

Fairbank,
Maslin,
Maullin,
Metz &
Associates

FM3

U.S. – CUBA RELATIONS ISSUE SURVEY
320-594-WT
N=1024
MARGIN OF SAMPLING ERROR $\pm 3.1\%$ (95% CONFIDENCE INTERVAL)
MAIN SAMPLE

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)** -- 59%
Yes, cell but cannot talk safely ----- **TERMINATE**
No, not on cell, but own one ----- **(ASK QB)** -- 30%
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 all of your phone calls, most of your phone calls, do you use your cell phone and home landline phone equally, or do you mostly use your home landline phone to make and receive calls?

All cell phone ----- 32%
Mostly cell phone ----- 18%
Cell and landline equally ----- 37%
Mostly landline ----- 11%
(DON'T READ) DK/NA ----- 1%

(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)	12%
1989-1985 (25-29)	9%
1984-1980 (30-34)	7%
1979-1975 (35-39)	6%
1974-1970 (40-44)	11%
1969-1965 (45-49)	9%
1964-1960 (50-54)	9%
1959-1955 (55-59)	8%
1954-1950 (60-64)	8%
1949-1940 (65-74)	12%
1939 or earlier (75 & over)	7%
(DON'T READ) Don't know/Refused	2%

3. With which racial or ethnic group do you identify yourself? (READ RESPONSES)

Hispanic or Latino	(ASK Q4-Q6)--14%
Anglo/White	(GO TO Q7)--61%
African-American or Black	(GO TO Q7)--12%
Asian	(GO TO Q7)--2%
Something else	(GO TO Q7)--8%
(DON'T READ) Refused/NA	(GO TO Q7)--3%

(ASK Q4-Q6 ONLY IF CODED 1 'HISPANIC/LATINO' IN Q3)

4. When you are speaking to family and friends, do you find yourself speaking...? (READ CHOICES AND RECORD)

Spanish all or most of the time	23%
English and Spanish about fifty-fifty, or	38%
English all or most of the time	39%
(DON'T READ) Refused/NA	0%

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

Immigrated to U.S.	35%
Born in U.S.	65%
(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?

Mexico -----	49%
Cuba -----	29%
Colombia -----	6%
Guatemala -----	5%
Venezuela -----	3%
Bolivia -----	3%
El Salvador -----	2%
Japan -----	2%
Refused -----	2%

b. What country is your family from?

Mexico -----	34%
United States -----	29%
Puerto Rico -----	9%
Cuba -----	8%
Nicaragua -----	5%
Poland -----	3%
Peru -----	2%
Refused -----	2%
Ecuador -----	2%
Italy -----	2%
El Salvador -----	1%
India -----	1%
Argentina -----	1%
Spain -----	1%

(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----- 36%
 Wrong track----- 56%
 (DON'T READ) DK/NA -----9%

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 no diplomatic relations and does not 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 no 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.")

		<u>NO RELATIONS</u>					<u>CLOSE RELATIONS</u>			<u>DK</u>
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	
(RANDOMIZE) []a. Cuba -----	2.1	53%	15%	10%	-7%	--6%	--2%	- 2%	5%	

(ASK SPLIT SAMPLE A ONLY)

[]b. England -----	6.3	2%	-- 2%	-- 2%	-- 3%	--7%	-11%	-69%	3%
[]c. Vietnam -----	3.8	12%	- 9%	- 23%	14%	17%	--8%	- 9%	7%

(ASK SPLIT SAMPLE B ONLY)

[]d. Mexico -----	5.2	6%	-- 4%	-- 8%	- 10%	18%	-16%	-34%	3%
[]e. Iran -----	2.4	41%	18%	12%	-9%	--8%	--2%	- 3%	7%

(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: <u>NORMALIZE</u>	SPLIT B: <u>ENGAGE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
TOTAL FAVOR -----	60%	52%	56%
Strongly favor-----	32%	27%	30%
Somewhat favor -----	28%	25%	26%
 TOTAL OPPOSE -----	 33%	 37%	 35%
Somewhat oppose--(ASK Q10)-----	13%	13%	13%
Strongly oppose--(ASK Q10)-----	20%	24%	22%
 (DON'T READ) DK/NA--(ASK Q10) -----	 7%	 11%	 9%

(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: <u>NORMALIZE</u>	SPLIT B: <u>ENGAGE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
TOTAL FAVOR -----	16%	18%	17%
Strongly favor-----	3%	3%	3%
Somewhat favor -----	13%	15%	14%
 TOTAL OPPOSE -----	 73%	 69%	 70%
Somewhat oppose -----	24%	24%	24%
Strongly oppose -----	48%	44%	46%
 (DON'T READ) DK/NA -----	 11%	 14%	 13%

(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)

	<u>STR</u> <u>SUPPT</u>	<u>SMWT</u> <u>SUPPT</u>	<u>SMWT</u> <u>OPPOSE</u>	<u>STR</u> <u>OPPOSE</u>	<u>(DK/</u> <u>NA)</u>	<u>TOTAL</u> <u>SUPPT</u>	<u>TOTAL</u> <u>OPPOSE</u>
[]a. Removing all restrictions on travel to Cuba by U.S. citizens -----	35%	25%	16%	20%	4%	61%	36%
[]b. Removing restrictions on U.S. citizens to spend dollars in Cuba -----	35%	26%	13%	22%	4%	61%	35%
[]c. Allowing more American companies to do business in Cuba -----	35%	27%	12%	24%	3%	62%	36%

(ASK SPLIT SAMPLE C ONLY)

[]d. Holding meetings with the Cuban government to coordinate on issues of mutual concern, like preventing drug trafficking and smuggling -----	56%	21%	6%	14%	3%	77%	20%
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(ASK SPLIT SAMPLE D ONLY)

[]e. Allowing Cuba access to high-speed Internet and other telecommunications systems based in the United States -----	29%	23%	16%	27%	5%	52%	43%
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(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)

	<u>VERY</u> <u>IMPT TO</u> <u>NORM/</u> <u>ENGAGE</u>	<u>SMWT</u> <u>IMPT TO</u> <u>NORM/</u> <u>ENGAGE</u>	<u>SMWT</u> <u>IMPT TO</u> <u>KEEP</u>	<u>VERY</u> <u>IMPT TO</u> <u>KEEP</u>	<u>(DK/</u> <u>NA)</u>	<u>TOTAL</u> <u>NORM/</u> <u>ENGAGE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u> <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 -----	36%	21%	16%	22%	6%	56	38%

	<u>VERY</u> <u>IMPT TO</u> <u>NORM/</u> <u>ENGAGE</u>	<u>SMWT</u> <u>IMPT TO</u> <u>NORM/</u> <u>ENGAGE</u>	<u>SMWT</u> <u>IMPT TO</u> <u>KEEP</u>	<u>VERY</u> <u>IMPT TO</u> <u>KEEP</u>	<u>(DK/</u> <u>NA)</u>	<u>TOTAL</u> <u>NORM/</u> <u>ENGAGE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u> <u>KEEP</u>
[]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 -----	26%	17%	17%	33%	7%	43	50%

(ASK SPLIT SAMPLE C ONLY)

[]c. After more than fifty years of no U.S. relations with Cuba the Castro regime remains in power -----	23%	18%	21%	30%	7%	41	51%
[]d. 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 small businesses -----	30%	25%	16%	21%	8%	55	37%

(ASK SPLIT SAMPLE D ONLY)

[]e. Cuba is only 90 miles away from the U.S. mainland -----	38%	20%	12%	23%	7%	58	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 other country -----	37%	21%	15%	21%	6%	58	36%

(RESUME ASKING ALL RESPONDENTS)

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-----40%
Definitely yes-----**(ASK Q14)--23%**
Probably yes -----**(ASK Q14)--17%**

TOTAL NO -----52%
Probably no -----28%
Definitely no-----25%

(DON'T READ) DK/NA -----7%

(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-----74%
Definitely yes-----38%
Probably yes -----36%

TOTAL NO -----22%
Probably no -----13%
Definitely no-----8%

(DON'T READ) DK/NA -----4%

Q13/Q14 COMBINED

TOTAL YES-----30%
 Definitely yes ----- 16%
 Probably yes ----- 14%

TOTAL NO -----61%
 Probably no ----- 33%
 Definitely no ----- 28%

(DON'T READ) DK/NA -----9%

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

15. Next, I am going to read some statements made by people who support (**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**)

	<u>VERY CONV</u>	<u>SMWT CONV</u>	<u>NOT CONV</u>	<u>DON'T BEL</u>	<u>(DK NA)</u>	<u>VERY/ SMWT CONV</u>
[]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 accountable for human rights abuses -----	33%	30%	20%	12%	4%	64%

(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 policy-----	33%	28%	25%	11%	3%	61%
[]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 -----	32%	26%	25%	12%	5%	57%

	<u>VERY CONV</u>	<u>SMWT CONV</u>	<u>NOT CONV</u>	<u>DON'T BEL</u>	<u>(DK NA)</u>	<u>VERY/ SMWT CONV</u>
(ASK SPLIT SAMPLE D ONLY)						
[]d. (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-----	29%	27%	25%	15%	4%	56%
[]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 U.S. economy and create new jobs in America -----	34%	31%	22%	9%	4%	65%

(ASK ITEM 'F' ONLY TO RESPONDENTS WHO ARE NOT FLORIDA RESIDENTS IN Q1 AND ARE CODED 1 'HISPANIC/LATINO' IN Q3)

[]f. (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 U.S. soil they automatically gain legal status -----	19%	31%	23%	20%	7%	50%
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**(RESUME ASKING ALL RESPONDENTS)
 (ROTATE Q16 AND Q15)**

16. Next, I am going to read some statements made by people who oppose (**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 maintain current U.S. policy. If you do not believe the statement you can tell me that too. (**RANDOMIZE**)

	<u>VERY CONV</u>	<u>SMWT CONV</u>	<u>NOT CONV</u>	<u>DON'T BEL</u>	<u>(DK NA)</u>	<u>VERY/ SMWT CONV</u>
[]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 Castro regime -----	27%	34%	25%	9%	4%	61%

(ASK SPLIT SAMPLE C ONLY)

[]b. (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 -----	30%	21%	32%	12%	5%	51%
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(ASK SPLIT SAMPLE D ONLY)

[]c. (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 -----	24%	29%	31%	12%	4%	54%
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(RESUME ASKING ALL RESPONDENTS)

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:	SPLIT B:	
	<u>NORMALIZE</u>	<u>ENGAGE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
TOTAL FAVOR -----	57%	54%	55%
Strongly favor-----	33%	31%	32%
Somewhat favor -----	24%	23%	24%
 TOTAL OPPOSE -----	 38%	 41%	 39%
Somewhat oppose -----	14%	15%	15%
Strongly oppose -----	23%	26%	25%
 (DON'T READ) DK/NA -----	 6%	 5%	 5%

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 -----	61%
No -----	32%
(DON'T READ) DK/NA -----	7%

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----- 15%
Somewhat conservative----- 19%
Moderate ----- 34%
Somewhat liberal ----- 18%
Very liberal -----9%
(DON'T READ) DK/NA/Refused-----4%

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 ----- 23%
Not so strong Democrat-----9%
Independent/lean Democrat -----5%
Independent/no lean ----- 25%
Independent/lean Republican -----7%
Not so strong Republican -----8%
Strong Republican ----- 14%
No, not registered to vote-----6%
(DON'T KNOW/NA) -----4%

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 FAVORABLE -----22%
Strongly favorable ----- 11%
Somewhat favorable----- 11%

TOTAL UNFAVORABLE -----33%
Somewhat unfavorable-----8%
Strongly unfavorable ----- 25%

No opinion/don't know ----- 42%
(DON'T READ) Refused/NA ----- 3%

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

Grades 1-8 -----	1%
Grades 9-11 -----	3%
High school graduate (12) -----	22%
Community college/some college/ business/vocational school -----	27%
College graduate (4) -----	34%
Post-graduate work/ professional school -----	12%
(DON'T READ) Refused -----	1%

THANK AND TERMINATE

SEX (BY OBSERVATION):	Male -----	49%
	Female -----	51%

LANGUAGE OF INTERVIEW:	English -----	98%
	Spanish -----	2%

CENSUS REGION (4)

Northeast-----18%
Midwest-----21%
South -----37%
West -----24%

REGION (7)

Northeast-----20%
Midwest-----15%
South -----22%
South Central-----13%
Central Plains -----6%
Mountain-----6%
West -----18%

CENSUS DIVISION (9)

New England-----3%
Mid-Atlantic-----15%
East North Central-----15%
West North Central-----6%
South Atlantic-----18%
East South Central-----5%
West South Central-----14%
Mountain-----6%
West -----18%

A/B SPLIT

A Split-----49%
B Split -----51%

C/D SPLIT

C Split-----50%
D Split-----50%

Q15/Q16 ROTATION

Q15 1st -----51%
Q16 1st -----49%