The 2018 FIU Cuba Poll:
How Cuban-Americans in Miami View U.S. Policies toward Cuba
The 2018 Cuba Poll

• Telephone surveys (cell phone and landline) of 1,001 randomly selected Cuban-American residents of Miami-Dade County.

• Interviews completed Nov. 14-Dec. 1 2018.

• Margin of error is plus or minus 3.1%.

• 13th in the series of Cuba Polls conducted since 1991.

• Results weighted to be representative of the Cuban-American community of Miami-Dade County as a whole.

Sponsors:
• Steven J. Green School of International and Public Affairs
• Office of the President
• Cuban Research Institute
• Kimberly Green Latin American and Caribbean Center
General Takeaways from the 2018 FIU Cuba Poll

• The community is divided on how to deal with Cuba

• Some want to return to a more isolationist stance by supporting the embargo—particularly migrants coming before 1980

• A majority would like to continue some of the engagement policies initiated by President Obama

• The Cuban-American community overwhelmingly supported Republican candidates in the midterm elections
Characteristics of the divisions

- The divisions on attitudes about how to deal with Cuba are established by:
  - Time of departure from Cuba
  - Immigrant generations (second and third generation Cuban-Americans)
  - Political ideology/party

- Political divisions are also guided by:
  - Age
  - Time of departure from Cuba
Brief Review of Findings

- Economic Policies
  - Embargo
  - Investment in Cuba

- Other Engagement and Immigration Policies
  - Unrestricted Travel for All Americans
  - People-to-People programs
  - Diplomatic Relations
  - Wet foot/dry foot policy
  - Remittances

- Political behavior during midterm elections
  - Who received support
  - What issues motivated Cuban-American voters
Structure of Presentation

Each variable is presented to clarify divisions in community

1. Total responses
2. Migration wave and birth outside of Cuba (second and third generations)
3. Age
4. Voter Registration
5. Pre-1980 vs. Other Cuban-Americans
6. Other significant correlations
The Embargo
How Well Has the Embargo Worked?

- Worked Very Well: 5%
- Worked Well: 12%
- Not Very Well: 26%
- Worked Not At All: 57%

![Pie chart showing the distribution of responses to the embargo's effectiveness.](image-url)
Has Embargo Worked? (by age)

- 18-39: 54% Worked Very Well, 59% Worked Well, 55% Not Very Well, 65% Not at All
- 40-59: 59% Worked Very Well, 55% Worked Well, 55% Not Very Well, 65% Not at All
- 60-75: 55% Worked Very Well, 55% Worked Well, 55% Not Very Well, 65% Not at All
- 76 and Older: 65% Worked Very Well, 65% Worked Well, 65% Not Very Well, 65% Not at All
Favor or Oppose Continuation of Embargo?

- **Continue Embargo**: 51% Favor, 45% Oppose
- **End Embargo**: 49% Favor, 44% Oppose
- **Don’t Know**: 11%

**Legend**:
- Blue: Favor Continuation
- Red: Oppose Continuation
Favor or Oppose Continuation of Embargo? (by migration/birth)

- Before 1980: 68% Favor, 32% Oppose
- 1980 to 1994: 58% Favor, 42% Oppose
- 1995 to 2018: 60% Favor, 40% Oppose
- Not born in Cuba: 60% Favor, 40% Oppose

Colors: Favor Continuation (Blue), Oppose Continuation (Red)
Favor or Oppose Continuation of Embargo? (by age)

- 18-39: 65% Favor Continuation, 35% Oppose Continuation
- 40-59: 51% Favor Continuation, 49% Oppose Continuation
- 60-75: 40% Favor Continuation, 60% Oppose Continuation
- 76 and Older: 27% Favor Continuation, 73% Oppose Continuation
Support for the Embargo (by voter registration)

Registered: 52% Favor Continuation, 48% Oppose Continuation
Not Registered: 47% Favor Continuation, 53% Oppose Continuation
Favor or Oppose Continuation of Embargo? (by 1959-1979 vs Others)

- Other C-A:
  - 44% Favor Continuation
  - 56% Oppose Continuation

- 1959-1979 migrants:
  - 68% Favor Continuation
  - 32% Oppose Continuation
Support for Embargo (by have traveled to Cuba)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Favor Continuation</th>
<th>Oppose Continuation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes Have Traveled</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Have not Traveled</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Support for Embargo (by Republican/Other)

- Favor Continuation: 36% (Dem/Ind), 69% (Republican)
- Oppose Continuation: 64% (Dem/Ind), 31% (Republican)
Opinions on the maintenance of the embargo over time (1997-2018)

- **1997**: 78% stop embargo, 22% continue embargo
- **2000**: 63% stop embargo, 37% continue embargo
- **2004**: 65% stop embargo, 35% continue embargo
- **2007**: 58% stop embargo, 42% continue embargo
- **2008**: 45% stop embargo, 55% continue embargo
- **2011**: 56% stop embargo, 44% continue embargo
- **2014**: 48% stop embargo, 52% continue embargo
- **2016**: 37% stop embargo, 63% continue embargo
- **2018**: 51% stop embargo, 49% continue embargo

Legend:
- Blue: stop embargo
- Red: continue embargo
So What Happened Between 2016 and 2018 on this variable?
Support for Embargo
(2016 and 2018 Polls by 1959-1979 and Other Cuban American cohorts)

- Other C-A 1959-1979: 68.4%
- Other C-A 2016 Cuba Poll Favor Continuation: 45.2%
- Other C-A 2018 Cuba Poll Favor Continuation: 44.5%
- 1959-1979 2016 Cuba Poll Favor Continuation: 57.2%
Other Economic Relationships
Should U.S. companies doing business with Cuba expand, maintain or stop their activities?

- Expanded: 46%
- Kept the Same: 22%
- Stopped: 32%
Should U.S. companies doing business with Cuba expand, maintain or stop their activities? (by migration/birth)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Expanded</th>
<th>Kept the Same</th>
<th>Stopped</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before 1980</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980 to 1994</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995 to 2018</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not born in Cuba</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Should U.S. companies doing business with Cuba expand, maintain or stop their activities? (by Age)

- 18-39: 65% Expanded, 18% Kept the Same, 16% Stopped
- 40-59: 47% Expanded, 23% Kept the Same, 26% Stopped
- 60-75: 38% Expanded, 33% Kept the Same, 29% Stopped
- 76 and Older: 16% Expanded, 45% Kept the Same, 39% Stopped

Florida International University
Steven J. Green School of International & Public Affairs
Should U.S. companies doing business with Cuba expand, maintain or stop their activities? (By Registered to Vote)

- **45%** Expanded
- **21%** Kept the Same
- **19%** Stopped

**Registered**
- 45%
- 21%
- 35%

**Not Registered**
- 51%
- 30%
- 19%
Should U.S. companies doing business with Cuba expand, maintain or stop their activities? (by 1959-1979 vs Others)

- Expanded: 54% Other C-A, 24% 1959-1979 Migrants
- Kept the Same: 22% Other C-A, 21% 1959-1979 Migrants
- Stopped: 24% Other C-A, 54% 1959-1979 Migrants
Should people living in U.S. be allowed to invest in Cuban businesses?

- Allow Investments: 50%
- Do Not Allow: 50%
Should people living in U.S. be allowed to invest in Cuban businesses? (by migration/birth)

- Before 1980: 29% Yes, 71% No
- 1980 to 1994: 37% Yes, 63% No
- 1995 to 2018: 59% Yes, 41% No
- Not born in Cuba: 69% Yes, 31% No
Other Policies
Support for the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations

Favor: 63%
Oppose: 37%

Yes: 63%
No: 37%
Support for the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations (by migration/birth)

Before 1980: 41% Yes, 59% No
1980 to 1994: 55% Yes, 45% No
1995 to 2018: 75% Yes, 25% No
Not born in Cuba: 77% Yes, 23% No
Support for the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations (by age)

- **18-39**: 83% Yes, 17% No
- **40-59**: 66% Yes, 34% No
- **60-75**: 55% Yes, 45% No
- **76 and Older**: 31% Yes, 69% No
Support for the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations (by voter registration)

Support
- Registered: 61%
- Not Registered: 77%

Oppose
- Registered: 39%
- Not Registered: 23%

Registered | Not Registered
Support for the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations (by 1959-1979 vs Others)

- Support: 71% Yes, 41% Other C-A, 29% 1959-1979 migrants
- Opposition: 59% No
Support for the Termination of the Wet Foot/Dry Foot policy

- Support: 52%
- Oppose: 41%
- Unsure: 8%
Support for the Termination of the Wet Foot/Dry Foot policy (by migration/birth)

- **Before 1980**: 64% Agree, 7% Disagree, 9% Unsure
- **1980 to 1994**: 49% Agree, 9% Disagree, 9% Unsure
- **1995 to 2018**: 51% Agree, 9% Disagree, 9% Unsure
- **Not born in Cuba**: 55% Agree, 6% Disagree, 9% Unsure
Support for the Termination of the Wet Foot/Dry Foot policy (by voter registration)

- **Agree**
  - Registered: 55%
  - Not Registered: 34%
- **Disagree**
  - Registered: 37%
  - Not Registered: 57%
- **Unsure**
  - Registered: 8%
  - Not Registered: 8%
Support for the Termination of the Wet Foot/Dry Foot policy (by 1959-1979 vs Others)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Unsure</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other C-A</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959-179 migrants</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Support for Unrestricted Travel for All Americans

- Allow Travel: 57%
- Do Not Allow: 43%

Allow
Do not Allow
Support for Unrestricted Travel for All Americans (by migration/birth)

- Before 1980: 37% Allow, 63% Do not Allow
- 1980 to 1994: 49% Allow, 51% Do not Allow
- 1995 to 2018: 68% Allow, 32% Do not Allow
- Not born in Cuba: 69% Allow, 31% Do not Allow
Support for Unrestricted Travel by All Americans (by age)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Allow</th>
<th>Do not Allow</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-39</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-59</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-75</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76 and Older</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend: 
- **Blue**: Allow 
- **Red**: Do not Allow
Support for People-to-People Programs

- Strongly Favor: 44.0%
- Mostly Favor: 20%
- Mostly Oppose: 10%
- Strongly Oppose: 26%
Support for People-to-People Programs (by voter registration)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Registered</th>
<th>Not Registered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Favor</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly Favor</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly Oppose</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Oppose</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Support for People-to-People Programs (by 1959-1979 vs Others)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Other C-A</th>
<th>1959-1979 migrant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Favor</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly Favor</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly Oppose</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Oppose</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other C-A = 1959-1979 migrant
Have you traveled to Cuba?

- Yes Have Traveled: 57%
- No Have not Traveled: 43%

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Have Traveled</th>
<th>43%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Have Not Traveled</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Have you traveled to Cuba?
(By Year Left)

- Before 1980: 68% Yes Have Traveled, 32% No Have not Traveled
- 1980 to 1994: 51% Yes Have Traveled, 49% No Have not Traveled
- 1995 to 2018: 75% Yes Have Traveled, 25% No Have not Traveled
- Not born in Cuba: 77% Yes Have Traveled, 23% No Have not Traveled
Send remittances to family or friends

- Send Money: 40%
- Send Other Items: 36%
- Yes: 60%
- No: 40%
Send remittances to family or friends (by migration/birth)

- Before 1980: 26% Yes, 74% No
- 1980 to 1994: 44% Yes, 56% No
- 1995 to 2018: 28% Yes, 72% No
- Not born in Cuba: 26% Yes, 74% No
Politics
Citizens

- Citizens: 88%
- Registered voters (of Citizens): 95%
- Midterm Voters (of Registered Voters): 87%

Yes 12%
No 88%
Citizens (by migration/birth)

- Before 1980: 98%, 2%
- 1980 to 1994: 89%, 11%
- 1995 to 2018: 65%, 35%
- Not born in Cuba: 96%, 4%

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Registered Voters
(of citizens by party registration)

- Republican: 54%
- Democrat: 19%
- Independent: 26%
- Other: 1%

The pie chart visually represents the distribution of party affiliations among registered voters.
Party Affiliation of Registered Voters (by migration/birth)

- Republican: 72%
- Democrat: 11% (Before 1980), 10% (1980 to 1994), 25% (1995 to 2018), 38% (Not born in Cuba)
- No Party Affiliation: 17% (Before 1980), 25% (1980 to 1994), 25% (1995 to 2018), 38% (Not born in Cuba)
- Other: 1% (Before 1980), 1% (1980 to 1994), 2% (1995 to 2018), 1% (Not born in Cuba)
Party Registration (by age)

- 18-39: 35% Republican, 23% Democrat, 40% No Party Affiliation
- 40-59: 53% Republican, 21% Democrat, 24% No Party Affiliation
- 60-75: 61% Republican, 20% Democrat, 19% No Party Affiliation
- 76 and Older: 76% Republican, 7% Democrat, 17% No Party Affiliation
Party Registration (by 1959-1979 vs Others)

- Republican: 46% Other C-A, 72% 1959-1979 migrant
- Democrat: 22% Other C-A, 11% 1959-1979 migrant
- No Party Affiliation: 30% Other C-A, 17% 1959-1979 migrant
Political Party Registration Over Time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rep</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Ind</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2018</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Steven J. Green School of International & Public Affairs, Florida International University
Midterm Vote: Senator

Vote for Senator (by migration/birth)


- Rick Scott
- Bill Nelson
- Other

82% 18% 50%
76% 22% 50%
69% 31% 50%
1% 22% 31%
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Donna Shalala</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria Elvira Salazar</td>
<td>34.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Barzee Flores</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mario Díaz-Balart</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlos Curbelo</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debbie Mucarsel-Powell</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Republican</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Democrat</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What Issue Motivates Vote for a Candidate? (entire sample)

- Health care: 29.2%
- The economy and jobs: 46.7%
- Gun control: 23.7%
- Candidate’s position on Cuba: 8.0%
- Taxes and spending: 16.7%
- Immigration: 20.4%
- Foreign policy: 9.7%
- Terrorism: 12.5%
- Just voted for the...: 13.7%
- Something else: 9.1%
Motivating Issues (by party)

- Health Care: 44.3% Republican, 43.5% Democrat, 15.6% Independent
- Economy and Jobs: 54.5% Republican, 43.5% Democrat, 11.4% Independent
- Gun Control: 40.9% Republican, 11.4% Democrat, 22.0% Independent
- Candidate’s...: 11.4% Republican, 22.0% Democrat, 23.5% Independent
- Taxes and Spending: 11.4% Republican, 22.0% Democrat, 13.0% Independent
- Immigration: 23.5% Republican, 14.9% Democrat, 15.6% Independent
- Foreign Policy: 13.0% Republican, 14.9% Democrat, 15.6% Independent
- Terrorism: 14.9% Republican, 15.6% Democrat, 15.6% Independent
- Just voted for...: 15.6% Republican, 15.6% Democrat, 15.6% Independent
Conclusions:
Hay Cubanos y Hay Cubanos

- The community is divided along specific demographic and ideological dimensions about how to deal with Cuba.

- A strong majority of most recent arrivals (from 1995 to the present) as well as second and third generation Cuban-Americans support policies of engagement towards Cuba.

- The pre-1980 migrants have retrenched to a more isolationist attitude towards U.S./Cuba relations.

- The Cuban-American vote remains dominantly Republican in its behavior even as Independent and Democratic registrants account for almost 50% of the community.