

Cuban American Opinions Concerning U.S. Policy Toward Cuba and the U.S. Election

The Brookings Institution in collaboration with Florida International University (FIU) and the Cuba Study Group released a poll gauging public opinion among Cuban Americans in south Florida on December 2, 2008. The poll, conducted through telephone interviews in English and Spanish by the Institute for Public Opinion Research at FIU, was concluded on December 1, 2008. The questions addressed Cuban American opinion on U.S. policies toward Cuba, particularly concerning travel, remittances, and the embargo. The poll also explored voting patterns in the 2008 Presidential and Congressional elections.

For the first time since FIU began polling the Cuban American community in 1991, a majority of participants, 55 percent, favor ending the U.S. embargo against Cuba. A majority of Cuban American voters also favor ending current restrictions on travel and remittances to Cuba, with the strongest support for changing current policy among those who emigrated after 1980 and from younger age groups. Results showed that a strong majority of registered Cuban American voters, as well as the larger community, support greater engagement with Cuba, including direct talks between the U.S. and Cuba on issues such as migration. When gauging the reaction of the community to Raúl Castro's Presidency, 65 percent answered that they see the same possibility for change under Raúl Castro as under Fidel Castro. The poll results also show the largest percentage of Cuban Americans voting for the Democratic Presidential candidate since Jimmy Carter in 1976, with 38 percent of the total community and 51 percent of Cuban Americans under age 45 voting for Barack Obama.

As President-elect Barack Obama comes into the White House having campaigned for a return to the more liberal travel and remittance policies of 2003, this poll shows strong support within the Cuban American community for implementing those changes, as well as launching direct discussions with Cuba. This poll shows inroads of Democratic influence within the Cuban American community and a continuing shift to more liberal attitudes concerning Cuba policy. Though the results highlight a growing generational gap, the community as a whole is showing increased receptivity to greater engagement with Cuba. As Cuban Americans who arrived in recent years register to vote, the President could find even greater support for a new policy toward Cuba in the future.

Key Findings of the December 2008 Poll of the Cuban American Community:

Majority support for ending the U.S. embargo against Cuba:

- 55 percent of Cuban Americans oppose continuing the embargo.
- 79 percent think the embargo has worked not very well or not at all.
- This poll marks the first time that a majority has supported ending the embargo in an FIU survey of the Cuban American community since it began similar polling in 1991.

Most Cuban Americans favor easing restrictions on travel and remittances:

- 65 percent favor eliminating current restrictions on Cuban Americans sending money and remittances to Cuba, including a majority of registered voters.
- 66 percent favor ending current restrictions on travel to Cuba for Cuban Americans. This trend is also mirrored amongst registered Cuban American voters.
- 67 percent of Cuban Americans, including a majority of registered voters, support open travel to Cuba for all Americans.

A majority of Cuban American voters want increased engagement with Cuba:

- 56 percent Cuban Americans who are registered to vote support reestablishing diplomatic relations with Cuba, with even greater support amongst the community at large.
- 72 percent of registered Cuban American voters would like to see direct talks between the U.S. and Cuban governments on issues of bilateral concern, including migration.
- 55 percent of those who support maintaining the embargo were still in favor of the Obama administration opening dialogue with the Cuban government.

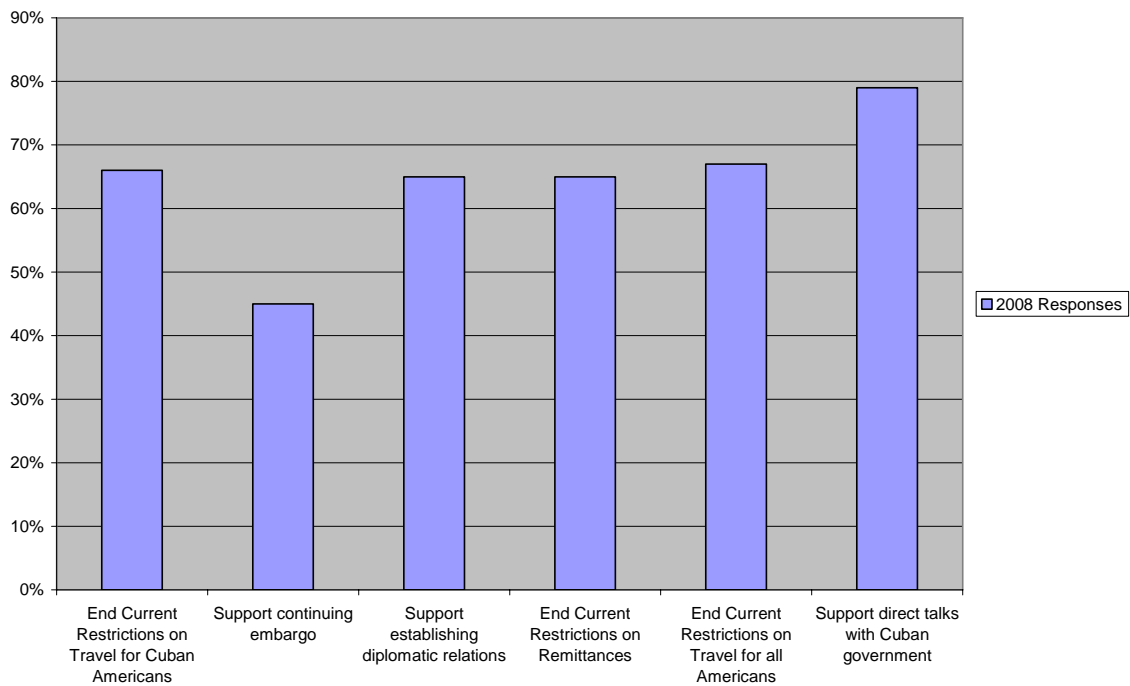
Barack Obama received strong support for a Democratic candidate:

- Obama received 38 percent of the Cuban American vote- the highest percentage of any Democratic presidential candidate since Ronald Reagan solidified Cuban American support for the Republican party in the 1980 election.
- 51 percent of Cuban Americans under 45 years old voted for Obama, showing significant shifts in political ideology particularly amongst younger voters.
- Of those who voted for Obama, 70 percent favor ending the embargo against Cuba, showing that Obama has strong support for lowering restrictions regarding Cuba among those who elected him.

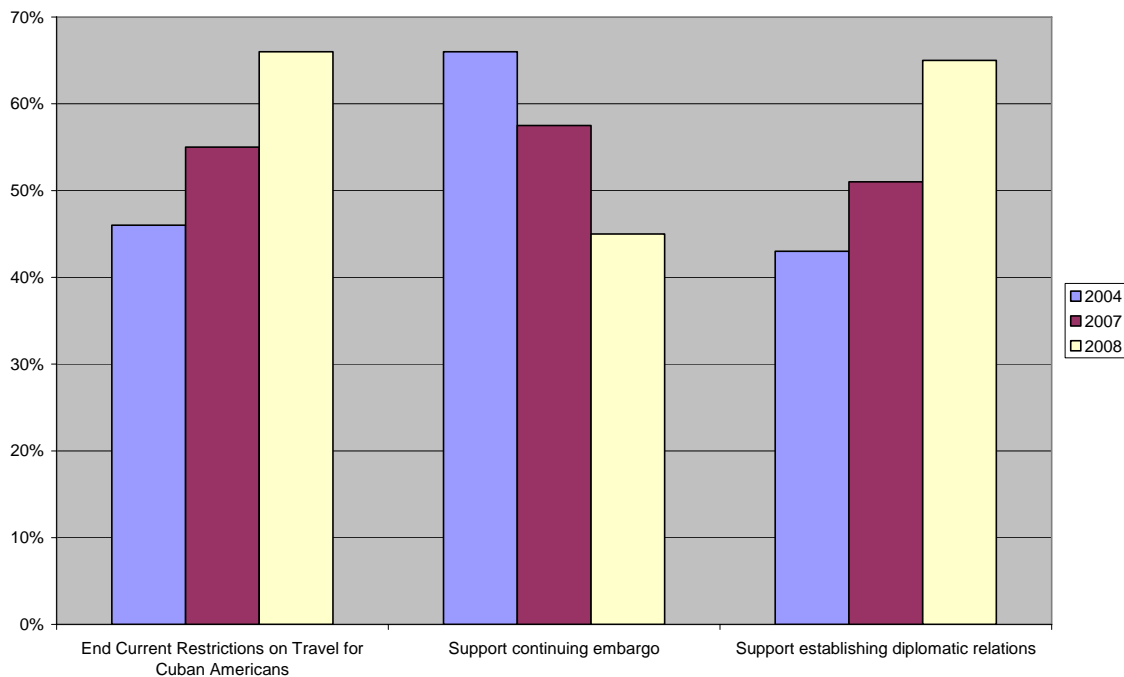
2008 Poll Digest

	2004	2007	2008	2008 (Registered Voters)	2008 (Not Registered to Vote)
End Current Restrictions on Travel for Cuban Americans	46%	55%	66%	56%	63%
Support continuing embargo	66%	57.50%	45%	56%	47%
Support establishing diplomatic relations	43%	51%	65%	56%	65%
End Current Restrictions on Remittances			65%	54%	69%
End Current Restrictions on Travel for all Americans			67%	58%	63%
Support direct talks with Cuban government			79%	72%	85%
Think the embargo has worked not very well or not well at all			79%	72%	78%
Voted for John McCain			62%		
Voted for Barack Obama			38%		

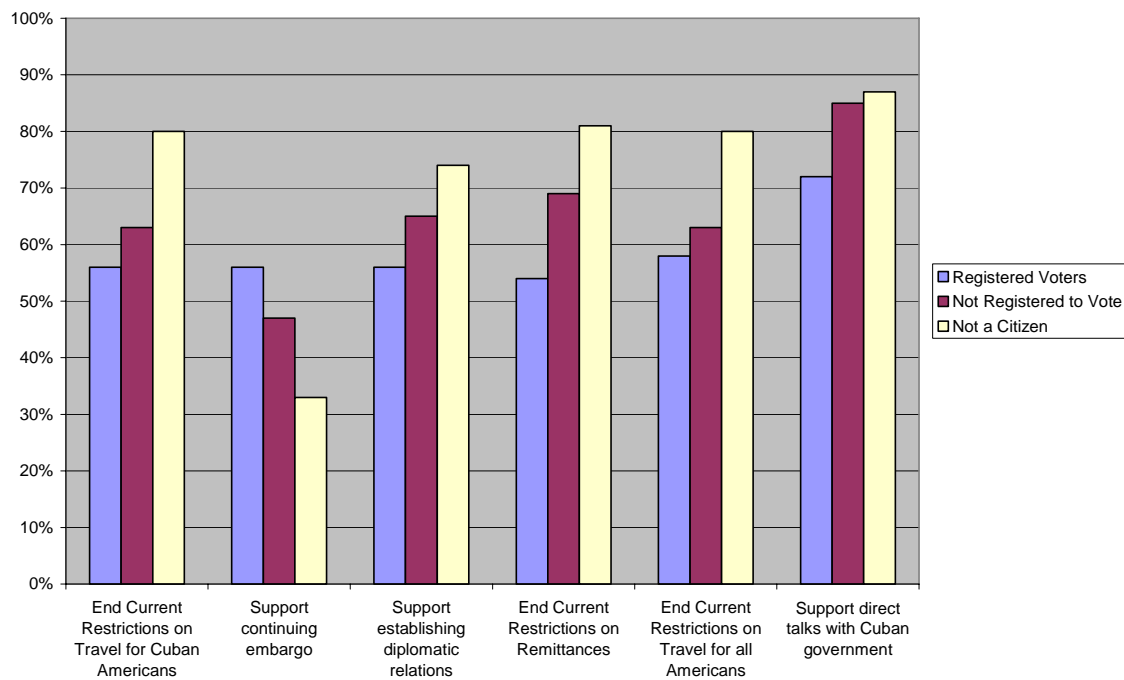
2008 Responses



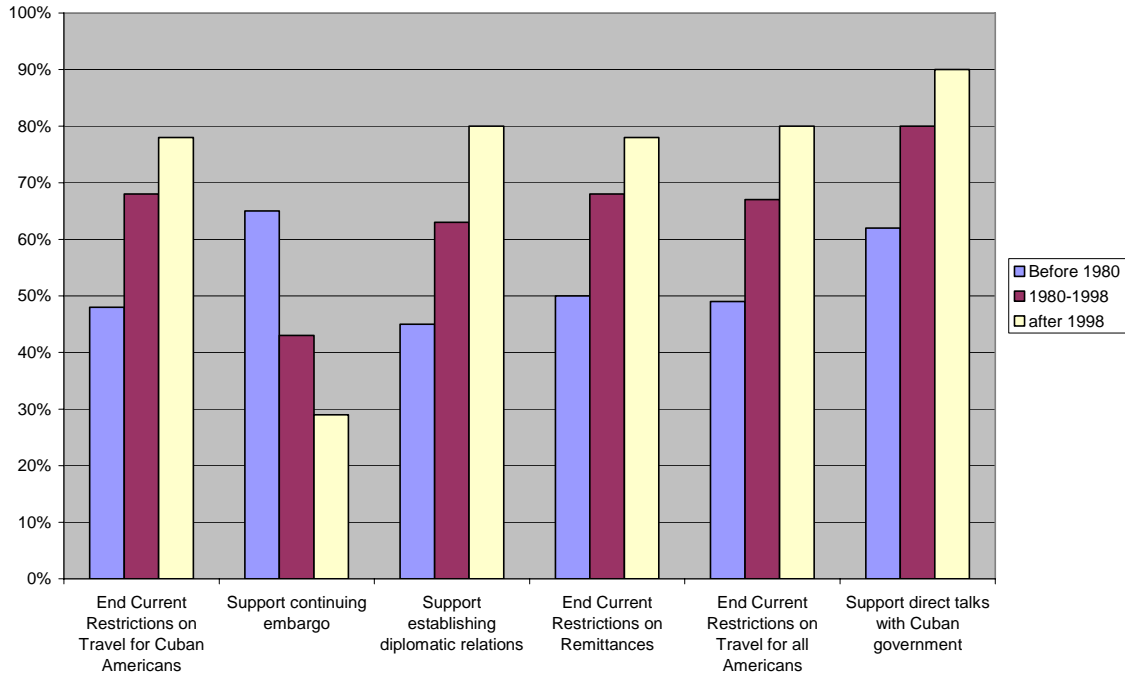
Cuban American Opinion 2004-2008



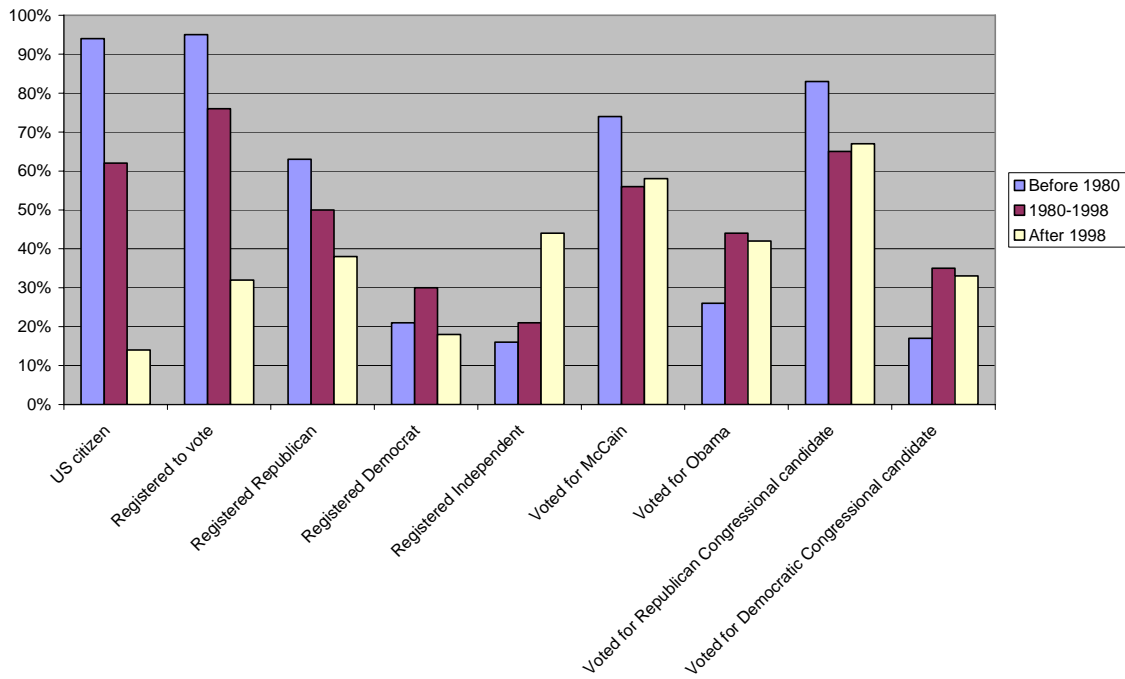
2008 Poll Digest by Voter Registration



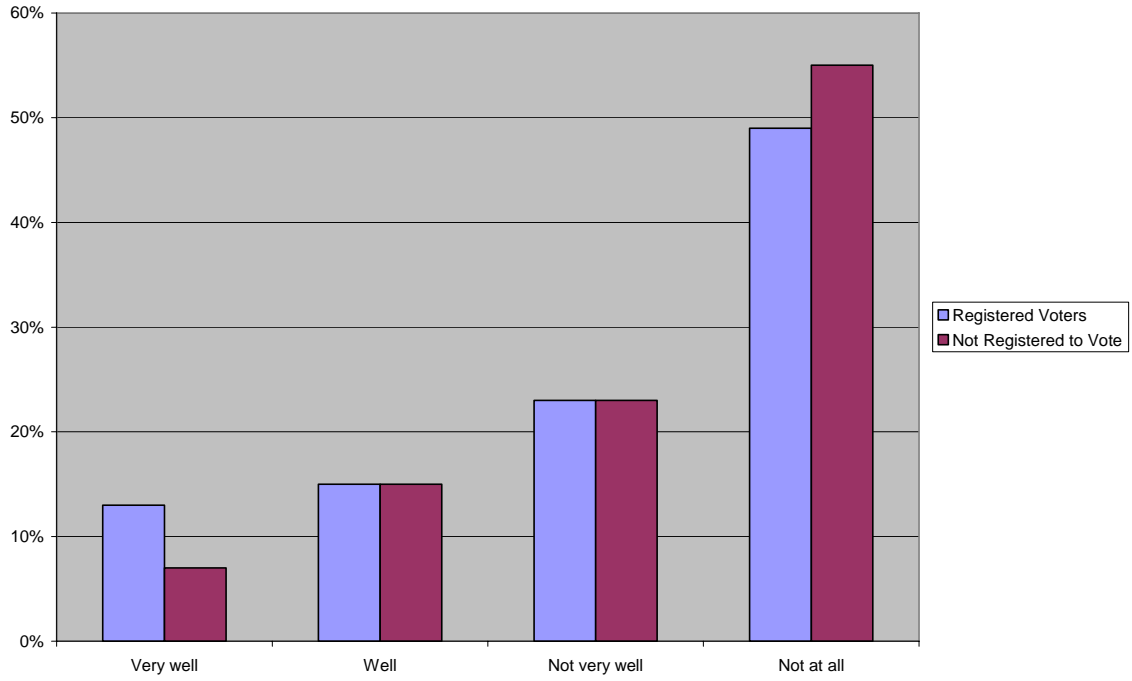
2008 Poll Digest by Year of Immigration



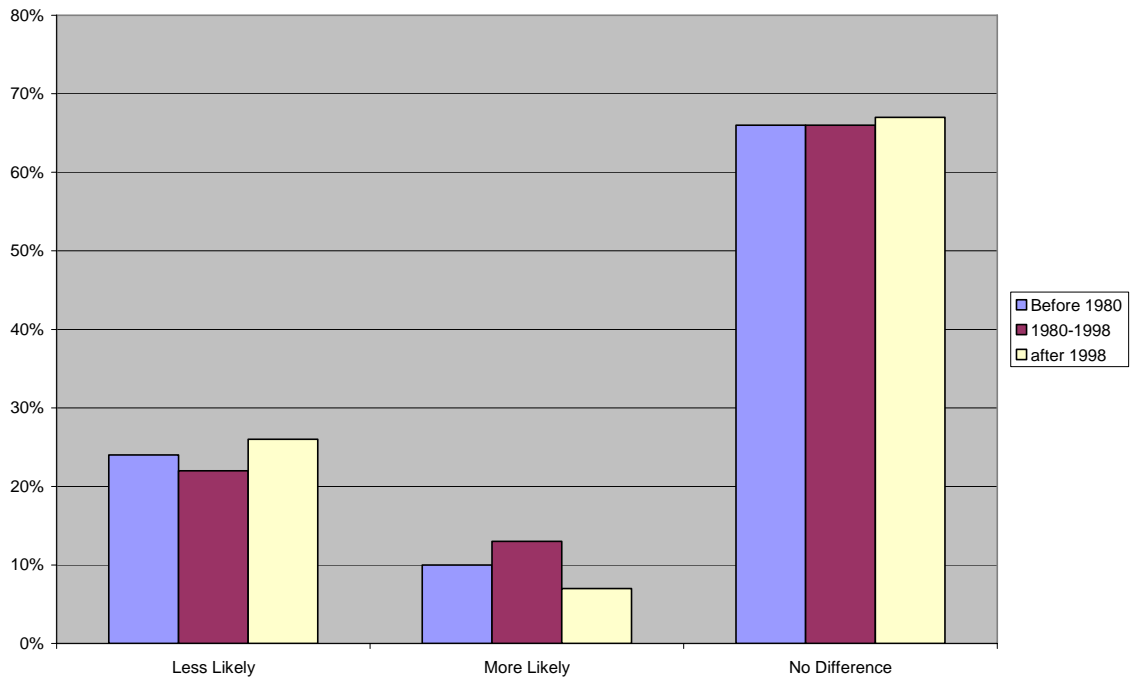
Citizenship and Political Preferences by Period of Immigration



Opinions on How Well Embargo Has Been Working



Views on Likelihood of Change with Raul Castro as President



Poll Results

When do you think that major political changes are likely to occur in Cuba?

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WITHIN ONE YEAR	7%
IN TWO TO FIVE YEARS	29%
IN SIX TO TEN YEARS	14%
OVER TEN YEARS	10%
NEVER	15%
NEVER AS LONG AS A CASTRO IS IN CHARGE	25%

When do you think that major political changes are likely to occur in Cuba? by three age groups

	age categories		
	18-44	45-64	65 and older
WITHIN ONE YEAR	7%	5%	7%
IN TWO TO FIVE YEARS	30%	29%	24%
IN SIX TO TEN YEARS	17%	12%	4%
OVER TEN YEARS	11%	9%	8%
NEVER	11%	16%	27%
NEVER AS LONG AS A CASTRO IS IN CHARGE	23%	27%	30%

When do you think that major political changes are likely to occur in Cuba? by year left Cuba

	Three groups by year left Cuba			
	before 1980	1980-1998	after 1998	born in the US or a country other than Cuba
WITHIN ONE YEAR	7%	8%	7%	5%
IN TWO TO FIVE YEARS	26%	24%	34%	32%
IN SIX TO TEN YEARS	10%	9%	12%	29%
OVER TEN YEARS	9%	10%	7%	16%
NEVER	26%	14%	14%	7%

When do you think that major political changes are likely to occur in Cuba? by year left Cuba

	Three groups by year left Cuba			
	before 1980	1980-1998	after 1998	born in the US or a country other than Cuba
WITHIN ONE YEAR	7%	8%	7%	5%
IN TWO TO FIVE YEARS	26%	24%	34%	32%
IN SIX TO TEN YEARS	10%	9%	12%	29%
OVER TEN YEARS	9%	10%	7%	16%
NEVER	26%	14%	14%	7%
NEVER AS LONG AS A CASTRO IS IN CHARGE	22%	34%	26%	11%

When do you think that major political changes are likely to occur in Cuba? by whether registered to vote

	Voter registration	
	Registered to vote	Not registered to vote
WITHIN ONE YEAR	10%	6%
IN TWO TO FIVE YEARS	32%	28%
IN SIX TO TEN YEARS	11%	15%
OVER TEN YEARS	8%	12%
NEVER	23%	16%
NEVER AS LONG AS A CASTRO IS IN CHARGE	17%	22%

When Fidel Castro was replaced by Raul Castro as Cuba's president, how do you think that affected the possibility for real political change in Cuba?

When Fidel Castro was replaced by Raul Castro as Cuba's president, how do you think that affected the possibility for real political change in Cuba?

Likelihood of change as a result of Raul Castro taking over	LESS LIKELY	24%
	MORE LIKELY	11%
	NO DIFFERENCE	65%

When Fidel Castro was replaced by Raul Castro as Cuba's president, how do you think that affected the possibility for real political change in Cuba? by three age groups

		age categories		
		18-44	45-64	65 and older
Likelihood of change as a result of Raul Castro taking over	LESS LIKELY	24%	21%	25%
	MORE LIKELY	13%	10%	9%
	NO DIFFERENCE	62%	69%	67%

When Fidel Castro was replaced by Raul Castro as Cuba's president, how do you think that affected the possibility for real political change in Cuba? by year left Cuba

		Three groups by year left Cuba			
		before 1980	1980-1998	after 1998	born in the US or a country other than Cuba
Likelihood of change as a result of Raul Castro taking over	LESS LIKELY	24%	22%	26%	24%
	MORE LIKELY	10%	13%	7%	19%
	NO DIFFERENCE	66%	66%	67%	58%

When Fidel Castro was replaced by Raul Castro as Cuba's president, how do you think that affected the possibility for real political change in Cuba? by whether registered to vote

		registered to vote	
		not registered to vote	registered to vote
Likelihood of change as a result of Raul Castro taking over	LESS LIKELY	33%	21%
	MORE LIKELY	13%	13%
	NO DIFFERENCE	54%	66%

Would you favor or oppose ending current restrictions on sending money to Cuba for Cuban Americans?

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Return to pre-2003 remittance policy--Cuban Americans	FAVOR	65%
	OPPOSE	35%

Would you favor or oppose ending current restrictions on sending money to Cuba for Cuban Americans? by three age groups

		age categories		
		18-44	45-64	65 and older
Return to pre-2003 remittance policy--Cuban Americans	FAVOR	70%	64%	55%
	OPPOSE	30%	36%	45%

Would you favor or oppose ending current restrictions on sending money to Cuba for Cuban Americans? by year left Cuba

		Three groups by year left Cuba			
		before 1980	1980-1998	after 1998	born in the US or a country other than Cuba
Return to pre-2003 remittance policy--Cuban Americans	FAVOR	50%	68%	78%	58%
	OPPOSE	50%	32%	22%	42%

Would you favor or oppose ending current restrictions on sending money to Cuba for Cuban Americans? by whether registered to vote

		registered to vote	
		not registered to vote	registered to vote
Return to pre-2003 remittance policy--Cuban Americans	FAVOR	69%	54%
	OPPOSE	31%	46%

Would you favor or oppose ending current restrictions on travel to Cuba for Cuban Americans?

Would you favor or oppose ending current restrictions on travel to Cuba for Cuban Americans?

Return to pre-2003 travel policy--Cuban Americans	FAVOR	66%
	OPPOSE	34%

Would you favor or oppose ending current restrictions on travel to Cuba for Cuban Americans? by three age groups

		age categories		
		18-44	45-64	65 and older
Return to pre-2003 travel policy--Cuban Americans	FAVOR	71%	64%	53%
	OPPOSE	29%	36%	47%

Would you favor or oppose ending current restrictions on travel to Cuba for Cuban Americans? by year left Cuba

		Three groups by year left Cuba			
		before 1980	1980-1998	after 1998	born in the US or a country other than Cuba
Return to pre-2003 travel policy--Cuban Americans	FAVOR	48%	68%	78%	62%
	OPPOSE	52%	32%	22%	38%

Would you favor or oppose ending current restrictions on travel to Cuba for Cuban Americans? by whether registered to vote

		registered to vote	
		not registered to vote	registered to vote
Return to pre-2003 travel policy--Cuban Americans	FAVOR	63%	56%
	OPPOSE	37%	44%

What about for all Americans? Would you favor or oppose ending current restrictions on travel to Cuba for all Americans?

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Return to pre-2003 travel policy--all Americans	FAVOR	67%
	OPPOSE	33%

What about for all Americans? Would you favor or oppose ending current restrictions on travel to Cuba for all Americans? by three age groups

		age categories		
		18-44	45-64	65 and older
Return to pre-2003 travel policy--all Americans	FAVOR	75%	64%	51%
	OPPOSE	25%	36%	49%

What about for all Americans? Would you favor or oppose ending current restrictions on travel to Cuba for all Americans? by year left Cuba

		Three groups by year left Cuba			
		before 1980	1980-1998	after 1998	born in the US or a country other than Cuba
Return to pre-2003 travel policy--all Americans	FAVOR	49%	67%	80%	67%
	OPPOSE	51%	33%	20%	33%

What about for all Americans? Would you favor or oppose ending current restrictions on travel to Cuba for all Americans? by whether registered to vote

		registered to vote	
		not registered to vote	registered to vote
Return to pre-2003 travel policy--all Americans	FAVOR	63%	58%
	OPPOSE	37%	42%

Overall, do you think the U.S. embargo of Cuba has worked very well, well, not very well, or not at all?

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Embargo of Cuba has worked how well	VERY WELL	9%
	WELL	12%
	NOT VERY WELL	23%
	NOT AT ALL	56%

Overall, do you think the U.S. embargo of Cuba has worked very well, well, not very well, or not at all? by three age groups

		age categories		
		18-44	45-64	65 and older
Embargo of Cuba has worked how well	VERY WELL	6%	10%	16%
	WELL	10%	13%	16%
	NOT VERY WELL	23%	23%	22%
	NOT AT ALL	61%	54%	46%

Overall, do you think the U.S. embargo of Cuba has worked very well, well, not very well, or not at all? by year left Cuba

		Three groups by year left Cuba			
		before 1980	1980-1998	after 1998	born in the US or a country other than Cuba
Embargo of Cuba has worked how well	VERY WELL	15%	11%	4%	6%
	WELL	17%	12%	4%	20%
	NOT VERY WELL	24%	18%	23%	29%
	NOT AT ALL	44%	59%	68%	45%

Overall, do you think the U.S. embargo of Cuba has worked very well, well, not very well, or not at all? by whether registered to vote

		registered to vote	
		not registered to vote	registered to vote
Embargo of Cuba has worked how well	VERY WELL	7%	13%
	WELL	15%	15%
	NOT VERY WELL	23%	23%
	NOT AT ALL	55%	49%

Do you favor or oppose continuing the U.S. embargo of Cuba?

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Continuing the U.S. embargo of Cuba	FAVOR	45%
	OPPOSE	55%

Do you favor or oppose continuing the U.S. embargo of Cuba? by three age groups

		age categories		
		18-44	45-64	65 and older
Continuing the U.S. embargo of Cuba	FAVOR	35%	47%	68%
	OPPOSE	65%	53%	32%

Do you favor or oppose continuing the U.S. embargo of Cuba? by year left Cuba

		Three groups by year left Cuba			
		before 1980	1980-1998	after 1998	born in the US or a country other than Cuba
Continuing the U.S. embargo of Cuba	FAVOR	65%	43%	29%	48%
	OPPOSE	35%	57%	71%	52%

Do you favor or oppose continuing the U.S. embargo of Cuba? by whether registered to vote

		registered to vote	
		not registered to vote	registered to vote
Continuing the U.S. embargo of Cuba	FAVOR	47%	56%
	OPPOSE	53%	44%

Do you favor or oppose the U.S. re-establishing diplomatic relations with Cuba?

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Re-establishing diplomatic relations with Cuba?	FAVOR	65%
	OPPOSE	35%

Do you favor or oppose the U.S. re-establishing diplomatic relations with Cuba? by three age groups

		age categories		
		18-44	45-64	65 and older
Re-establishing diplomatic relations with Cuba?	FAVOR	77%	60%	42%
	OPPOSE	23%	40%	58%

Do you favor or oppose the U.S. re-establishing diplomatic relations with Cuba? by year left Cuba

		Three groups by year left Cuba			
		before 1980	1980-1998	after 1998	born in the US or a country other than Cuba
Re-establishing diplomatic relations with Cuba?	FAVOR	45%	63%	80%	68%
	OPPOSE	55%	37%	20%	32%

Do you favor or oppose the U.S. re-establishing diplomatic relations with Cuba? by whether registered to vote

		registered to vote	
		not registered to vote	registered to vote
Re-establishing diplomatic relations with Cuba?	FAVOR	65%	56%
	OPPOSE	35%	44%

Should the U.S. government and the Cuban government engage in direct talks about migration and other critical questions?

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US/Cuba engage in direct talks	YES	79%
	NO	21%

Should the U.S. government and the Cuban government engage in direct talks about migration and other critical questions? by three age groups

		age categories		
		18-44	45-64	65 and older
US/Cuba engage in direct talks	YES	88%	74%	62%
	NO	12%	26%	38%

Should the U.S. government and the Cuban government engage in direct talks about migration and other critical questions? by year left Cuba

		Three groups by year left Cuba			
		before 1980	1980-1998	after 1998	born in the US or a country other than Cuba
US/Cuba engage in direct talks	YES	62%	80%	90%	80%
	NO	38%	20%	10%	20%

Should the U.S. government and the Cuban government engage in direct talks about migration and other critical questions? by whether registered to vote

		registered to vote	
		not registered to vote	registered to vote
US/Cuba engage in direct talks	YES	85%	72%
	NO	15%	28%

Are you a U.S. citizen?

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US citizen	YES	60%
	NO	40%

Are you a U.S. citizen? by three age groups

		age categories		
		18-44	45-64	65 and older
US citizen	YES	47%	65%	84%
	NO	53%	35%	16%

Are you a U.S. citizen? by year left Cuba

		Three groups by year left Cuba			
		before 1980	1980-1998	after 1998	born in the US or a country other than Cuba
US citizen	YES	94%	62%	14%	89%
	NO	6%	38%	86%	11%

Are you registered to vote?

Are you registered to vote?

registered to vote	not registered to vote	24%
	registered to vote	76%

Are you registered to vote? by three age groups

		age categories		
		18-44	45-64	65 and older
registered to vote	not registered to vote	28%	27%	13%
	registered to vote	72%	73%	87%

Are you registered to vote? by year left Cuba

		Three groups by year left Cuba			
		before 1980	1980-1998	after 1998	born in the US or a country other than Cuba
registered to vote	not registered to vote	5%	24%	68%	17%
	registered to vote	95%	76%	32%	83%

Are you registered as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or with some other party?

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political party	Republican	52%
	Independent	21%
	Democrat	27%

Are you registered as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or with some other party? by three age groups

		age categories		
		18-44	45-64	65 and older
political party	Republican	42%	50%	66%
	Independent	27%	21%	13%
	Democrat	30%	29%	21%

Are you registered as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or with some other party? by year left Cuba

		Three groups by year left Cuba			
		before 1980	1980-1998	after 1998	born in the US or a country other than Cuba
political party	Republican	63%	50%	38%	42%
	Independent	16%	21%	44%	24%
	Democrat	21%	30%	18%	35%

In the presidential election, did you vote for John McCain or Barack Obama, or did you not vote for either?

In the presidential election, did you vote for John McCain or Barack Obama, or did you not vote for either?

Presidential vote	McCain	62%
	Obama	38%

In the presidential election, did you vote for John McCain or Barack Obama, or did you not vote for either? by three age groups

		age categories		
		18-44	45-64	65 and older
Presidential vote	McCain	49%	56%	80%
	Obama	51%	44%	20%

In the presidential election, did you vote for John McCain or Barack Obama, or did you not vote for either? by year left Cuba

		Three groups by year left Cuba			
		before 1980	1980-1998	after 1998	born in the US or a country other than Cuba
Presidential vote	McCain	74%	56%	58%	49%
	Obama	26%	44%	42%	51%

In voting for the US Congress House of Representatives, did you vote for the republican or democrat in your district, or was the representative already chosen for your district?

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US congress vote	Republican candidate	72%
	Democratic candidate	28%

In voting for the US Congress House of Representatives, did you vote for the republican or democrat in your district, or was the representative already chosen for your district? by three age groups

		age categories		
		18-44	45-64	65 and older
US congress vote	Republican candidate	66%	68%	83%
	Democratic candidate	34%	32%	17%

In voting for the US Congress House of Representatives, did you vote for the republican or democrat in your district, or was the representative already chosen for your district? by year left Cuba

		Three groups by year left Cuba			
		before 1980	1980-1998	after 1998	born in the US or a country other than Cuba
US congress vote	Republican candidate	83%	65%	67%	62%
	Democratic candidate	17%	35%	33%	38%

Open-Ended Question Results

Factors predicting favor of continuing or ending the embargo

Evidence from final open-ended question in the survey: **What is the most important thing Barack Obama needs to do with regard to Cuba when he becomes president?**
Qué es lo más importante que Barack Obama necesita hacer con relación a Cuba, cuando se posesione en la presidencia?

A number of different codes were developed as responses were categorized. One dimension measuring what might be called engagement vs non-engagement was the most commonly stated position. 45% of respondents stated this. Of them, nearly 75% took the active engagement position. Respondents who want to continue the embargo were almost evenly split on this dimension, but those who want to end it were strongly (90% of them) pro-engagement.

		ending the embargo			
		continue the embargo		end the embargo	
1=start dialogue, start talking and see what happens, find a new way;		78	55%	159	90%
2: no change, keep things the same, Obama will not be able to do anything		63	45%	18	10%

Age and presidential vote also were strongly related to the embargo position.

		18-24	25-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80 and older
ending the embargo	continue the embargo	42%	34%	28%	42%	47%	54%	70%	74%
	end the embargo	58%	66%	72%	58%	53%	46%	30%	26%

		Presidential vote	
		McCain	Obama
ending the embargo	continue the embargo	73%	30%
	end the embargo	27%	70%

Full Questionnaire

[Q1] Hello, I'm _____ calling from Florida International University. We are conducting a study of issues important to the Cuban community in Miami-Dade County. Your household has been randomly selected for this confidential poll. Is anyone in your household of Cuban descent and 18 years or older who could answer my questions? [IF YES] Could I interview you? If this is not a good time we could call back to do the interview when it is more convenient. || Hola, Mi nombre es _____ le estoy llamando de la Universidad Internacional de la Florida. Estamos llevando a cabo un estudio sobre asuntos importantes para la comunidad cubana del condado de Miami-Dade. Su hogar ha sido seleccionado al azar para esta encuesta confidencial. Hay alguien en su hogar de descendencia cubana, de 18 años o mayor, que pudiera contestar mis preguntas? (IF YES) Podría entrevistarlos? Si este no es un buen momento, nosotros lo(a) podríamos llamar nuevamente para hacer la encuesta cuando sea mas conveniente para usted.

- 1 CONTINUE
- 2 NOT CUBAN
- 3 GO TO DISPOSITIONS

[Q2] This call may be monitored for quality control purposes. Over the past few years, people have been talking about the possibility of political changes bringing democracy in Cuba. When do you think that major political changes are likely to occur in Cuba? Would you say within one year, in two to five years, in six to ten years, over ten years, or never? || Esta llamada puede ser monitoreada para control de calidad. Aquí en los últimos años se ha hablado sobre la posibilidad de cambios políticos en Cuba. Cuándo cree usted que es probable que ocurran dichos cambios? Diría usted que en este año, de dos a cinco años, de seis a diez años, más de diez años, o nunca? [USE RESPONSE 6 ONLY IF PERSON INSISTS ON IT]

- 1 WITHIN ONE YEAR
- 2 IN TWO TO FIVE YEARS
- 3 IN SIX TO TEN YEARS
- 4 OVER TEN YEARS
- 5 NEVER
- 6 NEVER AS LONG AS A CASTRO IS IN CHARGE
- 7 DON'T KNOW
- 8 DON'T CARE/DON'T WANT TO RESPOND

[Q3] When Fidel Castro was replaced by Raul Castro as Cuba's president, how do you think that affected the possibility for real political change in Cuba? Do you think it made real change less likely to happen, more likely, or did it not make any difference? || Cuando Fidel Castro fue reemplazado por Raúl Castro como presidente de Cuba, como cree usted que esto afectó la posibilidad de un verdadero cambio político en Cuba? Usted cree que la posibilidad de un verdadero cambio sea posiblemente muy poco, o posiblemente mucho, o no habrá ninguno.

- 1 LESS LIKELY

- 2 MORE LIKELY
- 3 NO DIFFERENCE

[Q4A] Would you favor or oppose ending current restrictions on sending money to Cuba for Cuban Americans? || Estaría usted a favor o en contra, de terminar con las restricciones actuales de envíos de dinero a Cuba para los cubanos-americanos?

- 1 FAVOR
- 2 OPPOSE
- 3 DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

[Q4B] Would you favor or oppose ending current restrictions on travel to Cuba for Cuban Americans? || Estaría usted a favor o en contra, de terminar con las restricciones actuales de viaje a Cuba para los cubanos-americanos?

- 1 FAVOR
- 2 OPPOSE
- 3 DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

[Q5] What about for all Americans? Would you favor or oppose ending current restrictions on travel to Cuba for all Americans? || Estaría usted a favor o en contra, de terminar con las restricciones actuales de viajes a Cuba para todos los americanos?

- 1 FAVOR
- 2 OPPOSE
- 3 DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

[Q6] Overall, do you think the U.S. embargo of Cuba has worked very well, well, not very well, or not at all? || En términos generales, cree usted que el embargo norteamericano a Cuba ha dado muy buen resultado, buen resultado, no muy bueno, o ninguno en absoluto?

- 1 VERY WELL
- 2 WELL
- 3 NOT VERY WELL
- 4 NOT AT ALL
- 5 DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

[Q7] Do you favor or oppose continuing the U.S. embargo of Cuba? || Está usted a favor o en contra que continúe el embargo a Cuba?

- 1 FAVOR
- 2 OPPOSE
- 3 DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

[Q8] Do you favor or oppose the U.S. re-establishing diplomatic relations with Cuba? || Está usted a favor o en contra del restablecimiento de las relaciones diplomáticas entre los Estados Unidos y Cuba?

- 1 FAVOR
- 2 OPPOSE
- 3 DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

[Q9] Should the U.S. government and the Cuban government engage in direct talks about migration and other critical questions? || Debería el gobierno de los Estados Unidos y el de Cuba establecer conversaciones directas sobre inmigración y otros asuntos críticos?

- 1 YES
- 2 NO
- 3 DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

[Q10] Now, I want to ask you a few questions about yourself. Were you born in Cuba, the Miami area, elsewhere in the U.S., or in some other country? || Ahora, quisiera hacerle algunas preguntas sobre usted. Nació usted en Cuba, en el área de Miami, en alguna otra parte de Estados Unidos, o en algún otro país?

- 1 CUBA
- 2 MIAMI AREA
- 3 ELSEWHERE IN U.S.
- 4 OTHER COUNTRY, SPECIFY [ASK WHICH COUNTRY]
- 5 DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

[Q11] Were your parents born in Cuba, the U.S. or somewhere else? || Nacieron sus padres en Cuba, en Estados Unidos, o en algún otro país?

- 1 CUBA
- 2 U.S.
- 3 ONE PARENT BORN IN CUBA, ONE ELSEWHERE
- 4 SOMEWHERE ELSE
- 5 DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

[Q12] In what year did you come to South Florida? || En qué año vino usted al sur de la Florida? [9999 = NO ANSWER]

[numeric, range: 0-999]

[Q13] Could you please tell me how old you are? || Por favor, Podría decirme, cuántos años tiene usted? [999=DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE]

[numeric, range: 0-999]

[Q14] What is the highest grade of school you have completed? ||Cuál es el grado más alto de educación que usted ha completado?

- 1 GRADE SCHOOL (1-8)
- 2 SOME HIGH SCHOOL (9-11)
- 3 HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE
- 4 SOME COLLEGE (INCLUDES ASSOCIATE DEGREE)
- 5 TECHNICAL OR VOCATIONAL SCHOOL
- 6 COLLEGE GRADUATE (FOUR YEAR DEGREE ONLY)
- 7 COMPLETED GRADUATE DEGREE (MA, PHD, MD)
- 8 DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

[Q15] What is your zip code? ||Cuál es su código postal? [39999 = DID NOT SAY OR NO RESPONSE]

[numeric, range: 0-999]

[Q16] Now, we don't want your exact income, but could you tell me if your total annual household income -- from all members of your household - before taxes is... || Ahora, no queremos saber su ingreso exacto, pero podría decirme si el total del ingreso anual de todos los miembros de su hogar,- antes de descontar impuestos -, es de... [CHOOSE LOWER: FOR EXAMPLE, IF RESPONDENT SAYS \$30,000, CHOOSE 2 INSTEAD OF 3;\$50,000, CHOOSE 3 INSTEAD OF 4]

- 1 under \$20,000?
- 2 \$20,000 - \$30,000?
- 3 \$30,000 - \$50,000?
- 4 \$50,000 - \$70,000?
- 5 more than \$70,000?
- 6 DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

[Q17] Are you a U.S. citizen? || Es usted ciudadano norteamericano?

- 1 YES
- 2 NO
- 3 DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

[Q18] Are you registered to vote? || Está usted inscrito para votar?

- 1 YES
- 2 NO
- 3 DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

[Q19] Are you registered as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or with some other party? || Está usted inscrito como republicano, demócrata, independiente o con algún otro partido?

- 1 REPUBLICAN
- 2 DEMOCRAT
- 3 INDEPENDENT
- 4 OTHER, SPECIFY
- 5 DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

[Q20] In the presidential election, did you vote for John McCain or Barack Obama, or did you not vote for either? || Durante las elecciones presidenciales, usted votó por John McCain o por Barack Obama, o usted no votó por ninguno de los dos?

- 1 MCCAIN
- 2 OBAMA
- 3 DID NOT VOTE
- 4 THIRD PARTY CANDIDATE
- 5 DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

[Q21] What were the most important reasons why you voted for McCain?

[INTERVIEWER DO NOT READ, CHECK ALL THAT APPLY] || Cuáles fueron las razones más importantes por las cuales usted votó por McCain?

[multiple response]

- 1 EXPERIENCE MORE THAN OBAMA
- 2 LESS LIBERAL THAN OBAMA
- 3 POSITION ON CUBA
- 4 WON'T RAISE TAXES
- 5 DON'T TRUST, LIKE, ETC OBAMA
- 6 OBAMA'S NAME OR RACE
- 7 OTHER, SPECIFY
- 8 DON'T KNOW, NO RESPONSE

[Q22] What were the most important reasons why you voted for Obama? || Cuáles fueron las razones más importantes por las cuales usted votó por Obama?

[INTERVIEWER DO NOT READ, CHECK ALL THAT APPLY]

[multiple response]

- 1 TIME FOR A CHANGE FROM BUSH POLICIES
- 2 LESS CONSERVATIVE THAN MCCAIN
- 3 POSITION ON CUBA
- 4 POSITION ON THE US ECONOMY
- 5 PALIN VP CHOICE
- 6 PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF OBAMA
- 7 OTHER, SPECIFY
- 8 DON'T KNOW, NO RESPONSE

[Q23] In voting for the US Congress House of Representatives, did you vote for the republican or democrat in your district, or was the representative already chosen for your district? || Cuando votó por el Congreso de Estados Unidos, votó usted por los republicanos o demócratas en su distrito, o el representante estaba ya escogido en su distrito?

- 1 REPUBLICAN
- 2 DEMOCRAT
- 3 DID NOT VOTE/REP ALREADY CHOSEN
- 4 DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE

[Q24] What is the most important thing Barack Obama needs to do with regard to Cuba when he becomes president? || Qué es lo más importante que Barack Obama necesita hacer con relación a Cuba, cuando se posesione en la presidencia?

[open-end]

[Q25] Do you have any comments you would like me to write down? || Tiene usted algún comentario adicional que le gustaría que yo escribiera?

- 1 YES

2 NO

[Q26] COMMENT

[open-end]

[Q27] [INTERVIEWER RECORD GENDER]

1 MALE

2 FEMALE

Appendix

Full Results of the December 1, 2008 Florida International university, The Brookings Institution, and The Cuba Study Group Poll:

<http://www.fiu.edu/~ipor/cuba-t/Cuba-T.pdf>

Press Coverage of December, 2008 Poll on Cuban American Opinion:

Associated Press writers, "Poll: Miami's Cuban Americans Favor End to Embargo." *Associated Press*. December 2, 2008.

BBC Writers, "Miami Cubans 'Oppose U.S. Embargo.'" *BBC*. December 3, 2008.

Tom Brown, "Cuban-American Support for Embargo Fading: Poll." *Reuters*. December 3, 2008.

Brian Wagner, "Miami Cuban Americans Shifting Opinion on Cuba Embargo." *VOA News*. December 3, 2008.

Liza Gross. "Miami-Dade Poll Sees Shift in Opinion Over Cuba Embargo." *The Miami Herald*. December 4, 2008.

David Adams, "Most Cuban Americans Favor Ending Embargo, Poll Shows." *St. Petersburg Times*. December 4, 2008.