Opinions of Puerto Rican Voters in Florida

May 2016
A survey of 701 likely November 2016 general election Puerto Rican voters registered and living in Florida was conducted by telephone using professional interviewers. Nearly half (49%) of all interviews were conducted via cell phone and calls were completed May 11-17, 2016. Interviews were conducted in both English and Puerto Rican Spanish.

The margin of error for the sample as a whole is plus or minus 3.7 percentage points at the 95% level of confidence. The margin of error for subgroups varies and is higher.
LAY OF THE LAND
Ethnic and Language Landscape

Key Demographic Breakdown (weighted to November Puerto Rican turnout in FL):

- 42% men / 58% women
- Party registration: 50% Democrat / 18% Republican / 31% NPA / 1% Other

Region Breakdown:

- 58% Orlando media market
- 19% Tampa media market
- 15% Miami media market

Language breakdown:

- 35% conducted the interview in Spanish
- 54% of seniors age 65+ in Spanish
- 65% conducted the interview in English
- 92% of millennials age 18-34 in English
Among Florida Puerto Ricans, Democrats hold 30+ point advantages in registration and self-identification.

Younger Puerto Ricans, Spanish-speakers, and women more strongly identify as Democrats.
Democrats have a strong 35-point advantage on a generic ballot for Congress.

As with party self-id, Democrats hold stronger margins among women and younger voters. Non-college grads favor a generic Dem by net 10 points more than than college educated voters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Democratic</th>
<th>Republican</th>
<th>Persuadable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Statewide</strong></td>
<td>54</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Men</strong></td>
<td>47</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Women</strong></td>
<td>60</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>&lt;65</strong></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>65+</strong></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-College</strong></td>
<td>56</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>College Grad</strong></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>26</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

When thinking about elections for U.S. Congress, are you more likely to vote for a Democratic candidate or a Republican candidate?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>DEM – REP</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Statewide</td>
<td>+35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>+20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>+47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;65</td>
<td>+38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>+27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-College</td>
<td>+40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Grad</td>
<td>+30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Democrats begin with more crossover vote and hold partisan leads among moderates and Independents.

Democrats even lead by +7 points with Puerto Rican conservatives in Florida.

*When thinking about elections for U.S. Congress, are you more likely to vote for a Democratic candidate or a Republican candidate?*
Clinton is more popular than Sanders among Puerto Ricans statewide.

Each Democratic figure is also liked by a majority of the persuadable voters, who don’t have a generic vote preference.

**POPULARITY OF DEMOCRATIC FIGURES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Favorable</th>
<th>Unfavorable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barack Obama</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillary Clinton</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats in Congress</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernie Sanders</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Popularity among Persuadables:
- Obama: +45 fav
- Clinton: +18 fav
- Dems in Congress: +18 fav
- Sanders: +27 fav
Meanwhile, Republicans are under water in popularity and Donald Trump is toxic.

Trump has a 73% “very unfavorable” rating, and his numbers are just as terrible among persuadable Puerto Rican voters.

### Popularity of Republican Figures

**FAV – UNFAV**

- Marco Rubio: -8
- Rick Scott: -8
- Ted Cruz: -20
- Republicans in Congress: -27
- Donald Trump: -66

**Popularity among Persuadable Voters:**

- Rubio: +1 fav
- Scott: +4 fav
- Cruz: -4 fav
- GOP in Congress: -1 fav
- Trump: -62 fav
THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES
Hillary has a roughly 2:1 favorable image, with more Puerto Ricans rating her “very favorable” than the total who say “unfavorable.”

Hillary is strongest with Democratic partisans, as well as older women, Spanish-speaking Puerto Ricans, and those who reside in Orange County.

**HILLARY CLINTON POPULARITY**

- **Very Fav**: 64
- **Somewhat Fav**: 41
- **Very Unfav**: 31
- **Somewhat Unfav**: 23

**Puerto Rican Subgroups Most Favorable to Clinton**

- Dems age 50+ (89% fav; 73% very fav)
- Liberal Dems (84% fav; 65% very fav)
- Mod/Conservative Dems (85% fav; 57% very fav)
- Women age 50+ (73% fav; 57% very fav)
- Spanish Interviews (75% fav; 56% very fav)
- Orange County (70% fav; 50% very fav)
Donald Trump’s ratings are anemic across the board

Trump has terrible numbers in every subgroup, particularly Democratic and women’s groups. Trump even boasts a 64% unfavorable rating from Puerto Rican registered Republicans.

**DONALD TRUMP POPULARITY**

- Very Fav
- Somewhat Fav
- Very Unfav
- Somewhat Unfav

**Puerto Rican Subgroups Most Unfavorable to Trump**

- Dem College Grad (93% unfav; 90% very unfav)
- Dems Women (94% unfav; 89% very unfav)
- Women age <50 (92% unfav; 85% very unfav)
- Spanish News (87% unfav; 83% very unfav)
- Mothers (89% unfav; 82% very unfav)
Clinton holds significant leads over Trump across the board, including a +67 point lead with Puerto Rican women in Florida.
Clinton has much more crossover appeal than Trump, as she even leads among registered Republican Puerto Ricans.

Clinton also leads by comfortable margins among voters registered as no party affiliation and who describe themselves as moderate.

If the November general election for President were held today, and the candidates were Hillary Clinton, a Democrat, and Donald Trump, a Republican, for whom would you vote?

- Clinton
- Trump
- Undecided

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Clinton</th>
<th>Trump</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Statewide</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Dems</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. GOP</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. NPA</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberals</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderates</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservatives</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CLINTON - TRUMP

+51  +72  +9  +45  +76  +54  +28
Slightly more voters opt for Trump in Tampa, but Clinton still holds a huge lead in that region.

Clinton does best with those voters who have migrated to Florida within the last ten years.
Clinton is strongest among Democrats, women, Spanish speakers, and those with a strong pride in their Puerto Rican heritage.

Trump trails in every subgroup other than those who identify as Republican, especially men. Trump keeps the margins closer with older men groups and those who listen to radio for their news source.

### Strongest Clinton Supporters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% point lead over Trump</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>+51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Democrats</td>
<td>+92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Grad Dems</td>
<td>+90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate/Conserve Dems</td>
<td>+84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watch Spanish News</td>
<td>+80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothers</td>
<td>+74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women Under 50</td>
<td>+73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong Sense of PR Pride</td>
<td>+62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange County</td>
<td>+60%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Strongest Trump Supporters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% point loss behind Clinton</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>-51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican Men</td>
<td>+52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-ID Republican</td>
<td>+33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio Source of News</td>
<td>- 21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR Heritage Secondary</td>
<td>- 22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men, no kids</td>
<td>- 22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men age 50+</td>
<td>- 23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Men</td>
<td>- 27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillsborough County</td>
<td>- 33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PUERTO RICAN STATUS
Nearly eight in 10 prefer making Puerto Rico the 51st state.

Independent, separate nation statuses are widely opposed – more so than the current status, which receives majority support.

Now, I am going to read you a list of proposals about Puerto Rico. After I read each one, favor or oppose that proposal.
Among Puerto Ricans, there’s strong support across partisan and Presidential lines for full statehood.

**Support by Presidential Vote:**
- Clinton: +65 favor
- Trump: +60 favor
- Und: +57 favor
While majorities of all subgroups support statehood, there is an educational divide with more non-college voters in support. Younger Puerto Ricans and men are also slightly stronger supporters.
Statehood support is slightly lower in the Miami media market, but there’s still a 3:1 margin among South Florida Puerto Ricans. Numbers are strong regardless of length of residency in the mainland U.S.
And when pitted against each other in a forced choice, two-thirds of voters choose the 51st State option.

And if you had to pick only one status option for Puerto Rico, which of the below proposals is your preference?

- Making Puerto Rico the 51st state, a full and equal part of the United States: 67%
- Continuing Puerto Rico with its present status as a territory, or Commonwealth, of the US: 19%
- Making Puerto Rico an independent nation separate from the United States with its own citizenship but with an arrangement of free association: 8%
- Making Puerto Rico an independent, separate nation with its own citizenship from the US: 4%
- [VOL] Don't know: 2%

If the United States Congress offered Puerto Rico statehood, would you support it?

- Yes: 82%
- No: 14%
While statehood is the top choice for almost every group, we find the current territory status well received in Miami, among unmarried women and with conservative Republicans.

A plurality of those who oppose statehood flock to keeping the current status. Few want a truly independent nation.

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- Making Puerto Rico an independent nation separate from the United States with its own citizenship but with an arrangement of free association: 8%
- Making Puerto Rico an independent, separate nation with its own citizenship from the United States: 4%

More likely to pick this:

- Dem/Ind <50: 72%
- Non-College: 71%
- Persuadables: 71%
- Orlando Market: 70%

- Miami Market: 25%
- Unmarried F: 24%
- Conserve GOP: 23%
- Oppose Statehood: 49%

- Ind. Age 50+: 20%
- Hillsborough Co: 17%
- Millenials: 13%
- Post-Grad: 13%

- Democratic Men: 8%
- GOP Women: 8%
- Radio for News: 7%
PUERTO RICO’S FISCAL CRISIS
A majority of Florida Puerto Ricans believe that the economic crisis is separate from the issue of statehood.

More than one-third think the statehood and money woes are connected.

*Which of the following statements comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right.*

- The economic, social and financial problems that face Puerto Ricans on the Island are separate from the issue of political status, and mostly due to poor governing by Puerto Rican politicians. [52%]
- The economic, social and financial problems that face Puerto Ricans on the Island will not improve unless the issue of political status is first resolved. [35%]
- [VOL] Both [7%]
Across gender, age, and language divides, a larger number of Puerto Ricans separate status from problems facing the island than connect the two.

Which of the following statements comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right.

- Problems are separate issue of Status
- Problems will not improve until status resolved

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SEPARATE ISSUE-STATUS RESOLVED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Statewide</td>
<td>+17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>+13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>+22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;65</td>
<td>+14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>+29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>+13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>+26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Majorities of Puerto Ricans across subgroups say that statehood status would not affect them and their families in Florida.

However, more than one-third of those interviewed in Spanish say statehood would make their lives better off.

If Puerto Rico became the 51st state of the United States, would you and your family in Florida be better off, worse off, or would it not make much of a difference either way?

- Better Off
- Worse Off
- Makes No Difference
Those in the I-4 corridor and who moved to Florida in the last 5 years are more likely to say that statehood would benefit their family.

If Puerto Rico became the 51st state of the United States, would you and your family in Florida be better off, worse off, or would it not make much of a difference either way?
While Puerto Ricans view the issues as separate and mostly blame Island leadership, they do say lacking statehood status hurts Puerto Rico’s ability to manage its finances.

This is more of a concern among younger voters, non-conservatives, and those who completed the survey in English.

Do you think the fact that Puerto Rico is not a state of the United States helps or hurts its ability to manage the financial crisis - or does it not make much difference either way?

Puerto Rican Subgroups % Helps / % Hurts

- Age <65 (16% helps / 54% hurts)
- Age 65+ (23% helps / 35% hurts)
- Liberal (13% helps / 55% hurts)
- Moderate (17% helps / 59% hurts)
- Conservative (21% helps / 38% hurts)
- English Interview (15% helps / 55% hurts)
- Spanish Interview (21% helps / 39% hurts)
STATEHOOD AND CLINTON
Puerto Rican voters say they’re more likely to vote for Hillary after hearing her statement, but this is largely her current supporters backing her positions.

Clinton’s stance is actually a net -9 point drag among undecided Puerto Ricans.

Hillary Clinton has not expressed a preference between statehood, commonwealth territory, or independence for the status for Puerto Rico. Rather she says that it is up to a majority of the residents of Puerto Rico to determine, by way of referendum, what status they want, and that if elected president she will support that determination. Hearing this information, does that make you more or less likely to support Hillary Clinton for President this November?
Generally, Puerto Ricans in Florida do not see Clinton’s lack of a concrete pro-statehood position as a negative.

However, a majority of the cranky Clinton supporters who see this as a wedge issue (22% of the survey), say her statement shows that Clinton does not really care about the issue of Puerto Rico statehood.

When it comes to Hillary Clinton's views on the status of Puerto Rico, which comes closer to your view:

Some people say that Clinton not expressing a preference on the status of the island means that she wants to act according to the will of the Puerto Rican people, and that she believes they should have the ultimate say.

Other people say that Clinton's failure to take a position on the status of the island means that she only cares about getting elected and, because Puerto Ricans on the Island cannot vote for president, she does not really care about the status issue.
Greater than three-fourths of Puerto Ricans in Florida say that a President’s plan to resolve the Puerto Rican debt crisis is extremely or very important.

This sentiment holds true across partisan and ideological divides.

Thinking about Puerto Rico’s current economic and financial conditions, how important is it to you that a presidential candidate provides a plan to resolve the Puerto Rican financial crisis? Do you find this issue extremely important, very important, somewhat important, or does it make no difference to you personally?
The top messages in support of statehood all address issues of fairness: military service without respect, paying Social Security and Medicare taxes without a vote, and leveling the playing field.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top Tier Statehood Messages</th>
<th>Statewide Total</th>
<th>Statehood Gain</th>
<th>Undecided Pres. Vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Ricans serve in the United States military at high rates and many have died in service. Puerto Ricans are willing to serve and sacrifice their lives for our country -- it is only right to give them the dignity and respect that comes with statehood.</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residents of Puerto Rico deserve a level playing field with the same legal rights and benefits as other United States citizens in the States. Since residents of the Island are subject to all federal laws and pay Social Security and Medicare taxes, it is only fair that we grant Puerto Rico statehood and level the playing field so they can vote and have representation in Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Even though residents of Puerto Rico pay Medicaid and Medicare taxes, they don't get the same level of benefits as residents living in the States. For example, the state of Oregon receives five times as much Medicaid funding from the federal government. We need to level the playing field so that low income United States citizens in Puerto Rico receive equal federal health care benefits as United States citizens in the States.</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Economic-only messages and those that highlight a lack of representation test lower and should not be used. These messages do not tell the story of unfairness in a way that our top messages do.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bottom Tier Statehood Messages</th>
<th>% Very Convincing</th>
<th>Statewide Total</th>
<th>Statehood Gain</th>
<th>Undecided Pres. Vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>People are leaving Puerto Rico because there are not enough good jobs that support families. Making Puerto Rico a state of the United States will help working families in Puerto Rico.</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rico’s economy is so poor that they owe seventy-two billion in debt. Making Puerto Rico a state of the United States would improve the Puerto Rican economy and give Puerto Rico more economic opportunities.</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Each state of the United States has elected representatives in Congress who can bring pressure in the legislative process to advocate for and help their states. Puerto Rico, in contrast, has no such elected representatives and therefore has no power to shape federal legislation that affects Puerto Rico. [SPLIT A]</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizens of each state of the United States can vote for president. But Puerto Ricans on the Island do not have a vote for President, and, therefore have almost no influence on the White House. [SPLIT B]</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are real concerns about English as the official language, but the intensity is lower than our top positives supporting statehood.

Interestingly, the biggest critics on the language debate are Independent Puerto Ricans, those who speak English, have lived in Florida their entire lives, or who view their Puerto Rican heritage as secondary.

If Puerto Rico became a state of the United States, English may be required to become an official language of Puerto Rico, and Puerto Rico would run the risk of losing some of its unique cultural identity.

### English Language Requirement by Key Subgroups

- **Overall:** 46% Not At All Convincing
  - Democrats: 41% Not At All Convincing
  - Republicans: 46% Not At All Convincing
  - Independents: 57% Not At All Convincing
  - English Interviews: 47% Not At All Convincing
  - Spanish Interviews: 43% Not At All Convincing
  - In FL Whole Life: 58% Not At All Convincing
  - Heritage Secondary: 56% Not At All Convincing
Support for statehood picks up net +5 points after messaging

Do you favor or oppose making Puerto Rico the 51st state, a full and equal part of the United States?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FAVOR</th>
<th>OPPOSE</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Net +5

FAVOR – OPPOSE

+63

+68
Conclusions

- Puerto Rican voters in Florida begin strongly behind Hillary Clinton, and are disgusted with Donald Trump. There are persuadable subgroups where other state and national Republican figures tread water in terms of popularity, but Trump remains toxic. The margins and turnout in the Puerto Rican community could help deliver Florida for Hillary Clinton’s campaign.

- Full statehood status for Puerto Rico is widely supported in this community. Florida Puerto Ricans clearly want to take action, but they don’t currently punish Clinton’s lack of a 100% pro-statehood stance as a weakness. There are undecided voters, however, who see this as a drag in her support (-9 points less likely to support Clinton upon hearing her language).

- When pushing pro-statehood messages, focus arguments on a fundamental lack of fairness. Three examples we tested – military service and sacrifice, paying into Social Security and Medicare without fair benefits and the lack of federal resources – all pack a persuasive punch.