. Only 24% of Democrats felt the state was moving in the wrong direction, compared with 79% of Republicans. The dramatic differences between partisan perceptions of direction of the state are well outside the margin of error and are statistically significant, so we are confident that these results accurately reflect the population.

On the national, level the two parties have continued to diverge sharply in their evaluations of the direction of the country, though a majority of both parties agreed that the country is on the wrong track. Of the Democratic respondents (including independents who said they "lean" Democratic), 38% expressed a belief that the country is headed in the right direction, versus only 1% of Republicans (including "leaners"). In a similar vein, while 54% of Democrats expressed a belief that our country is on the wrong track, a whopping 96% of Republicans shared that view. Again these results are well outside the margin of error and are statistically significant.

[Table 2 Here]

Election Year Issues: Economy/Inflation, Crime, and Partisan Division Are Top Areas of Concern

We also asked respondents what issue they believed was the single most important issue facing both the state and the nation. Our "most important issue" question is an open-ended question coming immediately after the Direction question at the very start of the survey and is designed to capture respondents' genuine perception of the most important issue before we ask them about specific issues later in the survey. By asking this question before any other issue questions we eliminate the possibility of question ordering effects potentially biasing responses.

As in past years, we found a wide range of concerns cited by respondents. *Economy/Inflation* was the principal concern at both the state and national levels, with 20% of respondents reporting that as the top issue facing the state, and 26% citing it as the top issue for the nation. Other issues of concern at the state level were: *Crime/Violence/Gangs* at 14%, Partisan division at 8%, and Racism/Inequality at 6%. Fewer than 5% of respondents named Abortion as the top issue, even though a majority of respondents later cited the issue as a factor in deciding who they would vote for.

When asked to name the single most important issue facing the nation, *Partisan division* was the second-most cited issue (after Economy/Inflation) at 23%. No other single issue captured more than 5% of the responses on this survey item, with Abortion and Democracy/Elections tied at 5%. [**NOTE**: While these data are suggestive of what issues respondents find to be important, the small numbers for each issue category make it impossible to speak very confidently about the results from a statistical standpoint. For that reason, we did not attempt any partisan breakdowns of these data].

[Table 3 Here]

Findings: 2022 Election Attitudes and Preferences

Our survey results suggest that interest in the election is high, and that voter turnout in Minnesota is likely to remain very strong, as it typically is. Minnesota has a well-deserved reputation for political engagement and voter participation[2]. Eighty-eight percent of our respondents reported having voted in 2020. When asked about their likelihood to vote in the upcoming election, 84% were either "almost certain" to vote or indicated they will "probably vote," and only 6% of our respondents indicated that they would not vote in the election.

[Table 4 Here]

Factors Influencing the Vote: Abortion and Inflation Cited as Important for Vote Choice

With the recent *Dobbs* decision from the Supreme Court generating substantial voter interest, particularly on the Democratic side, we included a question this year asking respondents how important the issue of ***abortion*** was for them in determining who they would vote for. As expected, Democrats indicated that the issue would be very influential in their voting decisions, with 96% indicating the issues was either "very important" or "somewhat important." Only 4% of Democratic respondents reported that the issue was "not very" or "not at all" important. A majority of Republicans (58%) also indicated that abortion was either "very important" or "somewhat important" in deciding their vote, while 42% of Republicans said that the issue was "not very" or "not at all important."

Two points should be made regarding these results. First, the differences between Democrats and Republicans may partly reflect the different approaches the party organizations are taking in their campaign advertising. Democrats have been framing many of their campaign appeals in terms of this issue, while Republicans have focused more on inflation and crime. Second, the fairly high percentage of Republicans who expressed that the abortion issue was important are very likely finding the issue important for very different reasons than Democrats. A subsequent question asking respondents whether abortion should be legal in all, most, or no cases reveals sharp differences among partisans on how the issue is perceived, so even though there is some agreement between the parties that the issue is important, they are clearly seeing its importance from diverging perspectives.

Based on widespread public concern about persistent ***inflation***, we also asked respondents how important the issue of inflation was in determining their vote. Both Democrats (55%) and Republicans (100%) cited the issue as important to them, though the spread between "important" (55%) and "not important" (45%) among Democrats was within the margin-of-error and so we cannot be confident that these estimates accurately reflect the population. There is no doubt, however, that the issue is of primary importance to Republicans, as only one Republican respondent out of 84 said the issue was "not very important." As with most of the other partisan comparisons, these results were statistically significant at the .001 level.

[Table 5 Here]

Partisan and Ideology of the Minnesota Electorate

The partisanship and ideology of the Minnesota electorate in this year's results suggest a slight shift towards the Democratic party and liberal ideology, though we have significant cause for skepticism in these results. Even after weighting the data, we find 52% of respondents identifying as Democratic compared to only 38% identifying as Republican. These results represent a notable increase in Democratic responders from the 2016 and 2020 election cycles in which Democrats were 44% of our sample. Republican identifiers were also trending upward from 32% in 2016 to 35% in 2020 and 38% in this year's study, which may reflect increasing polarization of the electorate since 2016.

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[2] https://www.minnpost.com/politics-policy/2020/09/five-reasons-why-voter-turnout-minnesota-so-high

Our ideology measures also suggest a slight shift towards the liberal end of the spectrum with 35% identifying as "liberal" (up from 32% in 2020), 35% identifying as "conservative" (same as in 2020), and 30% identifying as "moderate" (down from 33% in 2020). However, as noted throughout this report, the differences in these categories are well within the margin-of-error and are, therefore, statistically indistinguishable from each other. Put another way, it seems very likely that the two parties are essentially even among voters, particularly when you factor in the historically higher turnout of Republicans, which would offset any small gains in Democratic and liberal identification since the last election.

Congressional Election Preferences: Democrats and Republicans in a Statistical Tie

The final columns of Table 6 reveal that the congressional election preferences of Minnesotans are a statistical tie. While the estimates suggest a Democratic advantage of 43% to 35% over the Republicans, this margin is well within the margin-of-error and is also smaller than the 26 respondents who answered "Don't Know" and "Neither." It is entirely possible that most of those 26 voters could break for the Republican on Election Day, so we do not interpret these data as representing a Democratic lead.

[Table 6 Here]

"Horse Race" Results for Governor, Attorney General, and Secretary of State

Table 7 reports our estimates of voter support for the three most prominent individual statewide races in Minnesota (Governor, Attorney General, and Secretary of State). The unshaded columns present the weighted results of these survey items as we normally present them, with "Don't Know" responses making up a large percentage of the responses (this is unsurprising, given that we started the data collection on 10/10, nearly a month before the election). These results suggest advantages of 21, 13, and 21 points respectively for the Democratic candidates for Governor, Attorney General, and Secretary of State, respectively.

We do not believe those to be the real preferences of the Minnesota electorate for several reasons*.* First, national polling (and even international, if we look at recent results in Brazil) has consistently undermeasured conservative opinion since 2016, so there is ample reason to suspect that the support for the Republican candidates is larger than what has been captured here. Second, a +/- 8% margin of error means that 16 percentage points of the split between these candidates may be attributable to sampling error. A margin of error that large means we cannot be confident that the Democratic advantage seen in our sample is reflected in the population. Finally, the large number of "Don't Know" responses may not be randomly distributed, such that if most of them break for the Republican candidate, then it could change the overall spread reported here.

In order to explore that last possibility, we ran a separate analysis of the partisanship and ideology of the "Don't Know" voters in each of these races to determine if there was a systematic bias in those identifiers. We found that in each of the races, a majority of the "Don't Know" respondents self-identified as Republican. Based on this reality, we created a new estimate, reflected in the shaded columns, that assigns the "Don't Know" respondents to their preferred party.

For ***Governor,*** this procedure increases the Republican vote share by 9 percentage points and reduces the margin between the two candidates to 16%, exactly equal to the margin of error for the study. Similarly, for the ***Attorney General's*** race, the Republican support increases by 11%, to 40%, and reduces the margin between the candidates to 12%. Finally, in the ***Secretary of State*** contest, the corrections add an additional 18% to the estimate for the Republican candidate and shrink the margin between them to 15% (down from 21%). While statistical estimations of error cannot be applied in these estimates, so we cannot be sure how much more accurate they are, we feel confident that the shaded columns are very likely to be a better approximation of the true population and will probably be much closer to the results we see on Election Day.

[Table 7 Here]

Sharp Partisan Polarization Continues on Issue Positions

As was the case in previous election years, we find that issue positions and policy are once again playing a role in voters' choices this year. This is not surprising, given the emphasis on issues like crime, inflation, and abortion rights in the campaign ads this year. As a result, we find sharp differences of opinion between Democrats and Republicans on a variety of issues this year, including abortion, immigration, climate change, and what is being taught in our schools.

On the issue of ***abortion***, 97% of Democratic respondents report believing that abortion should be legal in "all" or "most" cases, in contrast to only 30% of Republicans who share that view.

On ***immigration***, Democrats report having a much more favorable impression of immigrants, with 91% regarding the contributions of immigrants as "positive" and only 4% reporting a "negative" view. Republicans were more skeptical of immigration, with 31% citing their contributions as "positive" and 62% holding a "negative" view. Similarly, when we focus specifically on undocumented immigrants who are in the country illegally, Democrats were more sympathetic to their situation by an 83% to 11% margin, compared with Republicans, measured at 36% sympathetic to 63% unsympathetic. Majorities of both parties acknowledged the reality of climate change, but Democrats showed a much higher degree of concern (89%) about addressing the issue than Republicans (40%).

Finally, we asked two questions focused on controversies over ***K-12 curriculum***, specifically, should lessons relating to racism and slavery be taught in the schools, and should schools teach about gender identity and sexual orientation in K-12 lessons? Strong majorities of both Democrats and Republicans expressed support for teaching about racism and slavery in K-12 schools (90%D, 72%R), but respondents were more skeptical of gender identity and sexual orientations as appropriate topics for schools, and partisan differences were much sharper. A majority of Democrats, 67%, approved of teaching about gender identity and sexual orientation, while only 7% of Republicans indicated support for it. All of these differences were statistically significant at the .001 level.

[Table 8 Here]

Findings: Performance Ratings of State and National Leaders

Consistent with the declining evaluations of the direction of the state and country, Minnesotans do not rate our state or national political leaders as highly as they have in the past. As is our usual practice, we combine "excellent" and "pretty good" responses into a single "favorable" category, and "poor" and "very poor" into a single "unfavorable" category.

For ***President Biden***, we find that only 36% of respondents reported having a favorable view of his performance as president, which is lower than the 38% rating that Trump enjoyed in 2020 and far lower than the 56% favorable rating for Obama in 2016. Nearly half of Minnesotans rate the president's performance as either "poor" or "very poor" (a combined 45%). These figures are worse for the president than the current national average of 43% approval and 55% disapproval reported by Real Clear Politics for the last half of October.[3]

Performance evaluations of ***Governor Walz*** were significantly higher than those of President Biden, with 48% of respondents responding favorably and only 27% indicating a poor performance. It will be interesting to see if Governor Walz's relatively strong approval ratings in the state bode well for the Democratic ticket on Election Day, or if President Biden's weak poll numbers hurt the party more. Either way, the election results may tell us something about the relative importance of state evaluations versus national evaluations in the decision making of voters.

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[3] https://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/other/president-biden-job-approval-7320.html

[Table 9 Here]

Partisan Breakdowns of Approval Ratings Also Show Sharp Polarization

Finally, we also broke down the job approval ratings for these officials by party and found very sharp divisions between these groups on their ratings of these figures. For example, not a single Republican in our sample had a favorable opinion of **President Biden**, while 69% of Democrats approved of his performance. For **Governor Walz**, 83% of Democrats held a favorable view, while only 6% of Republicans approved of his performance. These differences are historically large, well outside the margin of error, and statistically significant at the .001 level.

[Table 10 Here]

Table 1. "Do you think things in the state/nation are generally going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten off on the wrong track?"

	Minnesota		United States	
	Frequency	*Percent*	*Frequency*	*Percent*
Right Direction	92	40	46	20
Neutral (volunt'd)	31	14	15	7
Wrong Track	104	46	170	73
Total	228	100	232	100

*Table excludes "Don't Know" and "Refused" categories. Data are weighted on gender, age, and educational attainment to be representative of current population figures. Weighted margin-of-error is ±8%.

Table 2. Right direction/Wrong Track by party

	Minnesota				United States			
	Democrat		Republican		Democrat		Republican	
	Frequency	*Percent*	*Frequency*	*Percent*	*Frequency*	*Percent*	*Frequency*	*Percent*
Right Direction	112	71	21	17	44	38	1	1
Neutral (volunt'd)	7	5	5	4	10	8	3	3
Wrong Track	38	24	100	79	63	54	83	96
Total	157	100	126	100	117	100	87	100

*Table excludes third parties and "Don't Know" and "Refused" responses. Data are weighted on gender and age to be representative of current population figures. Weighted margin-of-error is ±8%. Chi-square is significant at the .001 level.

Table 3. "What do you think is the single most important problem facing the state/nation today?"

	Minnesota		United States	
	Frequency	*Percent*	*Frequency*	*Percent*
Economy/Inflation	46	20	60	26
Crime/Violence	33	14	7	3
Abortion	5	2	11	5
Other Party/Division	18	8	55	23
Democracy/Elections	2	1	12	5
Racism/Inequality	15	6	3	1
Other Problems	73	31	73	31
Don't Know	7	3	2	1
Refused	36	15	12	5
Total	235	100	235	100

* NOTE: Because the cell entries are so small, caution should be exercised in interpretation. Data are weighted on gender, age, educational attainment to be representative of current population figures. Weighted margin-of-error is ±8%.

Table 4. Likelihood of Voting

	Voting History		Likelihood of Voting	
	Frequency	*Percent*	*Frequency*	*Percent*
Voted in 2020	207	88	--	--
Didn't Vote in 2020	23	10	--	--
Couldn't Vote in 2020	5	2	--	--
Almost Certain	--	--	179	76
Probably Vote	--	--	17	8
50-50	--	--	23	10
Won't Vote	--	--	15	6
Total	235	100	235	100

*Table excludes "Don't Know" and "Refused" categories. Data are weighted on gender, age, educational attainment to be representative of current population figures. Weighted margin-of-error is ±8%.

Table 5. Issue Importance in Deciding Your Vote

	Democrats		Republicans		Overall	
	Freq	*%*	*Freq*	*%*	*Freq*	*%*
Inflation						
Very or Somewhat Important	61	55	82	100%	165	76
Not Too or Not at All Important	50	45	1	~0%	53	24
Total	111	100	83	100	218	100
Abortion						
Very or Somewhat Important	106	96	49	58	171	79
Not Too or Not at All Important	4	4	35	42	46	21
Total	110	100	84	100	217	100

*Table excludes third parties and "Don't Know" and "Refused" responses. Data are weighted on gender and age to be representative of current population figures. Weighted margin-of-error is ±8%. Chi-square is significant at the .001 level.

Table 6. Partisanship, Ideology, and Generic Vote Preferences of Minnesotans, 2022

	Partisanship		Ideology		Generic Midterm Vote	
	Frequency	*Percent*	*Frequency*	*Percent*	*Frequency*	*Percent*
Democrat	118	52	--	--	--	--
Republican	87	38	--	--	--	--
Other Party	7	3	--	--	--	--
Independent	14	6				
Liberal	--	--	79	35	--	--
Moderate	--	--	66	30	--	--
Conservative	--	--	77	35	--	--
Democrats	--	--	--	--	102	43
Republicans	--	--	--	--	83	35
Neither	--	--	--	--	16	7
Won't Vote	--	--	--	--	3	1
Don't Know					10	4
Total	235	100	222	100	214	100

*Table excludes 'Don't Know" and "Refused" categories. Data are weighted on gender and age to be representative of current population figures. Weighted margin-of-error is ±8%.

Table 7. Minnesota Statewide Races, 2022

	Governor				Attorney General				Secretary of State			
	Freq	*%*	*Freq***	*%***	*Freq*	*%*	*Freq***	*%***	*Freq*	*%*	*Freq***	*%***
Tim Walz (DFL)	113	52	120	56								
Scott Jensen (R)	68	31	85	40								
Someone Else	9	4	10	4								
Won't Vote	--	--	--	--								
Don't Know	29	13	--	--								
Keith Ellison (DFL)					91	42	110	52				
Jim Schultz (R)					64	29	84	40				
Someone Else					15	7	17	8				
Won't Vote					2	1	--	--				
Don't Know					46	21	--	--				
Steve Simon (DFL)									88	40	110	52
Kim Crockett (R)									42	19	79	37
Someone Else									20	9	23	11
Won't Vote									2	1	--	--
Don't Know									68	31	--	--
Total	219	100	215	100	218	100	211	100	220	100	212	100

*Table excludes 'Don't Know' and "Refused" categories. Data are weighted on gender, age, and educational attainment to be representative of current population figures. Weighted margin-of-error is ±8%.

**Shaded columns reassign "Don't Know" voters to their likely choice based on self-reported partisanship to provide a more reasonable estimate of how the final vote will turn out. The error in those estimates cannot be calculated. "Other Party," "Independent," and "Don't Know" are excluded from the recalculation.

Table 8. Issue and Policy Attitudes by Party

	Democrat				Republican			
	Approve/Agree/+		*Disapprove/Disagree/-*		*Approve/Agree/+*		*Disapprove/Disagree/-*	
	Frequency	*Percent*	*Frequency*	*Percent*	*Frequency*	*Percent*	*Frequency*	*Percent*
Abortion as a legal right**	108	97	3	3	24	30	55	70
Perception of Immigrants**	106	91	5	4	25	31	50	62
Sympathetic to undocumented**	98	83	13	11	31	36	55	63
Climate change is real**	112	99	1	1	57	67	28	33
Concern about Climate**	104	89	12	10	34	40	50	59
Teaching about racism in K-12**	107	90	6	5	57	72	18	23
Teaching about LBGTQ in K-12**	78	67	28	24	6	7	74	85

*Table excludes "Refused" and "Don't Know" categories. "Neutral," "Other Party," and "Independent" are not reported. Values for "Neutral" are not reported. Data are weighted on gender and age to be representative of current population figures. Weighted margin-of-error is ±8%.
**Chi-square significant at the .001 level

Table 9. Job Performance Ratings

	Excellent or Pretty Good		Poor or Very Poor	
	Frequency	*Percent*	*Frequency*	*Percent*
President Biden	83	36	105	45
Governor Walz	107	48	59	27

* Analysis excludes "Refused" and "Don't Know" categories. "Only Fair" is not reported. Data are weighted on gender and age to be representative of current population figures. Weighted margin-of-error is ±8%. Chi-square is significant at the .001 level.

Table 10. Job Performance Ratings by Party

	Democrat				Republican			
	Approve		*Disapprove*		*Approve*		*Disapprove*	
	Frequency	*Percent*	*Frequency*	*Percent*	*Frequency*	*Percent*	*Frequency*	*Percent*
Biden	81	69	10	9	0	0	80	95
Walz	92	83	1	1	5	6	51	61

*Analysis excludes "Refused" and "Don't Know" categories. "Only Fair" is not reported. Values for "Neutral" not reported. Data are weighted on gender and age to be representative of current population figures. Weighted margin-of-error is ±8%. Chi-square is significant at the .001 level.

Appendix A: Survey Personnel
This year data collection for the survey was conducted by students taking our courses for academic credit. Student callers were trained and supervised by our Student Directors in consultation with our Faculty Directors. At every stage of the operation, students are integral to the research process and their participation in our research provides them with experiential learning opportunities and helps them develop leadership skills.

Faculty Directors
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Merary Rangel, Senior Psychology major from Melrose, Minnesota
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Owen Wunderlich, Senior, Psychology major from Rice, Minnesota
Ben Zabel, Junior, Political Science major from Maple Grove, Minnesota

Appendix B: Methodology

The Fall 2022 St. Cloud State University Survey findings are based on telephone interviews with a representative sample of 235 (weighted) adults in Minnesota. The sample included both landline phones and cell phones. Interviews were conducted from October 10 to October 30, 2022 at the St. Cloud State University Survey Lab. The sample was obtained from Dynata 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 one cell phone sample, all of which were generated following a random-digit dialing (RDD) approach in which random phone numbers are generated by computer in order to ensure that everyone in the population has a roughly equal chance of selection. Samples were compared for duplicates, and none was found. More methodological details relating to our sampling approach may be found in a separate methodology section that will be available on our website.

The completed sample consists of 235 interviews. Of the 235 interviews, 23 (9%) are landlines and 213 (91%) are cell phone numbers (note that in the weighted data set these values change slightly to 11% land and 89% cellphone). In samples of 235 interviews, the error due to sampling and other random effects is approximately plus/minus 5 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 5 percent only one time in twenty.

Several steps were taken to ensure that the telephone sample of adults in the state was representative of the larger adult state population.

The margin of sampling error for the complete set of weighted data is ±8 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 2022 Minnesota population estimates from the American Community Study on the website of the US Census Bureau (https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/dashboard/MN/PST045221). In this year's survey weighting was done on three variables (age, gender, and educational attainment) to ensure that our results more closely represent the actual population.

A more detailed report on our sampling, data collection, and weighting methodology will be available at http://www.stcloudstate.edu/scsusurvey/ in late November 2022.

Appendix C: Survey Questionnaire (including WinCATI programming code)

C: Fall 2022 Statewide Survey
C: edited by JC 9/28/2022

Q: HELLO ---

  Hello, my name is _____ (YOUR NAME) and I am a student
  at St. Cloud State University. I am calling from our survey
  research center on campus. We are conducting a study of
  Minnesota residents about state and national issues, and the upcoming election.
  We are not asking for contributions or trying to sell you
  anything. Your telephone number was drawn by a computer in a
  random sample of the state. [HIT ANY KEY TO CONTINUE]
  [IF INTERVIEW IS A RESTART, MAKE SURE YOU HAVE PROPER RESPONDENT,
  REINTRODUCE YOURSELF AND SAY SOMETHING LIKE--
  We previously started this interview and couldn't finish it
  at the time. May we finish it now?
  IF RESPONDENT WANTS TO KNOW WHO THE INTERVIEW IS FOR YOU CAN
  TELL THEM IT IS FOR ST. CLOUD STATE UNIVERSITY.
  YOU CAN HIT CONTROL/END AT ANY TIME TO TERMINATE
  AN INTERVIEW, PUT MESSAGE FOR CALLBACKS, INCOMPLETES,
  REFUSALS, ETC.]

Q: HELLO1 ---

  Is this your residential phone, and is it a landline phone?

  [IF NO] Is this your personal cell phone, and not a business phone?

  [IF NOT RESIDENTIAL LANDLINE OR PERSONAL CELL PHONE, TERMINATE BY SAYING

               I'm sorry, we have the wrong number.

                 END CALL WITH CTRL-END]

  1. YES, IT IS A RESIDENTIAL LANDLINE PHONE
  2. NO, IT IS A PERSONAL CELL PHONE

Q: GENDER --

  To make sure that the results of our study will represent
  Minnesotans, I have to ask you what is your gender?

  [IF RESPONDENT INDICATES "OTHER" OR "TRANS" OR "THIRD GENDER" OR SIMILAR,
  CHOOSE 'OTHER, RESIDENTIAL LANDLINE PHONE']

  1. MAN/MALE, RESIDENTIAL LANDLINE PHONE
  2. WOMAN/FEMALE, RESIDENTIAL LANDLINE PHONE
  3. OTHER, RESIDENTIAL LANDLINE PHONE

Q: HELLO2B ---------------------

  Is this a personal cell phone, that is not a business phone?

[IF NOT A PERSONAL CELL PHONE] Is this a residential landline phone?

[IF BUSINESS PHONE, END CALL ... "I'm sorry I have a wrong number." END CALL WITH CTRL-END]
To make sure that the results of our study will represent
Minnesotans, I have to ask you what is your gender?

[IF RESPONDENT INDICATES "OTHER" OR "TRANS" OR "THIRD GENDER" OR "NEITHER",
CHOOSE 'OTHER, PERSONAL CELL PHONE' OR 'OTHER, RESIDENTIAL LANDLINE PHONE' BASED ON PHONE
TYPE]
Thank you.

1. MAN/MALE, PERSONAL CELL PHONE
2. WOMAN/FEMALE, PERSONAL CELL PHONE
3. OTHER, PERSONAL CELL PHONE
4. MAN/MALE, RESIDENTIAL LANDLINE PHONE
5. WOMAN/FEMALE, RESIDENTIAL LANDLINE PHONE
6. OTHER, RESIDENTIAL LANDLINE PHONE

Q: HELLO2C --------------------

Are you age 18 or older and live in Minnesota?
[IF YES TO BOTH, PRESS ANY KEY TO CONTINUE]
[IF TOO YOUNG OR NOT A RESIDENT, END CALL BY SAYING]
I'm sorry I have a wrong number.
[THEN END CALL WITH CTRL-END]

Q: DRIVING ---------------------------------------
C: Only ask this for cell phone surveys

It is important that we interview you when you are not driving or in
a situation where you would be distracted by events around you. Are you
in a safe situation to answer our questions?

[IF THIS IS NOT A GOOD TIME FOR INTERVIEW]

When may I call back to interview you?
[HIT CTRL/END, THEN RECORD TIME AND DAY FOR CALL-BACK]
[IF THEY ARE IN A SAFE SITUATION, CONTINUE TO NEXT ITEM]

Q: ETHICS ---------------------------

Before we begin the 10-15 minute survey, please note that I
am happy to answer any questions about the study either now or
later. This interview is completely voluntary, so if we come
to any question that you don't want to answer, just let me know and
we'll go on to the next question.
[PRESS NEXT TO CONTINUE]

Q: Q1DIRMN ---------------------------------------

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
88. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

Q: Q2PROBMN ------------------

What do you think is the single most important problem facing the
State of Minnesota today?
Answer:

Q: Q3DIRUS ---------------------------------------

Regarding the United States as a whole:
Do you think things in the nation 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
88. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

Q: Q4PROBUS ------------------

And what do you think is the single most important problem facing the
United States as a nation right now?
Answer:

Q: Q5_2020VOTE —--------------------------

Now, thinking back to 2020, did you vote in the 2020 presidential election?

 1. YES
 2. NO
 3. WAS INELIGIBLE TO VOTE [e.g., NOT A CITIZEN, NOT REGISTERED]
 88. DON'T KNOW
 99. REFUSED

Q: Q6VOTE —--------------------------

What are the chances of your voting in this year's midterm elections?
Are you almost certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances
50-50, or do you think you will not vote?

 1. ALMOST CERTAIN
 2. PROBABLY VOTE
 3. 50-50
 4. WON'T VOTE
 88. DON'T KNOW
 99. REFUSED

Q: Q7MIDTERM -------------------------

 If the 2022 midterm congressional elections were held today which party's candidates would you be more
likely to support?

 1. DEMOCRATS
 2. REPUBLICANS
 3. NEITHER DEMOCRATS NOR REPUBLICANS
 4. DO NOT PLAN TO VOTE
 88. DON'T KNOW
 99. REFUSED

Q: Q8A_GOVERNOR —----------------

Thank you. Now we have a couple of questions about elections for statewide office in Minnesota. If the election
were held today, who would get your vote for Governor?

 1. Tim Walz (DFL)
 2. Scott Jensen (Rep)
 3. Someone Else
 4. Do not plan to vote in this race
 88. DON'T KNOW
 99. REFUSED

Q: Q8B_AG —--------------------

And what about for Attorney General?

 1. Keith Ellison (DFL)
 2. Jim Schulz (Rep)
 3. Someone Else
 4. Do not plan to vote in this race
 88. DON'T KNOW
 99. REFUSED

Q: Q8C_SECSTATE —---------------

And Secretary of State?

 1. Steve Simon (DFL)
 2. Kim Crockett (Rep)
 3. Someone Else
 4. Do not plan to vote in this race
 88. DON'T KNOW
 99. REFUSED

Q: Q20INFLATION —----------------------

Thank you. Now we have some questions about important election issues that many voters have strong opinions about.

How important is the issue of inflation in making your decision about who to vote for in the 2022 congressional election?
    1. Very important
    2. Somewhat important
    3. Not too important
    4. Not at all important
    88. DON'T KNOW
    99. REFUSED

Q: Q21A_ABORTIONVOTE —-----------------------

How important is the issue of abortion in making your decision about who to vote for in the 2022 congressional election?
    1. Very important
    2. Somewhat important
    3. Not too important
    4. Not at all important
    88. DON'T KNOW
    99. REFUSED

Q: Q21B_ABORTIONRIGHT —-------------------------

Do you think abortion should be...
      1. Legal in all cases
      2. Legal in most cases
      3. Illegal in most cases
      4. Illegal in all cases
      88. DON'T KNOW
      99. REFUSED

Q: Q22IMMIG1 ---------------

Thank you. Now we have some questions about immigration
in the United States and Minnesota.

In general, would you describe the overall impact of immigrants on the United States as:

[READ 1-2 AND 4-5; IF RESPONDENT ASKS ABOUT DOCUMENTED VERSUS UNDOCUMENTED,
TELL THEM THAT QUESTION REFERS TO BOTH/ALL IMMIGRANTS]

1. Very positive
2. Somewhat positive
3. NEUTRAL [VOLUNTEERED]
4. Somewhat negative
5. Very negative
88. NO OPINION/DON'T KNOW [VOLUNTEERED]
99. REFUSED

Q: Q23A_IMM_SOM ----------------------

Do you support Minnesota continuing to welcome Somali immigrants?
[DO NOT READ RESPONSES UNLESS NEEDED]

1. YES - SUPPORT
2. NO - OPPOSE
3. MAYBE
88. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

Q: Q23B_IMM_MEX ----------------------

Do you support Minnesota continuing to welcome Mexican immigrants?
[DO NOT READ RESPONSES UNLESS NEEDED]

1. YES - SUPPORT
2. NO - OPPOSE
3. MAYBE
88. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

Q: Q23C_IMM_ORDER -----------------

[WHICH IMMIGRATION QUESTION WAS PRESENTED FIRST?]
[DO NOT READ THIS TO RESPONDENTS, JUST PICK WHICH QUESTION WAS FIRST]

1. SOMALI
2. MEXICAN
88. DON'T KNOW

Q: Q24IMMSYMPATHY —-------------------------

In general, how sympathetic would you say you are toward immigrants who are in the US illegally?

1. Very sympathetic
2. Somewhat sympathetic
3. NEUTRAL [VOLUNTEERED]
4. Somewhat unsympathetic
5. Very unsympathetic
88. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

Q: Q25FELONS —--------------------

 Our next question is about policy regarding people with felonies.
Do you agree or disagree that workplaces should be able to discriminate against people with felonies in hiring?
 [THIS REFERS TO BOTH VIOLENT AND NON-VIOLENT OFFENSES]
        1. All the time
        2. Sometimes
        3. None of the time
        88. DON'T KNOW
        99. REFUSED

Q: Q26CLIMCHANBELIEF --------------------

 Thank you. Now we'll move on to some questions related to climate change.
 Which of the following three statements do you personally believe?

 [READ OPTIONS 1-3]

 1. Climate change is happening now, caused mainly by human activities.
 2. Climate change is happening now, but caused mainly by natural forces.
 3. Climate change is NOT happening now.
 88. DON'T KNOW
 99. REFUSED

Q: Q27CLIMCHANCONCERN ---------------------

How concerned would you say you are, personally, about climate change?
[READ 1-2 AND 4-5, DON'T READ NEUTRAL]

1. A great deal
2. Some
3. NEUTRAL [VOLUNTEERED]
4. Not much
5. Not at all
88. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

Q: Q28CLIMCHAN3 ---------------------

Do you think policies aimed at reducing the effects of global climate change generally...
[READ OPTIONS 1-3]

1. Help the U.S. economy
2. Hurt the U.S. economy
3. Make no difference for the U.S. economy
88. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

Q: Q29A_SCHOOLRACE ------------------

Now we have a few questions about issues in Minnesota's public schools.

Do you think that Minnesota schools should teach about slavery and racism in the K-12 curriculum?
[READ OPTIONS 1-2, 4-5; ADD NOTE ABOUT WHAT K-12 MEANS]

1. Yes, strongly support
2. Yes, somewhat support
3. NEITHER SUPPORT NOR OPPOSE [VOLUNTEERED]
4. No, somewhat oppose
5. No, strongly oppose
88. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

Q: Q29B_SCHOOLLGBT —--------------------------

Do you think that Minnesota schools should teach about gender identity and sexual orientation in the K-12 curriculum?
[READ OPTIONS 1-2, 4-5; ADD NOTE ABOUT WHAT K-12 MEANS AND DIFF AGE GROUPS]

1. Yes, strongly support
2. Yes, somewhat support
3. NEITHER SUPPORT NOR OPPOSE [VOLUNTEERED]
4. No, somewhat oppose
5. No, strongly oppose
6. ONLY OLDER STUDENTS [VOLUNTEERED]
88. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

Q: Q10JOB_BIDEN ------------------------

Thank you. Now we have some questions about the job performance of national and
state elected officials. How would you rate the overall performance
of Joe Biden as President? Would you rate his performance as excellent,
pretty good, only fair, poor, or very poor?
T: 6 10

1. EXCELLENT
2. PRETTY GOOD
3. ONLY FAIR
4. POOR
5. VERY POOR
88. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

Q: Q11JOB_WALZ ----------------------

And what about your opinion of Governor Tim Walz's job performance?
[REPEAT OPTIONS 1-5 IF NEEDED]
T: 4 10
1. EXCELLENT
2. PRETTY GOOD
3. ONLY FAIR
4. POOR
5. VERY POOR
88. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

Q: Q30A_MEDIA ---

Thank you. Now I have some questions about your preferences for news media.
What specific news source would you say you rely on most?
[e.g., Fox News, CNN, New York Times, NPR -- NOT "Newspaper" or "TV"]
Answer:

Q: Q30B_TRUTHMEDIA ---

Thinking about the news media as a whole, do you believe the news media, overall,
is usually truthful or usually untruthful?
[REPEAT OPTIONS 1 & 2 IF NEEDED]

 1. TRUTHFUL
 2. UNTRUTHFUL
 88. DON'T KNOW
 99. REFUSED

Q: Q40PHYSHEALTH ----------------------

Next are some questions about health.

 How would you rate your overall physical health?
 [READ OPTIONS 1-5]

 1. Excellent
 2. Very good
 3. Good
 4. Fair
 5. Poor
 88. DON'T KNOW
 99. REFUSED

Q: Q41MENTALHEALTH -------------

 How would you rate your overall mental health?
 [READ OPTIONS 1-5]

 1. Excellent
 2. Very good
 3. Good
 4. Fair
 5. Poor
 88. DON'T KNOW
 99. REFUSED

Q: Q42LIFESAT —------------------

How much do you agree with the following statement: I am satisfied with my life.
[READ OPTIONS 1-5]
      1. Completely agree
      2. Slightly agree
      3. Neither agree or disagree
      4. Slightly disagree
      5. Completely disagree
      88. DON'T KNOW
      99. REFUSED

Q: Q43ALCOHOL —--------------------

In your opinion, how many alcoholic drinks is normal to consume per week?
[ONE DRINK MEANS 12 OUNCES OF BEER OR WINE COOLER, 8-9 OUNCES OF MALT LIQUOR, 5 OUNCES OF TABLE WINE, OR 1.5 OUNCES OF DISTILLED SPIRITS]
      1. None (0 drinks)
      2. 1-5 Drinks
      3. 6-10 Drinks
      4. 11-15 Drinks
      5. 16 or more
      88. DON'T KNOW
      99. REFUSED

Q: Q15A_PARTY1 ---------------------

Thank you. These final questions help us determine if we are getting
a representative sample of all Minnesotans.

Do you usually consider yourself to be a Democrat, Republican,
a member of some other party, or are you an independent who is
not a member of any party?

 1. DEMOCRAT (DFL)
 2. REPUBLICAN (GOP)
 3. OTHER PARTY [VOLUNTEERED]
 4. INDEPENDENT, NOT A MEMBER OF ANY PARTY
88. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

Q: Q15B_PARTY_LEAN ------------------------

Although you are an independent, do you usually consider yourself
to be closer to the Republicans, Democrats, or some other party?

 1. DEMOCRAT (DFL)
 2. REPUBLICAN (GOP)
 3. OTHER PARTY [VOLUNTEERED]
 4. INDEPENDENT, NOT A MEMBER OF ANY PARTY
88. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

Q: Q16IDEOL -----------------------------------

Thinking about your own general approach to politics, do you
consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate,
somewhat conservative, or very conservative?

 1. VERY LIBERAL
 2. SOMEWHAT LIBERAL
 3. MODERATE
 4. SOMEWHAT CONSERVATIVE
 5. VERY CONSERVATIVE
88. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

Q: Q71AGE ------------------------------

What was your age at your last birthday?

[IF 97 OR OLDER, ENTER "97"]
98. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

       AGE:

Q: Q72EDUCATION --

What was the last grade or year in school you completed?
[DO NOT READ CATEGORIES]

 1. LESS THAN 12 YEARS
 2. 12 YEARS/HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE
 3. POST HIGH SCHOOL TECHNICAL TRAINING [ex. Tech College or Beauty School]
 4. SOME COLLEGE, BUT DIDN'T GRADUATE [ex. 13-15 YEARS OF SCHOOL]
 5. BACHELOR'S DEGREE/COLLEGE GRADUATE [BA, BS]
 6. SOME GRADUATE EDUCATION
 7. COMPLETED GRADUATE PROGRAM (M.S., M.A., PH.D., J.D., M.D., ETC.)
88. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

Q: Q74RACE ------------------------

Which of the following categories would you say best describes you?
[READ CATEGORIES, STOP WHEN RESPONDENT INDICATES A MATCH]

1. American Indian or Alaska Native
2. Asian or Asian American
3. Black or African American
4. Hispanic, or Latino origin
5. Middle Eastern or North African
6. Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
7. White
8. Multiracial [belongs to multiple categories][c]
9. OTHER [VOLUNTEERED]
88. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

Q: Q75RELIGION -----------------------

What, if any, is your religious preference?
[READ RESPONSES 1-5, EXCLUDING BRACKETED INFORMATION WHICH MAY BE OFFERED AS A PROBE IF NEEDED]

1. Roman Catholic
2. Evangelical Protestant [e.g., BAPTIST, "BORN AGAIN CHRISTIAN"]
3. Mainline Protestant [e.g., LUTHERAN, METHODIST, EPISCOPALIAN]
4. Some other religion [e.g., MUSLIM, JEWISH, BUDDHIST, HINDU, ETC.]
5. Not religious or unaffiliated [e.g., ATHIEST, AGNOSTIC]
88. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

Q: Q77LBGTQ —--------------------------------

Do you identify as LGBTQ+?
[LGBTQ+ refers to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Plus; if asked, plus refer to other sexual orientations and other gender identities]

1. Yes
2. No
3. Maybe
88. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

Q: Q76INCOME --

Finally, would you please tell me the general range which best represents
the total yearly income, before taxes, of all immediate family living
in your household? [IF NECESSARY, READ LIST UNTIL STOPPED]

1. under $35,000
2. $35,000 up to $54,999
3. $55,000 up to $149,999
4. $150,000 or more
88. DON'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

Q: THANKSO -----------

I would like to thank you very much for your time and cooperation.
You have been very helpful. If you would like to see the results
of this survey you may contact the SCSU Survey Lab at St. Cloud
State University. Would you like the number or website?

[IF YES IT IS 320-308-3980 or WEBSITE: www.stcloudstate.edu/scsusurvey].

Good-bye!
[INTERVIEWER- BRING TO A DIRECTOR'S ATTENTION ANY PROBLEMS
 WITH THE INTERVIEW, SUCH AS DIFFICULT QUESTIONS, CODING PROBLEMS, ETC.]

      GREAT JOB! YOU GOT ANOTHER COMPLETE SURVEY!

Q: THANKYOU ---

Thank you for your time.