

**Partisan Backlash and Disappointment with Mayor Kelly  
Propels Chris Coleman to 35 Point Advantage**

Lawrence R. Jacobs  
Walter F. and Joan Mondale Chair for Political Studies  
Director, Center for the Study of Politics and Governance  
and 2005 Elections Project  
Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs  
University of Minnesota

Joanne M. Miller  
Research Associate, 2005 Elections Project  
Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science  
University of Minnesota

Challenger Chris Coleman enjoys a huge 35 point advantage over incumbent mayor Randy Kelly (61% to 26%) among likely voters in St Paul. This is the finding of the Humphrey Institute’s Center for the Study of Politics and Governance poll conducted of 397 likely voters who live within the city limits of St. Paul between October 17 and 30, 2005. The challenger’s lead far exceeds the margin of error (plus or minus 4.9 percentage points). No incumbent mayor of St. Paul has lost a reelection bid in over three decades.

**St Paul Likely Voters**

<b>Kelly</b>	<b>Coleman</b>	<b>Don't Know/ Other</b>
26%	61%	13%

**Partisan Fury Hurts Kelly**

Coleman is benefiting from a Democratic backlash against the Mayor. The partisan fury appears to be a reaction against Kelly’s endorsement of President George W. Bush during the 2004 presidential election. Fifty-three percent of likely voters said that Kelly’s endorsement would influence their vote for mayor, with 79% of them indicating that it led them to support Coleman compared to 15% who were drawn to Kelly.

**Retribution for Kelly’s Endorsement of Bush**

(Among likely voters who said that Mayor Kelly’s endorsement of President Bush would influence them)

<b>Lead You to Vote for Kelly</b>	<b>Lead You to Vote for Coleman</b>	<b>Don't Know/ Other</b>
15%	79%	7%

The partisan backlash against Kelly is occurring in a City that strongly supported Democratic Senator John Kerry over President Bush in the 2004 election, 72% to 26%. **Although Kelly insists that he remains a Democrat, only 8% of his partisans support him and 80% back Coleman.** Even among Republicans and Independents, a quarter to a third are deserting the Mayor for his challenger.

**Democrats Desert Kelly**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Kelly</b>	<b>Coleman</b>	<b>Don't Know/ Other</b>
Republican	25%	64%	28%	9%
Independents	11%	42%	33%	26%
Democrat	64%	8%	80%	12%

**City Heading in Right Direction But Kelly Not Credited**

The St. Paul mayoral race defies the normal pattern of voters rewarding incumbents when they are pleased with overall conditions. Fifty-five percent of St. Paul likely voters indicate that the City is heading in the “right direction.”

What is striking, though, is that **Mayor Kelly is not getting credit for the good times. Thirty-six percent of voters who indicate that the City is heading in the “right direction” are planning to vote for the mayor’s challenger.** (In Minneapolis, the challenger receives the support of just 17% among those who see the City as moving in the right direction.)

**Kelly Losing Voters Who See City Heading in “Right Direction” (likely voters)**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Kelly</b>	<b>Coleman</b>	<b>Don't Know/ Other</b>
<b>Direction of City</b>				
Right Direction	55%	48%	36%	16%
Wrong Track	45%	4%	84%	12%

Despite the generally positive view of the City’s direction, 50% of St. Paul likely voters disapprove of the Mayor’s handling of his job and 9 out of 10 of these voters plan to vote for Coleman. Even among the 44% who are favorably impressed by the Mayor’s job, over a quarter (28%) plan to vote for Coleman. (By contrast, only 10% of Minneapolis voters who approved of Mayor R.T. Rybak’s performance planned to vote for his challenger.)

**Coleman Benefits from Discontent with Kelly’s Job** (likely voters)

<b>Handling his job as Mayor</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Kelly</b>	<b>Coleman</b>	<b>Don't Know/ Other</b>
Approve	44%	57%	28%	16%
Disapprove	50%	1%	91%	8%
Don't Know/Neither	7%	20%	44%	36%

On race relations, housing, economic development, and crime, Mayor Kelly is dogged by a pattern of muted approval for his performance and defections even among those who give him good marks. His ratings on race relations and housing are below the politically symbolic 50% level and his rating on economic development is hovering just above this level. More troubling for Kelly’s reelection, **about 4 out of 10 voters who approve of the Mayor’s performance on these issues indicate that they plan to vote for Coleman.** The mayor is having trouble with St. Paul voters even though he has launched public initiatives on many of these issues.

**Coleman Wins Support from Voters who Disapprove and Approve of Kelly's Job**  
(likely voters)

<b>RATINGS OF KELLY'S PERFORMANCE</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Kelly</b>	<b>Coleman</b>	<b>Don't Know/ Other</b>
<b>Handling Economic Development</b>				
Approve	51%	47%	39%	14%
Disapprove	37%	4%	84%	13%
Don't Know/Neither	12%	9%	80%	11%
<b>Handling Race Relations</b>				
Approve	43%	48%	36%	16%
Disapprove	34%	2%	89%	9%
Don't Know/Neither	23%	23%	64%	13%
<b>Handling Housing</b>				
Approve	48%	44%	42%	15%
Disapprove	40%	7%	84%	9%
Don't Know/Neither	12%	21%	61%	18%
<b>Handling Crime</b>				
Approve	54%	45%	42%	13%
Disapprove	36%	4%	85%	11%
Don't Know/Neither	10%	11%	70%	19%

## About the Survey

The survey was designed by the Center for the Study of Politics and Governance and its 2005 Elections Project in the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute at the University of Minnesota. The Center, the 2005 Elections Project, and the Humphrey Institute are non-partisan academic institutions that are committed to rigorous research, quality teaching, and engaged service. The Center's Elections Project have conducted a number of studies in 2004 and 2005 focusing on state and national elections in the Upper Midwest including policy briefs, analyses of election returns and public opinion, and voter registration efforts. More information can be found at its website:  
<http://www.hhh.umn.edu/centers/cspg/index.html>

The research team was Lawrence R. Jacobs (Director) and Joanne M. Miller. We would like to acknowledge the support of Dean J. Brian Atwood and the superb research assistance of Melanie Burns.

The survey was fielded by the Center for Survey Research and Analysis at the University of Connecticut, which has extensive national and state experience conducting non-partisan surveys on politics and government policy.

The sample of telephone exchanges called was randomly selected by a computer from a list of active residential exchanges within the city of St. Paul. Within each exchange, random digits were added to form a complete telephone number, thus permitting access to both listed and unlisted numbers. Within each household, one adult was selected to be the respondent for the survey.

The survey was conducted by telephone with a total of 900 adults within the city limits of St. Paul between October 17 and 30, 2005. The results, though, have been weighted to reflect different probabilities of selection based on the number of adults in a household and the number of telephone lines reaching the household. Results were also weighted to reflect the demographic characteristics of St. Paul based on sex, age, education, and race. Likely voters are estimated based on responses to questions which assign probabilities of voting based on self-reported likelihood of voting, voter registration, past voting behavior, and interest in the election. These weightings produced a sample of 397 likely voters; our results are based on this sample.

In theory, in 19 cases out of 20 the results based on the samples in St. Paul will differ by no more than 4.9 percentage points in either direction from what would have been obtained by seeking out all adults in these states. For smaller subgroups the margin of sampling error is larger.

In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting any survey of public opinion may introduce other sources of error into the poll. Variations in the wording and order of questions, for example, may lead to somewhat different results.

**St. Paul Mayoral Survey Questionnaire**

Hello, my name is \$I and I'm calling from the Center for Survey Research and Analysis at the University of Connecticut. We are conducting a survey on the St. Paul mayoral (Pronounced May-Oral) election. May I please speak to the adult in this household, age 18 or older, who has had the most recent birthday?

QA. Do you currently live in St. Paul?

- Yes
- No [TERMINATE]
- Don't know [TERMINATE]
- Refused [TERMINATE]

QB. Will you vote in the upcoming election for mayor, or do you usually wait for more important elections to cast your vote?

- Will vote/probably vote
- Not vote/wait [SKIP TO Q21]
- Don't know [SKIP TO Q21]
- Refused [SKIP TO Q21]

Q1. Are you currently registered to vote in St. Paul?

- Yes ..... 01
- No..... 02
- Plan to register .....
- Don't Know ..... 98
- Refused ..... 99

Q2. How Interested in the upcoming Mayoral election are you: very, somewhat, not very, or not at all interested?

- Very..... 01
- Somewhat..... 02
- Not Very..... 03
- Not at All..... 04
- Don't Know ..... 98
- Refused ..... 99

Q3. How likely is it that you will vote in the election for the mayor of St. Paul? Would you say you definitely will vote, probably will vote, probably won't vote or definitely won't vote in the November general election?

Definitely will ..... 01  
 Probably will ..... 02  
 Probably won't ..... 03  
 Definitely won't.....  
 Don't Know .....  
 Refused .....

Q4. Suppose that the election for Mayor in St. Paul were being held today. Would you vote for Randy Kelly or Chris Coleman (Rotate order of candidates):

Randy Kelly ..... 01  
 Chris Coleman ..... 02  
 Don't Know (vol) ..... 98  
 Refused (vol)..... 99

Q4A. Will Randy Kelly's endorsement of President Bush during last year's presidential election influence your vote?

Yes ..... 01      => Q4B  
 No..... 02      => Q5  
 Don't Know (vol) ..... 98      => Q5  
 Refused (vol)..... 99      => Q5

Q4B. Does it lead you to vote for Randy Kelly or for his challenger, Chris Coleman?

Randy Kelly ..... 01  
 Chris Coleman ..... 02  
 Don't Know (vol) ..... 98  
 Refused (vol)..... 99

Q5. All in all, do you think things in St. Paul are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

Right direction .....	01
Wrong track .....	02
Don't Know (vol) .....	98
Refused (vol).....	99

Q6. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Mayor Randy Kelly is handling his job as Mayor of St. Paul? (Probe: Approve/Disapprove strongly or somewhat?)

Approve strongly .....	01
Approve somewhat .....	02
Disapprove strongly .....	03
Disapprove somewhat.....	04
Neither approve nor disapprove (vol).....	97
Don't Know (vol) .....	98
Refused (vol).....	99

Q7. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Mayor Randy Kelly is handling economic development in the city of St. Paul? (Probe: Approve/Disapprove strongly or somewhat?)

Approve strongly .....	01
Approve somewhat .....	02
Disapprove strongly .....	03
Disapprove somewhat.....	04
Neither approve nor disapprove (vol).....	97
Don't Know (vol) .....	98
Refused (vol).....	99

Q8. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Mayor Randy Kelly is handling race relations in the city of St. Paul? (Probe: Approve/Disapprove strongly or somewhat?)

Approve strongly .....	01
Approve somewhat .....	02
Disapprove strongly .....	03
Disapprove somewhat.....	04
Neither approve nor disapprove (vol).....	97
Don't Know (vol) .....	98
Refused (vol).....	99

Q9. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Mayor Randy Kelly is handling housing in the city of St. Paul? (Probe: Approve/Disapprove strongly or somewhat?)

Approve strongly .....	01
Approve somewhat .....	02
Disapprove strongly .....	03
Disapprove somewhat.....	04
Neither approve nor disapprove (vol).....	97
Don't Know (vol) .....	98
Refused (vol).....	99

Q10. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Randy Kelly is handling crime in the city of St. Paul? (Probe: Approve/Disapprove strongly or somewhat?)

Approve strongly .....	01
Approve somewhat .....	02
Disapprove strongly .....	03
Disapprove somewhat .....	04
Neither approve nor disapprove (vol) .....	97
Don't Know (vol) .....	98
Refused (vol).....	99

Q11. Now, I'd like to ask you some questions about the diversity of income levels in your neighborhood – that is, the mix of lower, middle, and upper income families.

Q11. How diverse is your neighborhood in terms of the incomes that people earn – is it extremely diverse, very diverse, somewhat diverse, not too diverse, or not at all diverse?

Extremely diverse .....	01
Very diverse .....	02
Somewhat diverse .....	03
Not too diverse.....	04
Not at all diverse .....	05
Don't Know (vol) .....	98
Refused (vol).....	99

Q12. Some people think that having a diversity of incomes is important to the health of a neighborhood. Others think having a neighborhood with a diversity of incomes is not important. What about you? How important is it to the health of the neighborhood you live in to have people with diverse incomes living there – extremely important, very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not at all important?

Extremely important .....	01
Very important .....	02
Somewhat important .....	03
Not too important.....	04
Not at all important .....	05
Don't Know (vol) .....	98
Refused (vol).....	99

Q13. Should the city of St. Paul do more or less to promote income diversity within its neighborhoods? (Probe: A lot or A little More/Less)

A lot more .....	01
A little more .....	02
A little less .....	02
A lot less .....	01
Neither more nor less (vol) .....	97
Don't Know (vol) .....	98
Refused (vol).....	99

Q14I. Next, I'd like to ask you now about the racial diversity of your neighborhood -- that is, the mix of blacks, whites, Asians, Hispanics, and others.

Q14. How racially diverse is your neighborhood – is it extremely diverse, very diverse, somewhat diverse, not too diverse, or not at all diverse?

Extremely diverse .....	01
Very diverse .....	02
Somewhat diverse .....	03
Not too diverse .....	04
Not at all diverse .....	05
Don't Know (vol) .....	98
Refused (vol).....	99

Q15. Some people think that having a diversity of races is important to the health of a neighborhood. Others think having a diversity of races is not important. What about you? How important is it to the health of the neighborhood you live in to have racial diversity – extremely important, very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not at all important?

Extremely important .....	01
Very important .....	02
Somewhat important .....	03
Not too important .....	04
Not at all important .....	05
Don't Know (vol) .....	98
Refused (vol).....	99

Q16. Should the city of St. Paul do more or less to promote racial diversity within its neighborhoods? (Probe: A lot or A little More/Less)

A lot more .....	01
A little more .....	02
A little less .....	02
A lot less .....	01
Neither more nor less (vol) .....	97
Don't Know (vol) .....	98
Refused (vol).....	99

Q17. Which is more important to the health of the city of St. Paul: Promoting neighborhoods that have people with a diversity of incomes living in them or promoting neighborhoods that have people with a diversity of races living in them?

Promoting a diversity of incomes .....	01
Promoting a diversity of races .....	02
Both equally important (vol).....	96
Neither important (vol) .....	97
Don't Know (vol) .....	98
Refused (vol).....	99

Q18I. Lastly, we have some questions for classification purposes only. First . . .

Q18. Thinking back to 2001...Did you vote in the 2001 election for mayor between Randy Kelly and Jay Benanav (Pronounced Ben-A-Nav) or did something come up that kept you from getting to the polls that day? [ROTATE]

Voted.....	01
Did not vote.....	02
Don't Know .....	98
Refused .....	99

Q19. Thinking back to 2004...Did you vote in the 2004 presidential election between George W. Bush and John Kerry or did something come up that kept you from getting to the polls that day? [ROTATE]

Voted.....	01
Did not vote.....	02
Don't Know .....	98
Refused .....	99

Q20. Thinking about all of the elections that have been held in your community over the last several years, including local elections for school board members and budget issues, how many would you say you have voted in? Would that be all of them, almost all of them, most of them, some of them, a few of them, or none of them?

All .....	01
Almost all.....	02
Most .....	03
Some .....	04
A few.....	05
None.....	06
Don't Know .....	98
Refused .....	99

Q21. In what year were you born? (RECORD 4 DIGITS)

Don't Know .....	9998
Refused .....	9999

Q22 What is the highest grade of school or year of college you have completed and gotten credit for?

Grade school or less (0-8).....	01
Some high school (9-11).....	02
High school (12) .....	03
Some college (1-3 years) .....	04
College graduate (4 years) .....	05
Post graduate (Masters or Doctorate) .....	06
Don't Know .....	98
Refused .....	99

Q23 What racial or ethnic group would you most identify yourself with? African American, Asian, Hispanic, Native American, White, or some other group?

African American.....	01
Asian .....	02
Hispanic .....	03
Native American .....	04
White.....	05
Some other group (SPECIFY) .....	80
Don't Know .....	98
Refused .....	99

Q24. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?

Republican .....	01	
Democrat.....	02	
Independent.....	03	=> Q24B
Something else (SPECIFY) .....	80	=> Q24B
Don't Know .....	98	=> Q24B
Refused .....	99	=> Q24B

Q24A. Would you call yourself a strong or not very strong <Q24>?

Strong.....	01	=> Q25
Not very strong .....	02	=> Q25
Don't Know .....	98	=> Q25
Refused .....	99	=> Q25

Q24B. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or Democratic Party or neither? Republican Party .....

Republican Party .....	01
Democratic Party .....	02
Neither (vol.).....	03
Don't Know .....	98
Refused .....	99

[IF QB=2, 98, 99 SKIP TO Q31]

Q26. Do you or does someone in your household belong to a labor union?

Yes .....	01
No.....	02
Don't Know .....	98
Refused .....	99

Q27. Were you born in the United States?

Yes .....	01
No.....	02
Don't Know .....	98
Refused .....	99

Q28. Do you rent or own your current residence?

Rent.....	01
Own.....	02
Don't Know .....	98
Refused .....	99

Q29. How many years have you lived at your current address? (RECORD 2 DIGITS. ROUND TO NEAREST YEAR.)

Less than 6 months..... 00  
 Don't Know ..... 98  
 Refused ..... 99

Q30 For classification purposes only, is the total yearly income of all the members of your family now living at home less than \$40,000 or is it \$40,000 or more?

Less than \$40,000 ..... 01  
 \$40,000 or more ..... 02 => Q30B  
 Don't Know ..... 98 => Q31  
 Refused ..... 99 => Q31

Q30A. Is it... (READ CHOICES 1-4)?

Under \$10,000..... 01 => Q31  
 \$10,000 to less than \$20,000..... 02 => Q31  
 \$20,000 to less than \$30,000..... 03 => Q31  
 \$30,000 to less than \$40,000..... 04 => Q31  
 Don't Know ..... 98 => Q31  
 Refused ..... 99 => Q31

Q30B. Is it...(READ CHOICES 1-4)?

\$40,000 to less than \$50,000..... 01  
 \$50,000 to less than \$60,000..... 02  
 \$60,000 to less than \$70,000..... 03  
 \$70,000 or more ..... 04  
 Don't Know ..... 98  
 Refused ..... 99

Q31. How many adults live in this household who are 18 years old or older including yourself?

1..... 01  
 2..... 02  
 3..... 03  
 4..... 04  
 5..... 05  
 6..... 06  
 7 or more ..... 07  
 Don't Know ..... 98  
 Refused ..... 99

Q32. How many children live in this household who are 17 years old or younger?

0..... 00  
 1..... 01  
 2..... 02  
 3..... 03  
 4..... 04  
 5..... 05

6.....	06
7 or more .....	07
Don't Know .....	98
Refused .....	99

Q33. How many phone numbers do you have in your household that are connected to phones that can be answered by a person, excluding cell phones?

1.....	01
2.....	02
3.....	03
4.....	04
5.....	05
6.....	06
7 or more .....	07
Don't Know .....	98
Refused .....	99

Q34. (RECORD GENDER. DO NOT ASK)

Male .....	01
Female.....	02

THANK: Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. Your cooperation is appreciated.