

U.S. – CUBA RELATIONS ISSUE SURVEY 320-594-WT N=525 MARGIN OF SAMPLING ERROR ±4.4 (95% CONFIDENCE INTERVAL) *LATINOS*

Hello, I'm_____ from F-M Three, a public opinion research company. (**IF RESPONDENT REPLIES IN SPANISH, FOLLOW THE ESTABLISHED PROCEDURE FOR HANDING OFF TO A SPANISH SPEAKING INTERVIEWER.**) We're conducting a public opinion survey. We are definitely not trying to sell anything, and we are only interested in your opinions. May I speak with the youngest adult in the household who is 18 years of age or older? (**IF NOT AVAILABLE, ASK:**) "May I speak to another adult in the household?"

A. Before we begin, I need to know if I have reached you on a cell phone, and if so, are you in a place where you can talk safely without endangering yourself or others? (IF NOT ON A CELL PHONE, ASK: "Do you own a cell phone?")

Yes, cell and can talk safely ------ (ASK QB) -- 56% Yes, cell but cannot talk safely ------ TERMINATE No, not on cell, but own one ----- (ASK QB) -- 34% No, not on cell and do not own one ----- (SKIP QB) -- 11% (DON'T READ) DK/NA/REFUSED ------ TERMINATE

(ASK QB ONLY IF CODES 1 OR 2 "OWN A CELL PHONE" IN QA)

B. Would you say you use your cell phone to make and receive <u>all</u> of your phone calls, <u>most</u> of your phone calls, do you use your cell phone and home landline phone <u>equally</u>, or do you mostly use your home landline phone to make and receive calls?

All cell phone 39%	
Mostly cell phone 20%	
Cell and landline equally 32%	
Mostly landline8%	
(DON'T READ) DK/NA1%	

(RESUME ASKING ALL RESPONDENTS)

TO MAKE SURE THAT THE OPINIONS OF ALL DIFFERENT TYPES OF PEOPLE ARE INCLUDED IN THE SURVEY I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT YOURSELF.

1. What state do you live in? (**RECORD RESPONSE AND THEN CODE BELOW**)

5.

2.	In what year were you born?	
	•	1996-1990 (18-24) 12%
		1989-1985 (25-29)7%
		1984-1980 (30-34) 10%
		1979-1975 (35-39)8%
		1974-1970 (40-44)9%
		1969-1965 (45-49)9%
		1964-1960 (50-54) 10%
		1959-1955 (55-59) 12%
		1954-1950 (60-64)5%
		1949-1940 (65-74) 10%
		1939 or earlier (75 & over)6%
		(DON'T READ) Don't know/Refused2%
3.	with which racial of ethine group do	Aglo/White (GO TO Q7)0% Asian (GO TO Q7)0% Something else (GO TO Q7)0%
		(DON'T READ) Refused/NA (GO TO Q7)0%
		(DOI\ 1 READ) Refused/\(\text{TA} == \left(\text{GO 10 Q}\))=0/0
(ASK	Q4-Q6 ONLY IF CODED 1 'HISP.	ANIC/LATINO' IN O3)
4.		d friends, do you find yourself speaking? (READ CHOICES
		Spanish all or most of the time 31%
		English and Spanish about fifty-fifty, or 45%
		English all or most of the time 24%
		(DONIE DELAD) D. C. JAIA

Were you born in the United States or did you immigrate to the United States?

(**DON'T READ**) Refused/NA -----0%

Immigrated to U.S. ------ 40% Born in U.S. ----- 60% (**DON'T READ**) Refused/NA--- (**GO TO Q7**)--0%

6. **(IF CODE 1 IN Q5 READ:** "What country did you immigrate from?") (**IF CODE 2 IN Q5 READ:** "What country is your family from?") (**RECORD RESPONSE AND THEN CODE BELOW**)

What country did you immigrate from?	
Mexico	56%
Dominican Republic	6%
Puerto Rico	5%
Colombia	3%
Nicaragua	3%
Ecuador	2%
El Salvador	2%
Bolivia	1%
Haiti	1%
Japan	1%
Venezuela	1%
Guatemala	1%
Peru	1%
Spain	1%
Portugal	0%
Panama	0%
Brazil	0%
Refused	10/
	Wnat country did you immigrate from? Mexico

. What country is your family from?	
Mexico	38%
United States	31%
Cuba	6%
Spain	5%
Puerto Rico	49
Dominican Republic	2%
Ecuador	2%
El Salvador	2%
	2%
Argentina	19
Nicaragua	19
Panama	19
Italy	19
Peru	1%
Guatemala	1%
Poland	0%
Brazil	0%
Honduras	0%
Nigeria	0%
Portugal	0%
Refused	29
DV/NA	00

(RESUME ASKING ALL RESPONDENTS)

7. In general, would you say that things in the United States are generally headed in the right direction or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

Right direction	45%
Wrong track	40%
(DON'T READ) DK/NA	15%

8. Next, I would like to ask you about America's relations with other countries around the world. For each of the following, please tell me what you think U.S. relations are with that country. We will use a scale of one to seven, where one means the United States has <u>no</u> diplomatic relations and does <u>not</u> allow trade or travel with that country, and seven means the United States has a close relationship, including free and open trade and travel with that country. Here is the first one, and remember you can use any number from one to seven.

(**REPEAT INSTRUCTIONS AS NEEDED:** "A one means the U.S. has <u>no</u> diplomatic relations, and does not allow trade or travel with that country, and seven means the U.S. and that country have a close relationship, with free and open trade and travel.")

			NO					C	CLOSE	
			REL	ATION	<u>IS</u>]	RELA	TIONS	<u>DK</u>
		Mean	1	2	3	4	5	6	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
(RAN	(DOMIZE)		_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_
[]a.	Cuba	2.0	-62%	10% -	- 6% -	-5% -	8%	3%	- 3%	- 4%
[]b.	SPLIT SAMPLE A ONLY) England Vietnam									
(ASK	SPLIT SAMPLE B ONLY)									
[]d.	Mexico	5.5	- 7%	- 1%	- 7% -	-8% -	-18%	-10%	-46%	2%
[]e.	Iran	2. 4	-50%	11%	10%	- 7% -	9%	2%	- 5%	- 6%

(RESUME ASKING ALL RESPONDENTS)

FOR EACH SURVEY I ASK ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS ABOUT ONE OF THESE COUNTRIES. FOR YOUR SURVEY, WE WILL DISCUSS CUBA.

9. As you may know, since 1961 the United States has had no diplomatic relations with Cuba and restricts trade and travel with Cuba for the vast majority of American citizens and American businesses. Would you favor or oppose

(**SPLIT SAMPLE A READ:** "normalizing U.S. relations with Cuba?") (**SPLIT SAMPLE B READ:** "the U.S. engaging more directly with Cuba?")

(**IF FAVOR/OPPOSE, ASK**: "Is that strongly? (**FAVOR/OPPOSE**) or just somewhat?")

	SPLIT A:	SPLIT B:	
	NORMALIZE	ENGAGE	TOTAL
TOTAL FAVOR	61%	63%	62%
Strongly favor	32%	34%	33%
Somewhat favor	29%	29%	29%
TOTAL OPPOSE	30%	31%	30%
Somewhat oppose(ASK Q10)			
Strongly oppose(ASK Q10)	17%	18%	18%
(DON'T READ) DK/NA(ASK Q10)	9%	6%	7%

(ASK Q10 ONLY IF CODED 3-5 'OPPOSE/DK/NA' IN Q9)

10. The United States has formal relations or at least talks and negotiates with many countries that are not friendly to us, have poor human rights records, or both, including China, Russia and Iran. Yet we continue NOT to have any relations or discussions with Cuba. Knowing this, let me ask you again, do you favor or oppose

(**SPLIT SAMPLE A READ:** "normalizing U.S. relations with Cuba?") (**SPLIT SAMPLE B READ:** "the U.S. engaging more directly with Cuba?")

(**IF FAVOR/OPPOSE**, **ASK**: "Is that strongly? (**FAVOR/OPPOSE**) or just somewhat?")

	SPLIT A:	SPLIT B:	
	NORMALIZE	ENGAGE	TOTAL
TOTAL FAVOR			
Strongly favor	8%	7%	7%
Somewhat favor	20%	11%	16%
TOTAL OPPOSE	62%	73%	67%
Somewhat oppose	20%	29%	24%
Strongly oppose			
(DON'T READ) DK/NA	10%	9%	9%

(RESUME ASKING ALL RESPONDENTS)

11. Next, I am going to mention some different ways U.S. policy toward Cuba could be changed. For each one, please tell me whether your support or oppose that proposal. (**IF SUPPORT/OPPOSE**, **ASK**: "Is that strongly (**SUPPORT/OPPOSE**) or just somewhat?") (**RANDOMIZE**)

		STR SUPPT	SMWT SUPPT	SMWT OPPOSE	STR OPPOSE	(DK/ NA)	TOTAL SUPPT	TOTAL OPPOSE
[]a.	Removing all restrictions on travel to Cuba by U.S. citizens (N=467)						66%	31%
[]b.	Removing restrictions on U.S. citizens to spend dollars in Cuba	2770	2570	15 70	1070	270	3370	2170
r 1	(N=467)	38%	-29%	- 11%	-18%	-4%	67%	29%
[]c.	Allowing more American companies to do business in Cuba (N=467)	40%	- 25%	- 12%	-20%	-3%	65%	32%
[]d.	Holding meetings with the Cuban government to coordinate on issues of mutual concern, like preventing drug trafficking and smuggling							
[]e.	(N=263) Allowing Cuba access to high-speed Internet and other telecommunications systems based	61%	- 19%	6%	-12%	-2%	80%	18%
	in the United States (N=266)	30%	- 25%	- 15%	-18%1	13%	55%	33%

(RESUME ASKING ALL RESPONDENTS)

12. Next, I am going to read you a series of factual statements. For each one, please indicate whether you consider it to be a reason (SPLIT SAMPLE A READ: "to normalize U.S. relations with Cuba") (SPLIT SAMPLE B READ: "for the U.S. to engage more directly with Cuba") or a reason to keep current U.S. policy in place? (IF NORMALIZE/ENGAGE/KEEP, ASK: "Is that a very important reason or just somewhat?") (RANDOMIZE)

		IMPT TO NORM/ ENGAGE	IMPT TO NORM/ ENGAGE	SMWT IMPT TO KEEP	VERY IMPT TO KEEP	`	TOTAL NORM/ ENGAGE	TOTAL <u>KEEP</u>
[]a.	The Cuba trade embargo is estimated to cost the U.S. economy as much as 4-point-8 billion dollars in exports and related economic output per year (N=464)	420/	21%				63%	30%

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		VERY IMPT TO NORM/ ENGAGE	SMWT IMPT TO NORM/ ENGAGE	SMWT IMPT TO KEEP	VERY IMPT TO KEEP	,	TOTAL NORM/ ENGAGE	
[]b.	Cuba continues to have a dismal human rights record. The Castro regime represses virtually all forms of political dissent through detentions, arbitrary arrests, beatings, travel restrictions, forced exile and							
	sentencing dissidents in closed trials (N=464)	26%	21%	16%	29%	- 8%	47%	45%
		2070		10,0	_> / 0	0,0	.,,,	,
•	SPLIT SAMPLE C ONLY)							
[]c.	After more than fifty years of no U.S. relations with Cuba the Castro							
	regime remains in power (N=259)	28%	24%	16%	26%	- 7%	52%	41%
[]d.	The Cuban government has made	2070	2.70	1070	2070	, , 0	22,0	11/0
	economic reforms to allow							
	entrepreneurship, and today more							
	than forty percent of all Cubans earn							
	their income from privately-owned small businesses (N=259)	38%	26%	13%	18%	- 6%	64%	30%
	Sindif Submesses (14–257)	3070	2070	1370	1070	070	0170	5070
(ASK	SPLIT SAMPLE D ONLY)							
[]e.	Cuba is only 90 miles away from the	2004	220/	1 50	2004	407	6107	2507
г 1 £	U.S. mainland (N=263)	38%	22%	15%	20%	- 4%	61%	35%
[]f.	Our government only allows Cuban Americans to travel to Cuba without							
	permission. If you are not Cuban							
	American, the U.S. Treasury							
	Department must approve your							
	travel. We do not do that with any	270/	220/	170/	100/	5 0/	600/	250/
	other country (N=263)	3/%	25%	1/%	18%	- 5%	60%	35%

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(RESUME ASKING ALL RESPONDENTS, JANUARY 7-17, N=406)

13. Let me give you some more information. Currently, the U.S. State Department designates four countries in the world as state-sponsors of terrorism: Cuba, Iran, Syria and Sudan. The State Department defines state-sponsored terrorism as countries that have repeatedly provided support for acts of international terrorism, and places sanctions on these nations that restrict trade, travel and foreign assistance.

In your opinion, does Cuba pose the same threat as these other countries, Sudan, Syria and Iran, and thus belongs on the list? (**IF YES/NO, ASK**: "Is that definitely (**YES/NO**), or just probably?")

TOTAL YES	43%
Definitely yes	(ASK Q14)23%
Probably yes	(ASK Q14)21%
TOTAL NO	50%
Probably no	29%
Definitely no	21%
(DON'T READ) DK/NA	6%

(ASK Q14 ONLY IF CODED 1-2 'YES' IN Q13, JANUARY 7-17, N=176)

14. Thousands of Al-Qaeda terrorists are in Sudan or Syria, and Iran has been aggressively building its nuclear program. Despite human rights abuses, Cuba poses none of the active dangers to the United States and our security that these other countries possess.

Thinking again, does Cuba pose the same threat as Sudan, Syria and Iran, and thus belongs on the state sponsored terrorism list? (**IF YES/NO, ASK**: "Is that definitely (**YES/NO**), or just probably?")

TOTAL YES	78%
Definitely yes	40%
Probably yes	38%
TOTAL NO	20%
Probably no	11%
Definitely no	
	201
(DON'T READ) DK/NA	2%

(ASKED JANUARY 7-17, N=406) Q13/Q14 COMBINED

	TOTAL YF Definitely yes Probably yes	es			18	%	
	TOTAL NO Probably no Definitely no				33	%	
	(DON'T RE	E AD) DK	/NA		7	%	
	UME ASKING ALL RESPONDENTS, JANUAL ATE Q15 AND Q16) Next, I am going to read some statements made "normalizing U.S. relations with Cuba.") (SPI directly with Cuba.") For each one, please te somewhat convincing, or not too convincing relations with Cuba.") (SPLIT SAMPLE B REAL believe the statement you can tell me that too. (R	by people LIT SAM Il me whereason to AD: "enga	e who sur IPLE B nether yo (SPLIT) nge more	READ: u find it SAMP	"the U.S. to be a LE A RE	engagi very co Z AD: "r	ing more nvincing, normalize ou do not
[]a.	(HURT) For fifty years, the U.S. embargo has hurt the people of Cuba, not the government. Changing our policy will help the Cuban people out of severe poverty, and we can continue to be tough on the Castro regime and hold it	VERY CONV	SMWT CONV	NOT CONV	DON'T BEL	(DK <u>NA)</u>	VERY/ SMWT CONV
	accountable for human rights abuses	33%	32%	22%	7%	6%	65%
(ASK []b.	SPLIT SAMPLE C ONLY) (VIETNAM) Today we have good diplomatic relations with Vietnam, including open travel and free trade. If we are willing to talk to and work with a country we went to war with, surely it is time to re-evaluate our outdated Cuba policy	42%	24%	25%	6%	4%	66%
[]c.	(CHANGE) As with Communism in Eastern Europe or dictatorships in the Middle East, Cuba's government will eventually change. It is better for the U.S. to engage more directly with Cuba now so we are in better position to respond to that change instead of waiting to respond to chaos, like what is happening in Egypt, just 90 miles from our shores						64%

		VERY CONV	SMWT CONV	NOT CONV	DON'T BEL	(DK <u>NA)</u>	VERY/ SMWT CONV
(ASK []d.	(SPLIT SAMPLE D ONLY) (FLORIDA) For too long, politicians have						
[]4.	allowed Florida to control U.S. foreign policy.						
	It is time to set our Cuba policy based on what						
	is best for America's overall national security	220/	220/	210/	00/	20/	660/
[]e.	and economic interests(TRADE) Latin America is the United States'	33%	33%	21%	9%	3%	66%
[]C.	fastest growing trading partner. Cuba, just 90						
	miles off the Florida Coast, provides new						
	opportunities for American businesses in all						
	types of industries—agriculture, hotels and tourism, and high-tech—that will help grow the						
	U.S. economy and create new jobs in America	38%	32%	19%	8%	2%	71%
	ITEM 'f' ONLY TO RESPONDENTS WHO A		FLORII	DA RESI	DENTS I	N Q1	
<u>AND</u> []f.	ARE CODED 1 'HISPANIC/LATINO' IN Q3, N (UNEQUAL) U.S. immigration law prevents	(=354)					
[]	millions of hardworking and law abiding						
	Latinos who have been here for years from						
	gaining legal status, but if a Cuban sets foot on	260/	200/	200/	1.40/	40/	5.40/
	U.S. soil they automatically gain legal status	20%	28%	28%	14%	4%	54%

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(RESUME ASKING ALL RESPONDENTS, JANUARY 7-17, N=406) (ROTATE Q16 AND Q15)

16. Next, I am going to read some statements made by people who <u>oppose</u> (**SPLIT SAMPLE A READ:** "normalizing U.S. relations with Cuba.") (**SPLIT SAMPLE B READ:** "the U.S. engaging more directly with Cuba.") For each one, please tell me whether you find it to be a very convincing, somewhat convincing, or not too convincing reason to <u>maintain</u> current U.S. policy. If you do not believe the statement you can tell me that too. (**RANDOMIZE**)

[]a.	(CUBAN AMERICANS) Cuban	VERY CONV	SMWT CONV	NOT CONV	DON'T BEL	(DK <u>NA)</u>	VERY/ SMWT CONV
	Americans support current U.S. policy because it puts economic pressure on the Castro regime, while providing assistance to Cuban citizens. Travel and financial restrictions have already been lifted for						
	Cuban Americans to help their families; meanwhile we should stay tough on the	200/	220/	240/	00/	60/	£10/
	Castro regime	29%	33%	24%	9%	6%	61%
(ASK []b.	SPLIT SAMPLE C ONLY) (WEAKEN) Ending the embargo before the Cuban government meets the conditions specified would weaken the United States. Changing our policy would send a message to Iran, North Korea and other countries that they can act against American interests with no consequences	36%	22%	26%	11%	5%	58%
(ASK []c.	SPLIT SAMPLE D ONLY) (WORKING) Now is not the time to lift sanctions as the embargo is weakening the Cuban government. Keeping existing policies in place will help bring down the Castro regime, like our tough stance against Communism helped bring down the Berlin Wall	2304	2204	2104	Ω04	60/	5.40/
	Wall	23%	32%	31%	9%	6%	54%

(RESUME ASKING ALL RESPONDENTS, JANUARY 7-17, N=406)

17. Sometimes over the course of a survey like this, people change their minds. Let me ask you one more time, do you favor or oppose

(**SPLIT SAMPLE A READ:** "normalizing U.S. relations with Cuba?") (**SPLIT SAMPLE B READ:** "the U.S. engaging more directly with Cuba?")

(IF FAVOR/OPPOSE, ASK: "Is that strongly? (FAVOR/OPPOSE) or just somewhat?")

	SPLIT A:		
	NORMALIZE	ENGAGE	<u>TOTAL</u>
TOTAL FAVOR	61%	62%	61%
Strongly favor	38%	41%	39%
Somewhat favor	24%	21%	22%
TOTAL OPPOSE	34%	36%	35%
Somewhat oppose	12%	13%	13%
Strongly oppose	21%	23%	22%
(DON'T READ) DK/NA	5%	2%	4%

(ASKED JANUARY 7-17, N=406)

18. Next, the United States often establishes a special diplomatic position, called an envoy, for countries that we have hostile or tense relationships with, like North Korea, Sudan and the Congo. Would you support the United States sending a special envoy to Cuba?

Yes 5	59%
No 3	33%
(DON'T READ) DK/NA	-8%

THESE ARE THE LAST QUESTIONS, AND THEY ARE JUST TO HELP US LEARN A LITTLE MORE ABOUT WHO TOOK THE SURVEY.

19. How would you describe yourself politically? Would you say you are very conservative, somewhat conservative, moderate, somewhat liberal, or very liberal?

Very conservative 13	%
Somewhat conservative 16	%
Moderate 38	%
Somewhat liberal 15	%
Very liberal 13	%
(DON'T READ) DK/NA/Refused4	%

20. Are you registered to vote? (**IF YES, ASK:** Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent or something else? (**IF DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN, ASK:**) Would you call yourself a strong or not so strong Democrat/Republican?" (**IF INDEPENDENT, ASK:**) "Do you lean more to the Democrats or the Republicans?"

Strong Democrat 38%
Not so strong Democrat8%
Independent/lean Democrat4%
Independent/no lean 24%
Independent/lean Republican2%
Not so strong Republican2%
Strong Republican8%
No, not registered to vote 10%
(DON'T KNOW/NA)3%

(ASKED JANUARY 7-17, N=406)

21. And, do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of the Tea Party Movement, or do you not really know enough about it to have an opinion? (IF FAVORABLE/UNFAVORABLE, ASK: "Would that be strongly (FAVORABLE/UNFAVORABLE) or just somewhat (FAVORABLE/UNFAVORABLE)?")

TOTALLATION	11/0
Strongly favorable	7%
Somewhat favorable	7%
TOTAL UNFAVORABLE	30%
Somewhat unfavorable	7%
Strongly unfavorable	23%
-	
No opinion/don't know	53%
(DON'T READ) Refused/NA	3%

TOTAL FAVORABLE -----14%

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22. What was the last level of school you completed?

Grades 1-83%
Grades 9-11 15%
High school graduate (12) 36%
Community college/some college/
business/vocational school 21%
College graduate (4) 21%
Post-graduate work/
professional school3%
(DON'T READ) Refused0%

THANK AND TERMINATE

SEX (BY OBSERVATION):	Male 48% Female 52%
LANGUAGE OF INTERVIEW:	English73% Spanish27%

CENSUS REGION (4)	
Northeast	14%
Midwest	9%
South	36%
West	41%
REGION (7)	
Northeast	
Midwest	6%
South	17%
South Central	18%
Central Plains	3%
Mountain	12%
West	29%
CENSUS DIVISION (9)	
New England	
Mid-Atlantic	
East North Central	6%
West North Central	
South Atlantic	18%
East South Central	
West South Central	18%
Mountain	
West	29%

A/B SPLIT
A Split 50%
B Split 50%
C/D SPLIT
C Split 50%
D Split 50%
Q15/Q16 ROTATION
Q15 1st 50%
Q16 1st 50%