

# U.S. – CUBA RELATIONS ISSUE SURVEY 320-594-WT N=282 MARGIN OF SAMPLING ERROR $\pm$ 5.9% (95% CONFIDENCE INTERVAL)

STATE OF NEW JERSEY

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) -- 70% Yes, cell but cannot talk safely ------ TERMINATE No, not on cell, but own one ----- (ASK QB) -- 22% No, not on cell and do not own one ----- (SKIP QB) ----8% (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 25%	
Cell and landline equally 31%	
Mostly landline4%	
( <b>DON'T READ</b> ) 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**)

2.	In what year were you born?		
		1996-1990 (18-24)	
		1989-1985 (25-29)	7%
		1984-1980 (30-34)	
		1979-1975 (35-39)	11%
		1974-1970 (40-44)	6%
		1969-1965 (45-49)	11%
		1964-1960 (50-54)	5%
		1959-1955 (55-59)	8%
		1954-1950 (60-64)	11%
		1949-1940 (65-74)	14%
		1939 or earlier (75 & over)	4%
		(DON'T READ) Don't know/Refu	
	An Afi As Soi	spanic or Latino (ASK Q4-nglo/White (GO TO rican-American or Black (GO TO nian (GO TO mething else (GO TO ON'T READ) Refused/NA (GO TO	Q7)62% Q7)13% Q7)2% Q7)7%
(ACTZ	V OA OCONI V IE CODED 1 (HISDANI	ICH ATINO! IN O2)	
(ASN 4.	K Q4-Q6 ONLY IF CODED 1 'HISPANI When you are speaking to family and fri AND RECORD)	<b>Q</b> /	(READ CHOICES
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	anish all or most of the time	24%
		glish and Spanish about fifty-fifty, or	
		glish all or most of the time	
		ON'T READ) Refused/NA	
5.	Were you born in the United States or di	id you immigrate to the United States?	
	Im	migrated to U.S	34%
			5 170

Born in U.S.----- 66% (**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**)

a.	What country did you immigrate from?	
	Dominican Republic	
	Guatemala	18%
	Mexico	16%
	Colombia	11%
	Portugal	6%
	Puerto Rico	3%
b.	What country is your family from?	
	Dominican Republic	
	Two or more countries	16%
	Puerto Rico	15%
	Cuba	12%
	United States	9%
	Mexico	8%
	Ecuador	4%
	El Salvador	
	Refused	9%

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#### (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	37%
Wrong track	58%
(DON'T READ) DK/NA	-5%

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.")

•	DOMIZE)	<u>Mean</u>	1	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	_	<u>5</u>	RELAT	CLOSE FIONS 7	<u>DK</u> <u>8</u>
[ ]a.	Cuba	2.1	-59%	10%	- 8% -	6% -	-6%	3%	- 4%	- 5%
(ASK	SPLIT SAMPLE A ONLY)									
[ ]b.	England	6.4	- 2%-	- 0% -	- 1% -	3%	14%	-11%	-66%	- 4%
[ ]c.	Vietnam	3.9	-10%	12%	20%	17%	19%	9%	- 8%	- 5%
•	SPLIT SAMPLE B ONLY) Mexico	5.0	Ω0/	00/	120/	110/	210/	100/	250/	40/
[ ]d.										
[ ]e.	Iran	<i>2.0</i>	-51%	14%	11%	- /% -	-5%	2%	- 2%	- 9%

## 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:	<b>SPLIT B:</b>	
	<b>NORMALIZE</b>	<b>ENGAGE</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
TOTAL FAVOR	57%	55%	56%
Strongly favor	36%	31%	34%
Somewhat favor	21%	24%	23%
TOTAL OPPOSE	37%	37%	37%
Somewhat oppose(ASK Q10)	12%	17%	14%
Strongly oppose(ASK Q10)	26%	21%	23%
(DON'T READ) DK/NA(ASK Q10)	5%	7%	6%

#### (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:	
	<b>NORMALIZE</b>	<b>ENGAGE</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
TOTAL FAVOR			
Strongly favor	3%	14%	8%
Somewhat favor	8%	19%	14%
TOTAL OPPOSE	860/	<b>50</b> 0/ <sub>2</sub>	72%
Somewhat oppose			
Strongly oppose			
( <b>DON'T READ</b> ) DK/NA	2%	9%	6%

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/ <u>NA)</u>	TOTAL SUPPT	TOTAL OPPOSE
[ ]a.	Removing all restrictions on travel to Cuba by U.S. citizens	-35%	- 28%	- 14%	-21%	-2%	63%	35%
[ ]b.	Removing restrictions on U.S. citizens to spend dollars in Cuba	-36%	- 25%	- 14%	-21%	-3%	62%	35%
[ ]c.	Allowing more American companies to do business in Cuba	-34%	- 28%	- 15%	-22%	-1%	61%	38%
( <b>ASK</b> [ ]d.	SPLIT SAMPLE C ONLY) Holding meetings with the Cuban government to coordinate on issues of mutual concern, like preventing drug trafficking and smuggling	67%	- 21%	2%	7%	-2%	89%	9%
( <b>ASK</b> [ ]e.	SPLIT SAMPLE D ONLY) Allowing Cuba access to high-speed Internet and other telecommunications systems based							
	in the United States	-30%	- 19%	- 12%	-35%	-4%	49%	47%

#### (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)

		VERY IMPT TO NORM/ ENGAGE	SMWT IMPT TO NORM/ ENGAGE	SMWT IMPT TO <u>KEEP</u>	VERY IMPT TO <u>KEEP</u>		TOTAL NORM/ ENGAGE	
[ ]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 -	42%	21%	12%	20%	5%	63%	32%

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r 11.		VERY IMPT TO NORM/ ENGAGE	SMWT IMPT TO NORM/ ENGAGE	SMWT IMPT TO <u>KEEP</u>	VERY IMPT TO <u>KEEP</u>	,	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	25%	20%	19%	31%	- 5%	45%	50%
(ASK	SPLIT SAMPLE C ONLY)							
[ ]c.	After more than fifty years of no U.S. relations with Cuba the Castro							
[ ]d.	regime remains in power The Cuban government has made economic reforms to allow entrepreneurship, and today more than forty percent of all Cubans earn their income from privately-owned	23%	28%	18%	24%	8%	51%	42%
	small businesses	37%	34%	10%	13%	- 6%	71%	23%
(ASK	SPLIT SAMPLE D ONLY)							
[ ]e.	Cuba is only 90 miles away from the U.S. mainland	36%	20%	15%	23%	- 5%	57%	38%
[ ]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/	120/	250/	20/	58%	200/
	other country	3/%		13%	23%	- 3%	30%	38%

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	36%
Definitely yes	( <b>ASK Q14</b> )21%
Probably yes	(ASK Q14)16%
TOTAL NO	57%
Probably no	23%
Definitely no	34%
(DON'T READ) DK/NA -	6%

#### (ASK Q14 ONLY IF CODED 1-2 'YES' IN Q13)

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	·76%
Definitely yes	42%
Probably yes	
TOTAL NO	23%
Probably no	18%
Definitely no	5%
( <b>DON'T READ</b> ) DK/NA	1%

VERY/

72%

#### Q13/Q14 COMBINED

TOTAL YES	·27%
Definitely yes	15%
Probably yes	12%
TOTAL NO	66%
Probably no	30%
Definitely no	36%
•	
(DON'T READ) DK/NA	7%

#### (RESUME ASKING ALL RESPONDENTS) (ROTATE Q15 AND Q16)

15. Next, I am going to read some statements made by people who <u>support</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 (**SPLIT SAMPLE A READ:** "normalize relations with Cuba.") (**SPLIT SAMPLE B READ:** "engage more directly with Cuba."). If you do not believe the statement you can tell me that too. (**RANDOMIZE**)

		VERY CONV	SMWT CONV	NOT CONV	DON'T <u>BEL</u>	(DK <u>NA)</u>	SMWT CONV
[ ]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	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	56
	accountable for human rights abuses	36%	29%	27%	5%	3%	65%
(ASK	SPLIT SAMPLE C ONLY)						
[ ]b.	(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						

Egypt, just 90 miles from our shores ------41% ----- 32% -----17% ------ 6% 73%

(ACT	COLUE CAMPLE DOMEN	VERY CONV	SMWT CONV	NOT CONV	DON'T BEL	(DK <u>NA)</u>	VERY/ SMWT CONV
(ASK	(FLORIDA) For too long, politicians have 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 and economic interests	270/	220/	200/	110/	20/	59%
[ ]e.	(TRADE) Latin America is the United States' 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						3970
	U.S. economy and create new jobs in America	35%	26%	27%	9%	2%	62%
	ITEM 'f' ONLY TO RESPONDENTS WHO AS ARE CODED 1 'HISPANIC/LATINO' IN Q3) (UNEQUAL) U.S. immigration law prevents millions of hardworking and law abiding Latinos who have been here for years from gaining legal status, but if a Cuban sets foot on	RE <u>NOT</u>	FLORII	DA RESI	DENTS I	N Q1	
	U.S. soil they automatically gain legal status	47%	31%	16%	0%	6%	78%

## (RESUME ASKING ALL RESPONDENTS) (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 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	VERY CONV	SMWT CONV	NOT CONV	DON'T BEL	(DK NA)	VERY/ SMWT CONV
	Castro regime	26%	35%	27%	8%	4%	61%
( <b>ASK</b> [ ]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———————————————————————————————————	25%	24%	31%	17%	3%	48%
( <b>ASK</b> [ ]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	17%	28%	34%	17%	4%	44%

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:	<b>SPLIT B:</b>	
	<b>NORMALIZE</b>	<b>ENGAGE</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
TOTAL FAVOR	55%	69%	62%
Strongly favor	29%	45%	37%
Somewhat favor	25%	24%	24%
TOTAL OPPOSE	44%	27%	35%
Somewhat oppose	13%	9%	11%
Strongly oppose	31%	17%	24%
(DON'T READ) DK/NA	2%	4%	3%

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	62%
No	32%
(DON'T READ) DK/NA	6%

## 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 conservative9%
Somewhat conservative 22%
Moderate 37%
Somewhat liberal 18%
Very liberal 11%
( <b>DON'T READ</b> ) DK/NA/Refused3%

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 27%
Not so strong Democrat6%
Independent/lean Democrat7%
Independent/no lean 31%
Independent/lean Republican 10%
Not so strong Republican 3%
Strong Republican 10%
No, not registered to vote4%
( <b>DON'T KNOW/NA</b> )3%

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**)?")

TOTAL FAVORABLE24%	<u>′</u>
Strongly favorable 11%	
Somewhat favorable 13%	
TOTAL UNFAVORABLE39%	<b>6</b>
Somewhat unfavorable 12%	
Strongly unfavorable 27%	ó
No opinion/don't know 35%	6
(DON'T READ) Refused/NA2%	

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

Grades 1-81%
Grades 9-113%
High school graduate (12) 22%
Community college/some college/
business/vocational school 22%
College graduate (4) 40%
Post-graduate work/
professional school 12%
( <b>DON'T READ</b> ) Refused1%

#### THANK AND TERMINATE

**SEX (BY OBSERVATION):** 

Male------ 49% Female ----- 51%

LANGUAGE OF INTERVIEW:

English------97% Spanish ------3%

#### A/B SPLIT

A Split	50%
B Split	50%

#### C/D SPLIT

C Split	50%
D Split	50%

#### **Q15/Q16 ROTATION**

Q15 1st	54%
Q16 1st	46%