

Puerto Rico Herald
Sample: 802 voters island-wide
Interviewing dates: November 12-19, 2019

PUERTO RICO ISLANDWIDE ~ FINAL TOPLINE RESULTS

0A. When Puerto Rico holds elections, would you say that you:

	Always <u>vote</u>	Almost <u>always</u>	Only vote <u>sometimes</u>	Rarely or <u>never vote</u>	(Not sure / <u>Refused</u>)
November 2019	79%	21	-	-	-

MOOD OF THE ELECTORATE

1. Overall, are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with how things are going in Puerto Rico at this time?

	Generally <u>satisfied</u>	Generally <u>dissatisfied</u>	(Not sure / <u>Refused</u>)
November 2019	15%	78	7

Would you say you are generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the way each of the following is going? **[IF SATISFIED / DISSATISFIED:** Is that extremely (satisfied/dissatisfied), or only somewhat?]

[RANDOMIZE]

	----Satisfied----			----Dissatisfied----			(Not sure / <u>Ref.</u>)
	<u>TOTAL</u>	Extr- <u>emely</u>	Some- <u>what</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	Some- <u>what</u>	Extr- <u>emely</u>	
2. The pace of hurricane recovery	28%	10	18	71	20	51	2
3. The economy and job opportunities	14%	4	10	82	19	63	3
4. The effectiveness of Puerto Rico's government	21%	6	15	74	18	56	4
5. The state of the government's finances	11%	3	8	82	14	68	7
6. The attention given to the status debate	19%	7	12	65	18	47	16
7. The fight against crime and drugs	9%	3	6	89	13	76	2
8. The fight against corruption	11%	4	7	86	11	75	3
9. The administration of the fiscal control board	16%	7	9	74	17	57	10
10. Work by federal government agencies, like FEMA, in Puerto Rico	33%	15	18	60	18	42	7

11. What do you think is the biggest issue facing Puerto Rico these days – the one that is most important for you and your family? **[RECORD VERBATIM]**

Corruption/Dishonesty	23%
Crime	17
Bad administration/Government	15
Economy/Poverty	10
Partisanship/Politics/Politicians	7
PR political status	5
Lack of jobs/Unemployment	5
Budget and fiscal spending	2
Drugs	2
Hurricane recovery/lack of aid	2
Education	1
Safety/Security	1
Healthcare	1
Lack of values	1
Low wages	1
Utilities-light and water	*
None-no issues	*
Other response	4
Don't know/Refused	1

12. Just thinking about the quality of life in Puerto Rico, with 10 representing the best it has been in the last 10 years and 1 being the worst it could possibly be, where do you think the quality of life is today?

		1										10 (NS/ Ref.)
	<u>MEAN</u>	<u>Worst</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>Best</u>	
November 2019	5.00	13%	4	7	10	26	12	13	9	1	3	2

13. Thinking more generally about conditions in Puerto Rico today, which of the following comes closest to your view: **[SAMPLE A: READ IN ORDER. SAMPLE B: READ IN REVERSE ORDER]**

	<u>Nov 2019</u>
I'm happy – things in Puerto Rico are going well enough for my family and me	7%
I'm optimistic – things aren't perfect, but Puerto Ricans are strong and will overcome together	46
I'm pessimistic – things aren't going well, and it doesn't feel like they're getting better	23
I'm angry – things are bad, and no one is doing anything to fix it	22

(Not sure / Refused) 2

14. Do you feel things in Puerto Rico are generally getting better, getting worse, or staying about the same?

Getting better	25%
Getting worse	28
Staying the same	43
(Not sure / Refused)	4

[IF GETTING WORSE OR STAYING THE SAME IN Q14]

15. Do you think improving things in Puerto Rico will require minor changes or major changes?

Minor changes	7%
Major changes	91
(Not sure / Refused)	2

I am going to mention some financial issues that are a burden for many people. Please tell me if each one is a major burden for you and your family, a minor burden, not much of a burden, or not a burden at all. **[RANDOMIZE]**

	---Burden---		---Not a burden---		(Not sure / Ref.)
	<u>Major</u>	<u>Minor</u>	<u>Not much</u>	<u>Not at all</u>	
16. Buying groceries	56%	15	9	19	1
17. Health care expenses	58%	12	10	18	2
18. Paying monthly utility bills	67%	14	6	11	3
19. Paying taxes	56%	15	6	19	4
20. Saving for retirement	62%	9	5	19	4
21. The cost of housing, meaning rent or mortgage payments	52%	11	9	25	3

APPROVAL AND FAVORABILITY

22. Do you approve or disapprove of the job Wanda Vazquez Garced is doing as Governor? **[IF APPROVE / DISAPPROVE: Is that strongly (approve/disapprove), or only somewhat?]**

TOTAL APPROVE	70%
TOTAL DISAPPROVE	21
Strongly approve	33%
Somewhat approve	37
Somewhat disapprove	8
Strongly disapprove	13
(Not sure / Refused)	9

Do you approve or disapprove of the job Wanda Vazquez Garced is doing on each of the following issues? **[IF APPROVE / DISAPPROVE: Is that strongly (approve/disapprove), or only somewhat?]** **[RANDOMIZE]**

	-----Approve-----			-----Disapprove-----			(Not sure / Ref.)
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>what</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>what</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	
23. Healthcare	49%	22	27	41	17	24	10

		-----Approve-----			-----Disapprove-----			(Not sure / Ref.)
		TOTAL	Strongly	Some- what	TOTAL	Some- what	Strongly	
24.	Jobs and the economy	39%	14	25	51	19	32	11
25.	Crime	36%	15	21	58	15	43	6
26.	Political corruption	34%	17	17	60	10	50	6
27.	Puerto Rico's political status	37%	17	20	49	13	36	13

I'm going to read you the names of some political figures and groups. After each one, please tell me whether you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of that person. If you've never heard of someone, please just say so. [IF FAVORABLE/UNFAVORABLE: Is that strongly or only somewhat (favorable/unfavorable)?] [RANDOMIZE]

		-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(Not sure / Ref.)		
		TOTAL	Strongl y	Some- what	TOTAL	Some- what	Strongl y	Never heard of		
28.	Ricky Rosselló	November 2019	11%	5	6	81	8	73	3	5
29.	Jenniffer Gonzalez	November 2019	54%	25	29	39	11	28	2	5
30.	Thomas Rivera Schatz	November 2019	27%	12	15	66	11	55	2	5
31.	David Bernier	November 2019	62%	35	27	20	9	11	7	10
32.	Carmen Yulín Cruz	November 2019	31%	12	19	60	12	48	2	6
33.	Roberto Prats	November 2019	30%	6	24	45	14	31	13	13
34.	Eduardo Bhatia	November 2019	47%	18	29	43	15	28	3	7
35.	Pedro Pierluisi	November 2019	55%	28	27	37	12	25	1	6

		-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(Not sure / Ref.)	
		<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Strongl y</u>	<u>Some- what</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Some- what</u>	<u>Strongl y</u>	<u>Never heard of</u>	
36.	Wanda Vazquez Garced November 2019	68%	31	37	25	10	15	1	6
37.	The fiscal control board created by PROMESA to improve government finances and the economy November 2019	27%	10	17	66	16	50	2	5
		<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Strongl y</u>	<u>Some- what</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Some- what</u>	<u>Strongl y</u>	<u>Never heard of</u>	
38.	The Partido Nuevo Progresista, or PNP November 2019	37%	16	21	54	13	41	1	8
39.	The Partido Popular Democrático, or PPD November 2019	41%	17	24	49	16	33	2	8

Please tell me if you would describe each of the following political figures as corrupt, or not. [RANDOMIZE]

		<u>Yes, corrupt</u>	<u>No, not corrupt</u>	<u>(Not sure / Refused)</u>
40.	Ricky Rosselló	69%	18	13
41.	Jenniffer Gonzalez	20%	64	17
42.	Carmen Yulín Cruz	30%	49	21
43.	Pedro Pierluisi	22%	61	17

GOVERNOR'S RACE

As you may know, there will be an election for Governor of Puerto Rico next year. Before we talk about the candidates who might run, I want to ask you about some issues that could be priorities for the next Governor. For each issue I mention, please tell me if it is very important to you that the next Governor make this issue a priority, somewhat important, not very important, or not important at all. [RANDOMIZE]

		----Important----			----Not important----			(Not sure / Ref.)	
		<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some- what</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Not very</u>	<u>Not at all</u>		
44.	Improving the economy and creating more jobs	November 2019	99%	97	2	*	*	-	1
45.	Fighting crime and drug abuse	November 2019	99%	96	3	*	*	-	1
46.	Holding down taxes	November 2019	97%	87	10	2	1	1	1
47.	Making sure water is available	November 2019	99%	96	3	1	*	1	*
48.	Controlling political corruption	November 2019	99%	97	1	*	*	*	1
49.	Making sure electricity is available	November 2019	99%	97	2	1	1	*	*
50.	Reducing government debt	November 2019	96%	86	10	2	2	*	2
51.	Improving public education	November 2019	99%	97	2	*	*	*	1
52.	Advocating for Puerto Rican statehood	November 2019	56%	45	12	40	19	21	4
53.	Advocating for the current territorial status	November 2019	65%	50	15	30	17	13	6
54.	Advocating for independence	November 2019	25%	16	9	70	27	43	5
55.	Abolishing the fiscal control board	November 2019	71%	53	18	21	12	9	9
56.	Would you like to see the current governor, Wanda Vazquez Garced, run for election as governor next year?								
	Yes		49%						
	No		39						
	(Not sure / Refused)		12						
57.	When it comes to political parties, do you consider yourself a:								
	[IF SOMETHING ELSE / NOT SURE: Is there a political party that you tend to agree with most of the								

time?)] **[IF REFUSED:** Please be assured that your responses to this survey will be kept confidential. You don't have to answer this question, but it will be helpful for analytical purposes only.]

	<u>PNP</u>	<u>PPD</u>	<u>PIP</u>	<u>Something else</u>	<u>(Not sure / Refused)</u>
November 2019	27%	26	3	16	28

[IF SOMETHING ELSE IN Q57: Which other political party do you consider yourself part of?]

MVC	9%
No party affiliation	65
Other	26

[SKIP IF SOMETHING ELSE OR NOT SURE / REFUSED IN Q57]

58. Would you say your commitment to that party is:

	<u>Very strong</u>	<u>Strong</u>	<u>Only moderate</u>	<u>Fairly weak</u>	<u>(Not sure / Refused)</u>
November 2019	26%	22	38	13	1

[ROTATE NEXT TWO QUESTIONS]

59. What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think of the PNP? **[PROBE:** What does the PNP stand for and represent?] **[RECORD VERBATIM]**

Corrupt/Negative/Untrustworthy	37%
Statehood/Relation to US/Status	15
Positive/Progress	11
Disorganized/Lack of accomplishment	6
Fix the country/Better future with opportunities	3
No change/Apathetic	3
On the decline/Need retooling	2
Equality	2
Mix of good and bad	2
Change overall	1
Lack of unity or compromise	1
Slavery	*
Nothing	3
Other response	7
Don't know/Refused	6

60. What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think of the PPD? **[PROBE:** What does the PPD stand for and represent?] **[RECORD VERBATIM]**

Corruption/Theft	12%
Progress/Positive	10
No change/Apathetic	9
Want to keep status as is/Colony	7
Negative	7

Has no leadership/Unstable/Lack of unity	4
On the decline/Needs retooling	4
Opportunities	3
Tries to improve PR/Works for PR	3
Needs to work harder	3
Dishonesty/Untrustworthy	2
Party of the people/Party of minorities	2
Not as much corruption	2
Mix of good and bad	2
Want independence	1
Weak	1
Stability	1
Leftist	1
Democracy	1
Want statehood	1
Nothing	5
Other response	12
Don't know/Refused	8

[Q61-Q62 IF PPD IN Q57]

61. If the PPD primary for Governor were today, who would you vote for if the candidates were: **[RANDOMIZE]**

Eduardo Bhatia	48%
Charlie Delgado Altieri	16
Carmen Yulín Cruz	14
Roberto Prats	4
Juan Zaragoza	1
(None of the above)	12
(Not sure / Refused)	6

62. If **[candidate name from Q61]** was the PPD nominee for governor, which of the remaining candidates I mentioned would be your top choice for resident commissioner? **[READ LIST IN SAME ORDER AS Q61 IF ASKED. DO NOT ACCEPT CHOICE FROM Q61]**

Roberto Prats	28%
Carmen Yulín Cruz	24
Eduardo Bhatia	21
Charlie Delgado Altieri	10
Juan Zaragoza	8
(Other)	1
(None of the above)	4
(Not sure / Refused)	4

[Q63-Q64 IF PNP IN Q57]

63. Who would you most like to see as the PNP nominee for governor next year? **[RECORD VERBATIM]**

Pedro Pierluisi Urrutia	57%
Wanda Vazquez Garced	18
Jenniffer Gonzalez	5
Thomas Rivera Schatz	3
Ricardo Rossello	1
None	1
Other response	4
Don't know/Refused	10

64. If the PNP primary for Governor were today, who would you vote for if the candidates were: **[RANDOMIZE]**

Pedro Pierluisi	62%
Wanda Vazquez Garced	25
Thomas Rivera Schatz	10
(Not sure / Refused)	3

65. Would you rather Ricky Rosselló:

Run for governor again	5%
Run for another political office	6
Stay out of politics	86
(Not sure / Refused)	3

[RESUME ALL]

If the next general election for Governor were today...

[ROTATE Q66-67 AND Q68-69 AS BLOCKS. RANDOMIZE QUESTION ORDER WITHIN BLOCKS]

66. Would you vote for: **[ROTATE]**

PNP Wanda Vazquez Garced	39%
PPD Carmen Yulín Cruz	12
Someone else	20
Or, would you not vote	20
(Not sure / Refused)	9

67. Would you vote for: **[ROTATE]**

PNP Wanda Vazquez Garced	34%
PPD Eduardo Bhatia	22
Someone else	16
Or, would you not vote	19
(Not sure / Refused)	9

68. Would you vote for: **[ROTATE]**

PNP Pedro Pierluisi	37%
PPD Carmen Yulín Cruz	13
Someone else	18
Or, would you not vote	22
(Not sure / Refused)	10

69. Would you vote for: **[ROTATE]**

PNP Pedro Pierluisi	35%
PPD Eduardo Bhatia	21
Someone else	15
Or, would you not vote	18
(Not sure / Refused)	10

70. If the next general election for resident commissioner were today, would you vote for: **[ROTATE]**

PNP Jenniffer Gonzalez	42%
PPD Jose Nadal-Power	19
Someone else	13
Or, would you not vote	18
(Not sure / Refused)	7

[SAN JUAN ONLY, ROTATE NEXT TWO QUESTIONS]

71. If the next election for mayor of San Juan were today, who would you vote for if the candidates were:

PNP Miguel Romero	27%
PPD Rosana López	17
Victoria Ciudadana candidate Manuel Natal	17
(Other)	6
(Would not vote)	19
(Not sure / Refused)	14

72. If the next election for mayor of San Juan were today, who would you vote for if the candidates were:

PNP Miguel Romero	30%
PPD Armando Valdés	12
Victoria Ciudadana candidate Manuel Natal	20
(Other)	5
(Would not vote)	18
(Not sure / Refused)	15

VIEWS ON STATUS

Thinking now about Puerto Rico’s political status...

73. How important is the status issue to you personally?

	<u>Extremely</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>Not very</u>	<u>Not at all</u>	<u>(NS/Ref)</u>
November 2019	35%	30	16	8	8	3

Do you favor or oppose seeking statehood for Puerto Rico? [IF FAVOR / OPPOSE: Is that strongly or just somewhat (favor/oppose)?]

TOTAL FAVOR	61%
TOTAL OPPOSE	29
Strongly favor	48%
Somewhat favor	13
Somewhat oppose	6
Strongly oppose	23
(Not sure)	8
(Refused)	3

FISCAL CONTROL BOARD

Thinking now about the fiscal control board created by PROMESA...

[ROTATE NEXT TWO QUESTIONS]

74. Do you think the fiscal control board has helped or hurt when it comes to getting government budgets and finances under control?

	<u>Nov 2019</u>
Helped	27%
Hurt	56
(No effect)	4
(Not sure / Refused)	13

75. Do you think the fiscal control board has helped or hurt when it comes to improving the economy?

	<u>Nov 2019</u>
Helped	22%
Hurt	61
(No effect)	4
(Not sure / Refused)	13

76. Do you support or oppose eliminating the fiscal control board? **[IF SUPPORT / OPPOSE: Is that strongly (support / oppose), or only somewhat?]**

	<u>Nov 2019</u>
TOTAL SUPPORT	62%
TOTAL OPPOSE	26
Strongly support	45%
Somewhat support	17
Somewhat oppose	11
Strongly oppose	15
(Not sure / Refused)	13

ROSSELLÓ RETROSPECTIVE

Getting towards the end of the survey, I'd like to ask you a few questions about former governor Ricky Rosselló...

77. Did you take part in any of this summer's protests or demonstrations against Ricky Rosselló?

Yes	17%
No	78
(Not sure / Refused)	5

78. Do you approve or disapprove of the protests and demonstrations against Ricky Rosselló? **[IF APPROVE / DISAPPROVE: Is that strongly (approve/disapprove), or only somewhat?]**

TOTAL APPROVE	71%
TOTAL DISAPPROVE	20

Strongly approve	57%
Somewhat approve	14
Somewhat disapprove	6
Strongly disapprove	14
(Not sure / Refused)	10

79. What, if anything, do you think Ricky Rosselló did well while he was governor?
[PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL RESPONSES: Anything else?] [RECORD VERBATIM. RECORD MULTIPLE RESPONSES]

Nothing	47%
Some things-unspecified	9
Mixed opinion/started off well	4
Preparedness for the hurricane and then recovery	4
Economic gains/Development	3
Resign/Leave	3
Healthcare	2
Pensions and retirees	2
New roads	2
More jobs	2
Improve education	2
Worked for the people	1
Reduced crime/helped the police	1
Increased government services	1
Tourism	*
Lowered taxes	*
More development and investments	*
Fought for statehood	*
Other response	5
Don't know	19

80. What, if anything, do you think Ricky Rosselló did poorly while he was governor?
[PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL RESPONSES: Anything else?] [RECORD VERBATIM. RECORD MULTIPLE RESPONSES]

Disparaging comments/Internet chats	19%
Everything	18
Corruption/Nepotism	15
Lack of experience/lack of maturity	6
Surround himself with bad advisors	5
Some things-unspecified	5
Turned his back on the country/Bad governing	4
Manipulated/Lack of strength	4
Dishonesty/Lack of transparency	4

Stealing money	4
Lack of hurricane response	2
Labor reform	2
Closing schools	2
Budget and financial spending	1
High unemployment	1
Having quit	*
Run for office	*
Healthcare reform	*
Didn't help the economy	*
Raise utility rates	*
Raised taxes	*
Issues with the police	*
Nothing	6
Other response	6
Don't know	11

COMMERCIAL

On another subject...

81. Are you planning to make a major purchase, such as household appliances or a car, within the next six months?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>(NS/Ref)</u>
November 2019	16%	78	6

82. When was the last time you purchased an item that cost more than 300 dollars?

Over a year ago	49%
6 to 12 months ago	14
1 to 5 months ago	17
In the past month	12
(Not sure / Refused)	9

DEMOGRAPHICS

Finally, I'd like to ask you a few questions for classification purposes only.

83. In which of the following categories is your age?

18-21	3%
22-26	5
27-32	6
33-40	9
41-52	22
53-63	23
64+	31

(Not sure / Refused) 1

84. What is the highest level of formal education you have completed?

Less than high school	29%
High school	25
Some college or vocational training beyond high school	21
College graduate	22
(Not sure / Refused)	3

85. In which of the following categories is your personal income?

Under \$5,000 per year	15%
\$5,000 to \$9,999	11
\$10,000 to \$11,999	8
\$12,000 to \$17,999	14
\$18,000 to \$19,999	5
\$20,000 to \$29,999	13
\$30,000 to \$49,999	10
\$50,000 to \$89,999	7
\$90,000 and over	2
(Not sure)	7
(Refused)	7

86. Sex **[OBSERVATION ONLY, DO NOT ASK]**

Male	47%
Female	53