

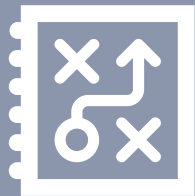
# Venezuela National Public Opinion Survey

April 2019

## ❖ National survey

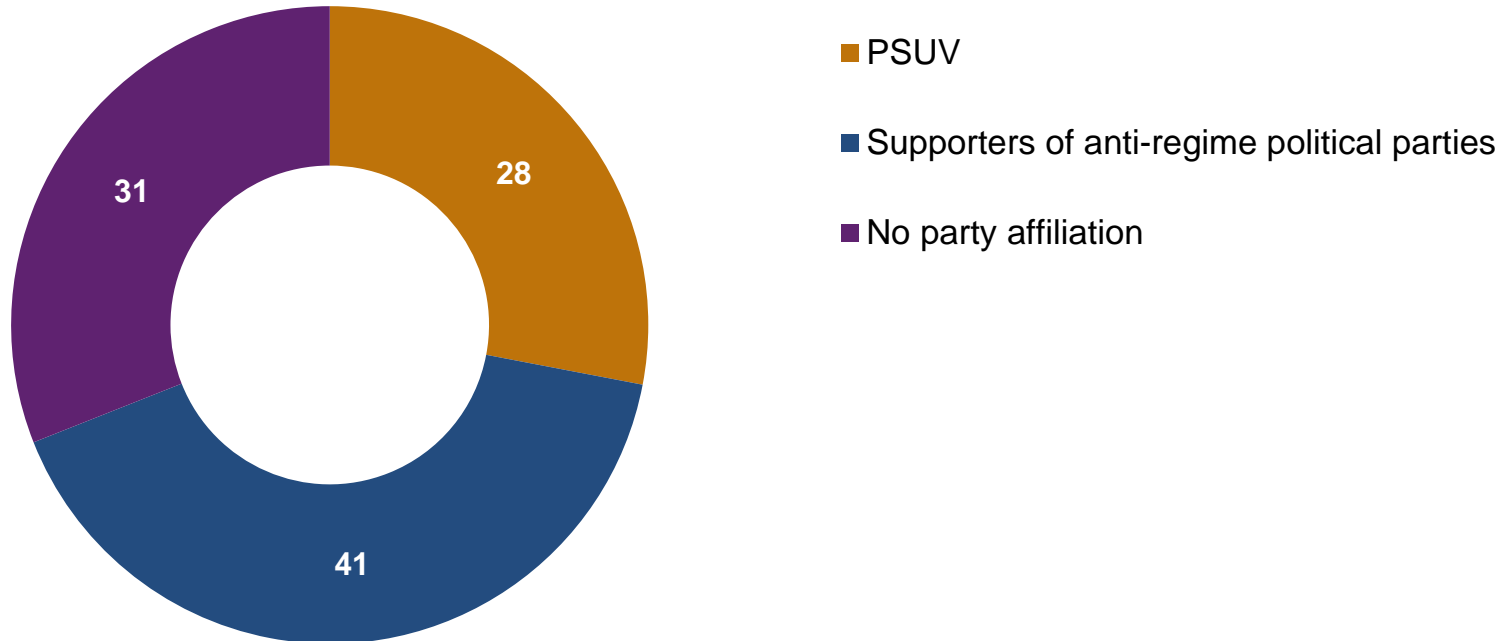
- Conducted April 11 to 28, 2019
- 980 face-to-face interviews
- Margin of error is +/- 3.1 at the 95% confidence level
- Demographically and geographically representative

- ❖ **Extreme polarization**
- ❖ **Rejection of Maduro regime, but base of support**
- ❖ **Strong support for Guaidó**
- ❖ **U.S. and allied countries viewed positively**
- ❖ **Support for elections under Guaidó and targeted sanctions**
- ❖ **Division on military foreign intervention**
- ❖ **Chávez's legacy mixed**



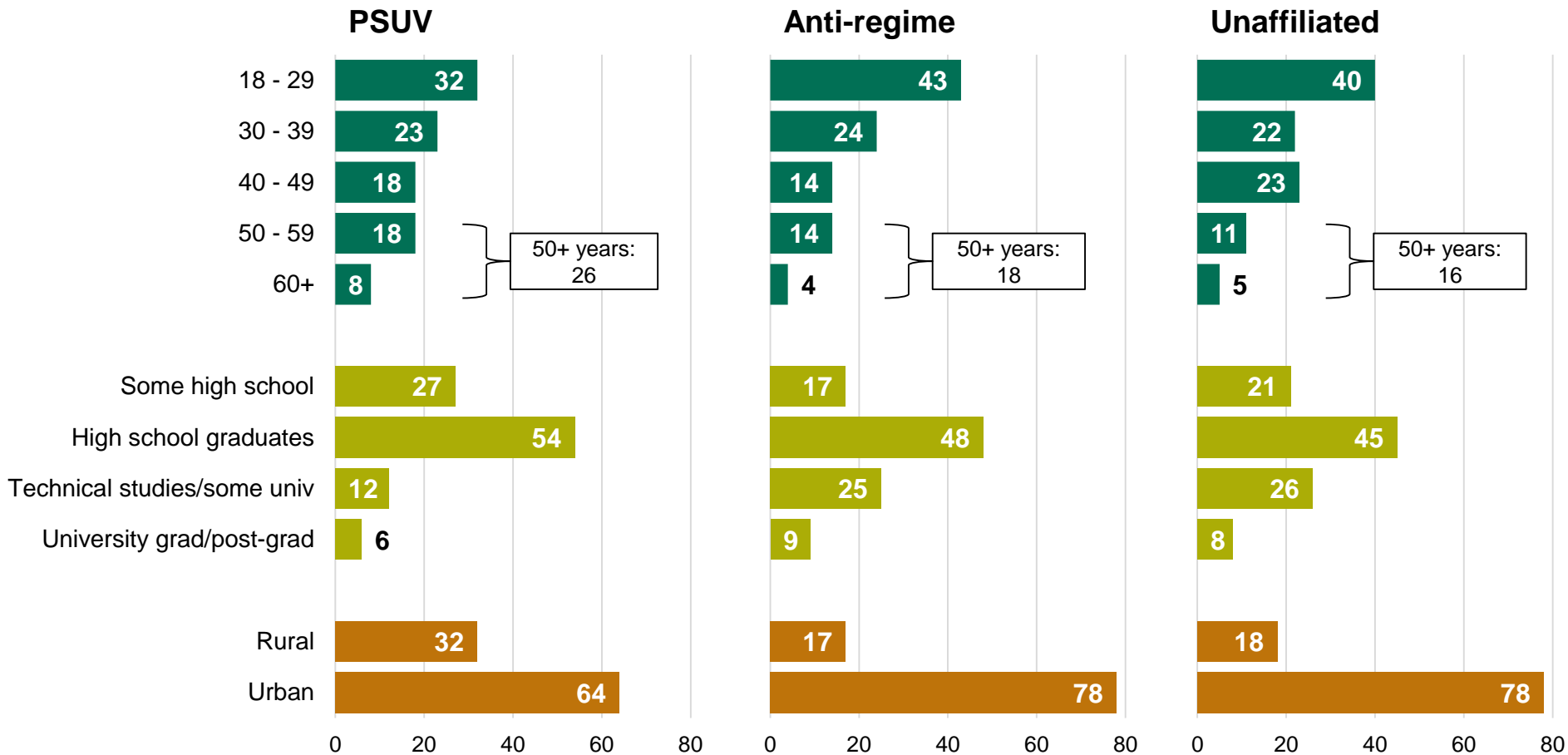
**Maduro Widely Rejected,  
but Has a Base of Support**

## Political Blocs



# Demographic breakdown of political blocs

Figure 5

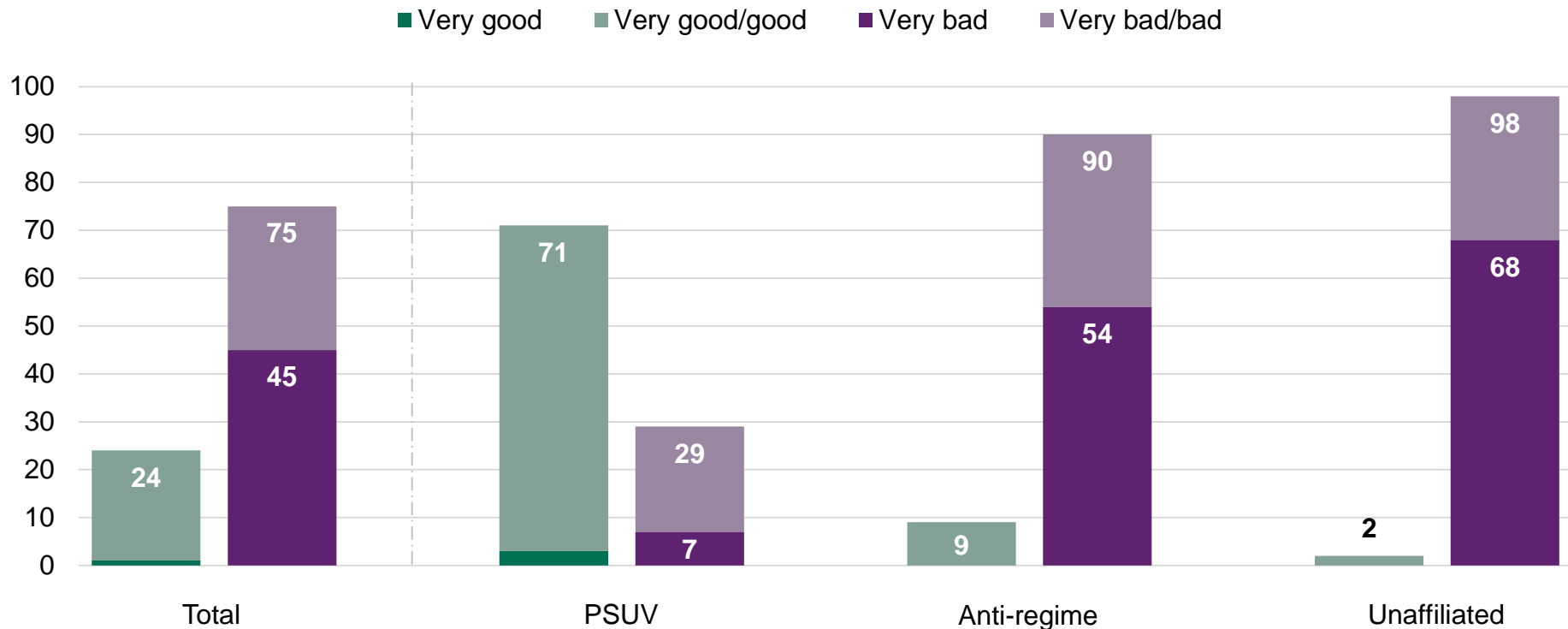


# Profound dissatisfaction, but regime maintains considerable base

Figure 6



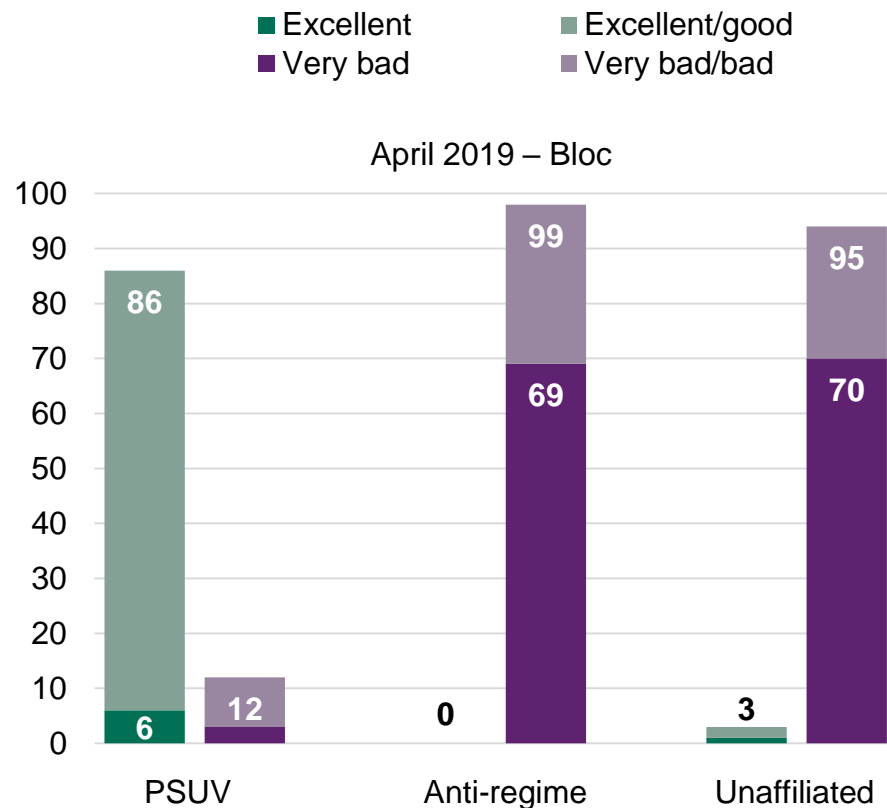
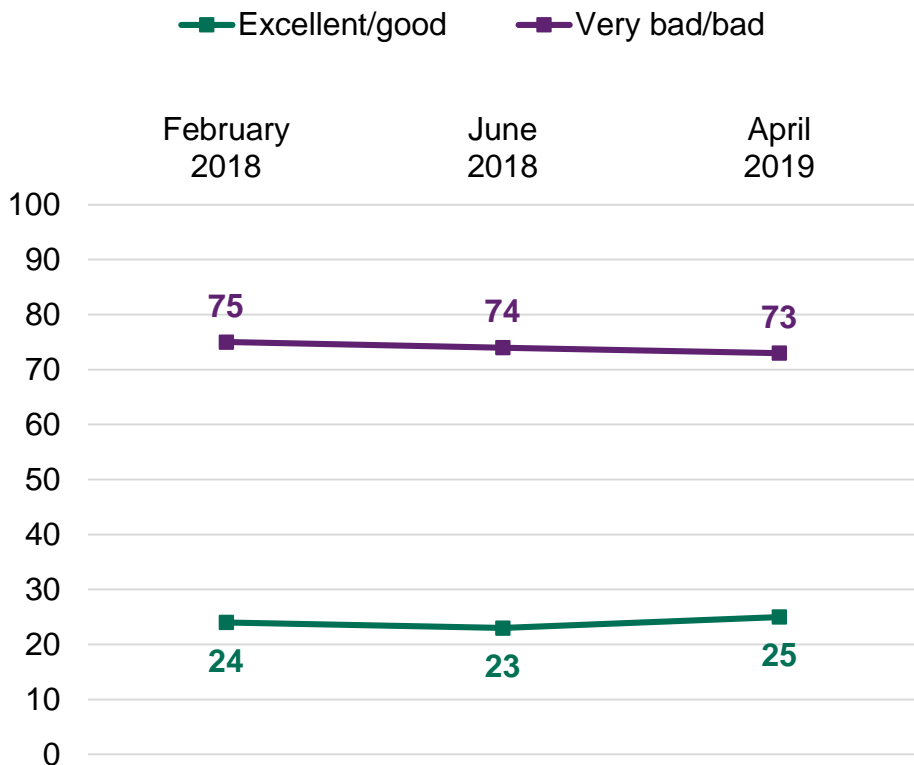
Generally speaking, would you say the situation in the country is going in a very good, good, bad, or very bad direction?



# Poor rating for Maduro's performance, and extraordinary polarization

Figure 7

**Q** In general terms, how would you rate the government of Nicolás Maduro?





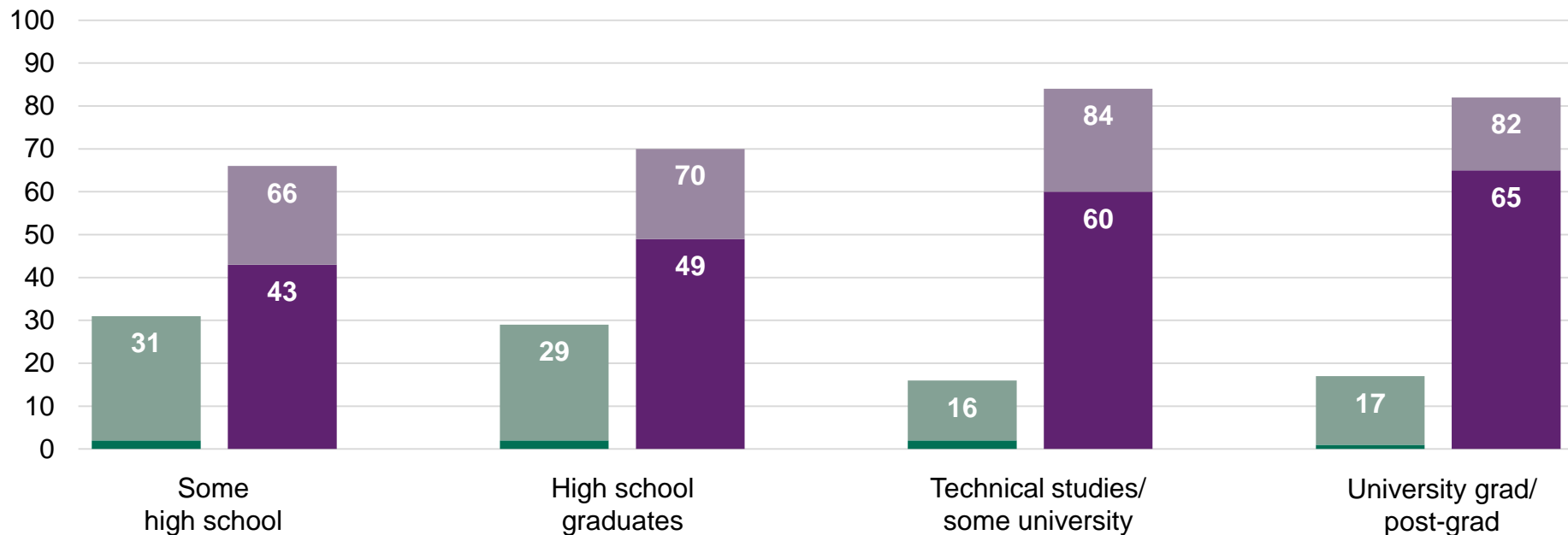
# Maduro has lost support from lower social classes

Figure 8

**Q** In general terms, how would you rate the government of Nicolás Maduro?

■ Excellent   ■ Excellent/good   ■ Very bad   ■ Very bad/bad

## Education

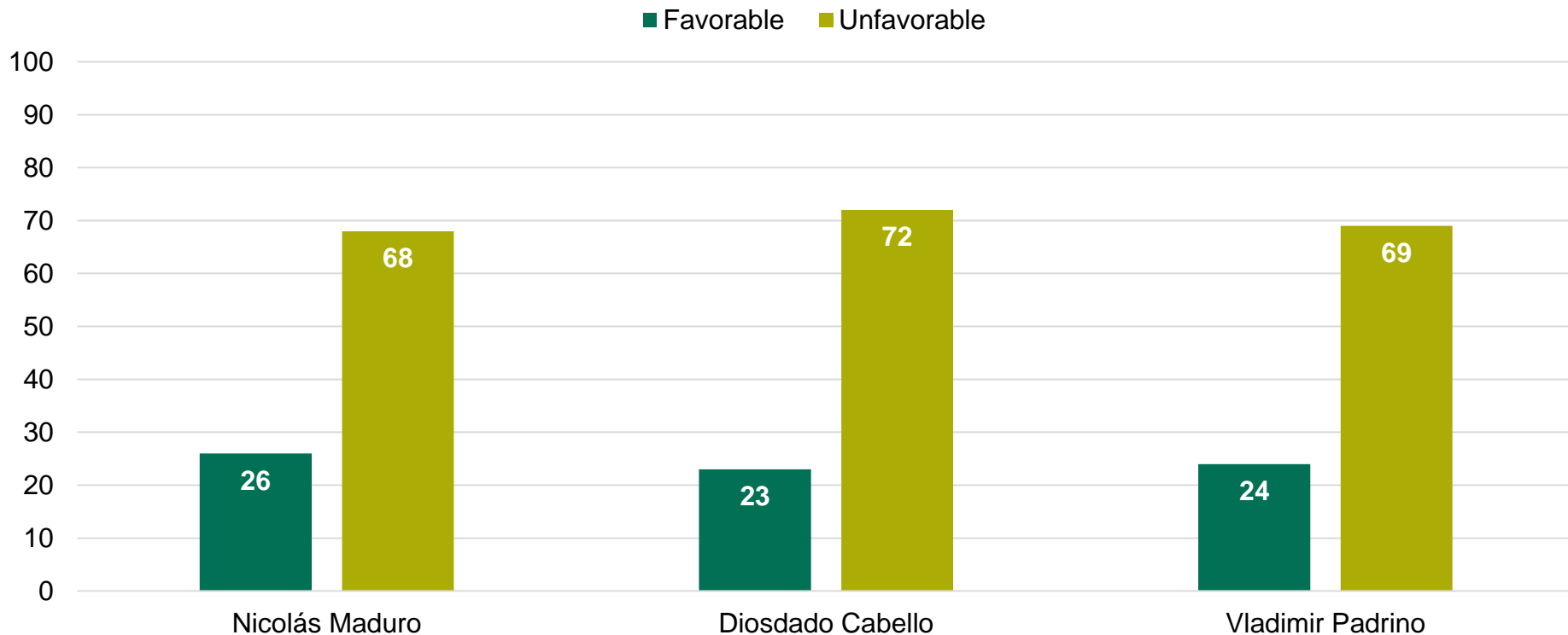


# Venezuelans reject other PSUV leaders

Figure 9



Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people or institutions with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.



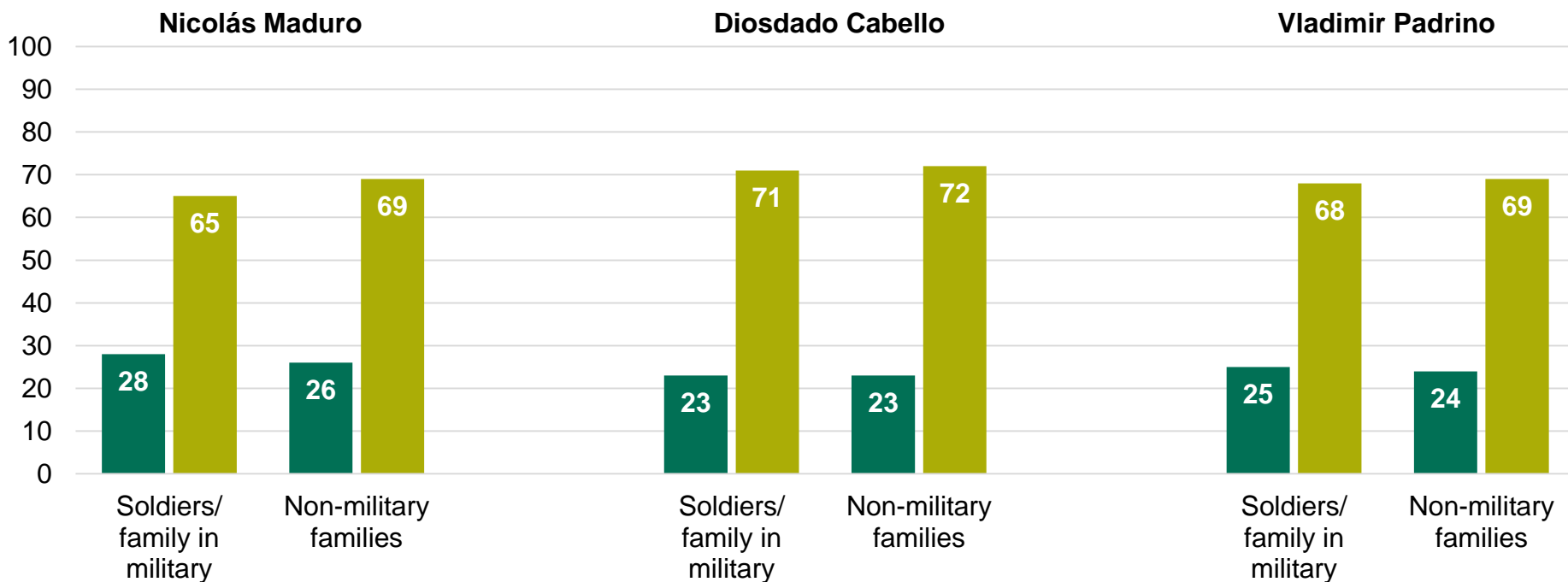
# Opinions of military and their families dovetail with those of civilians

Figure 10



Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people or institutions with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

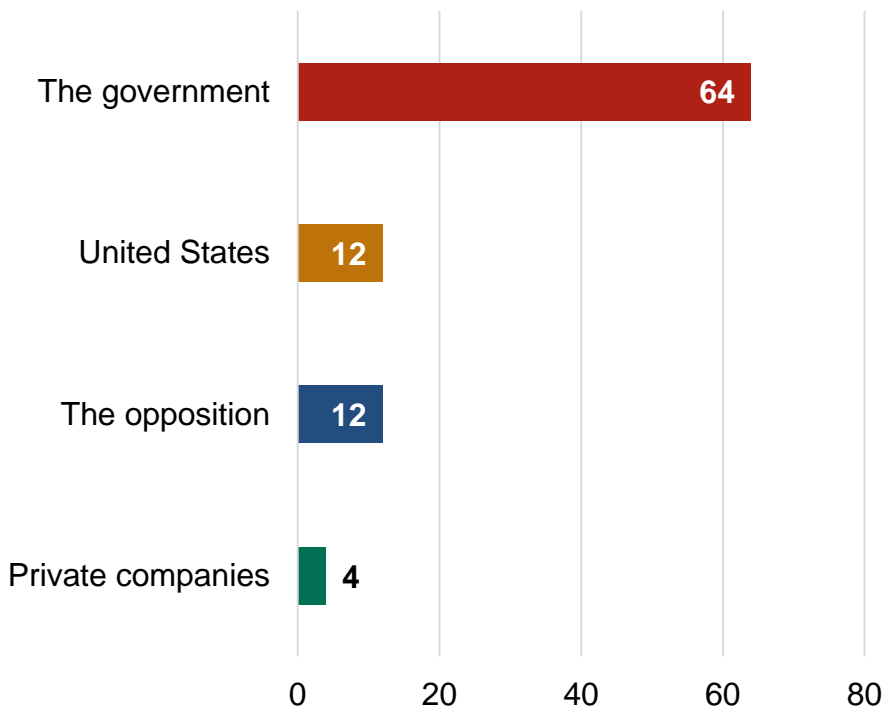
■ Favorable ■ Unfavorable



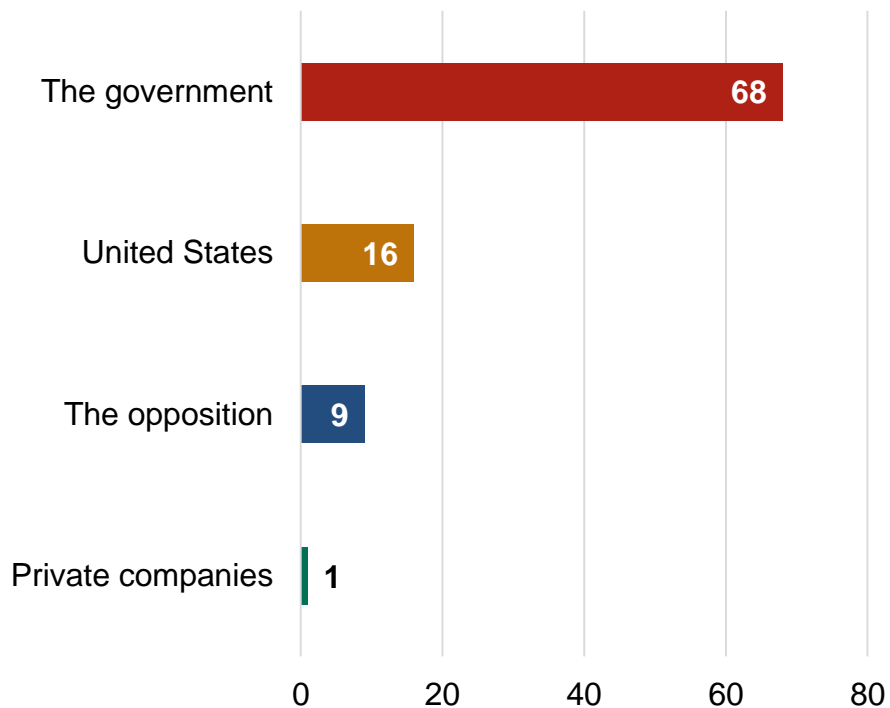
# Government blamed for economic crisis and blackouts

Figure 11

**Q** And who do you think is to blame for the **economic situation** in Venezuela: the Maduro government, the United States, the opposition, or private companies?



**Q** Who is to blame for the **electric blackout** in Venezuela: the Maduro government, the United States, the opposition, or private companies?

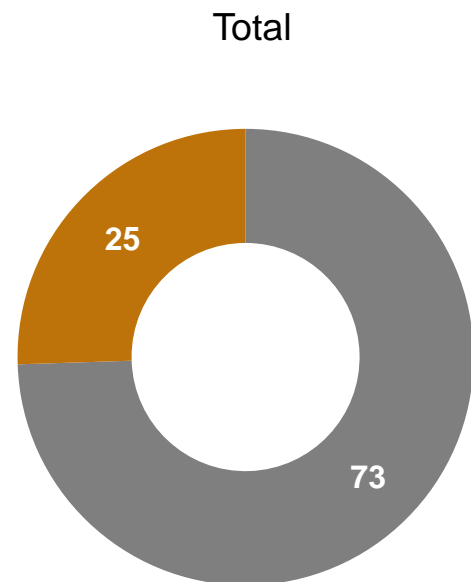


# Frustration with rejection of humanitarian aid

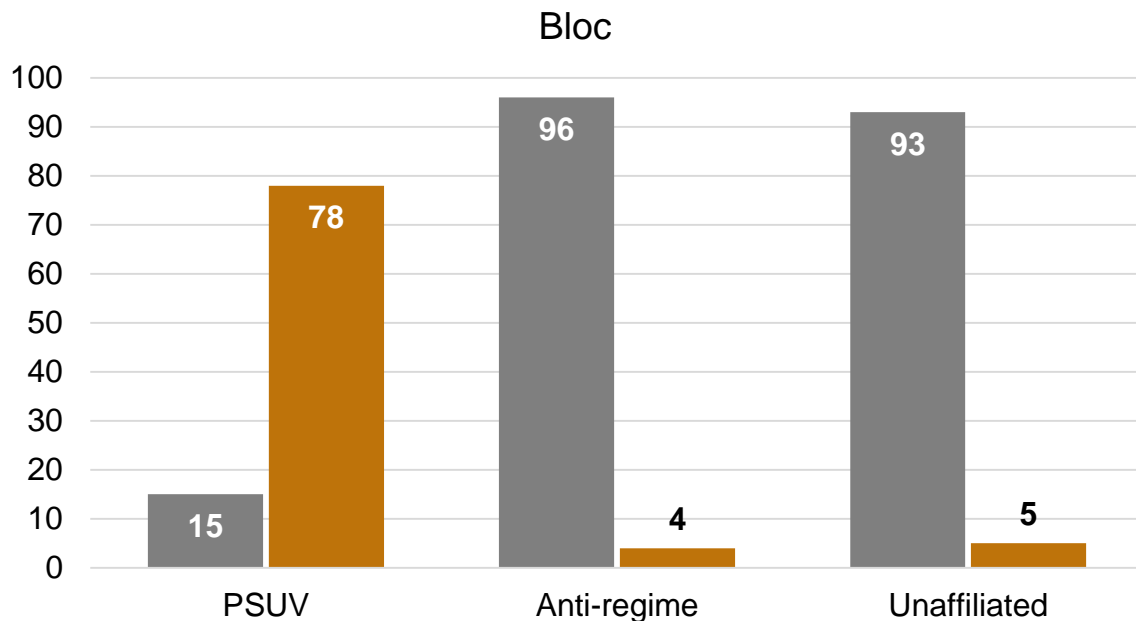
Figure 12



Do you think that the government of Nicolás Maduro should have allowed the entry of humanitarian assistance provided by the United States, Brazil and other countries that recognize Juan Guaidó or do you think the Maduro government was right to block the entry of humanitarian aid into the country?



■ Allowed ■ Blocked



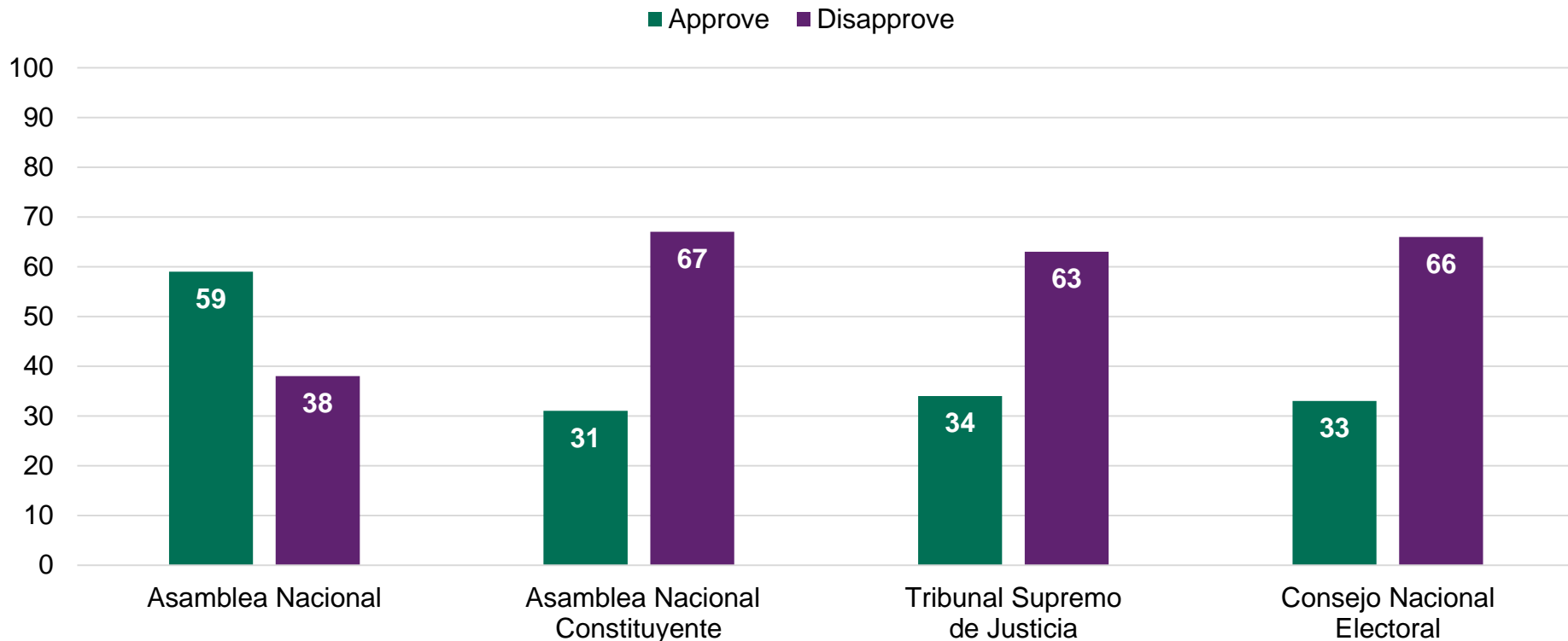
■ Allowed ■ Blocked

# Disapproval of Maduro-backed institutions

Figure 13



Now, I'm going to read some institutions: When I read each name, please tell me if you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of the role that institution has played in the present political situation.

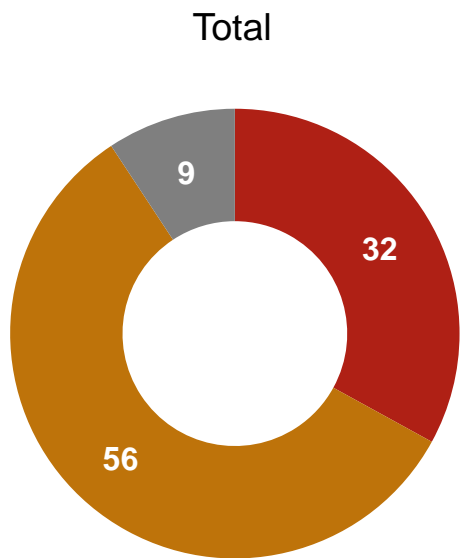


# Large-scale migration will continue, with political impact

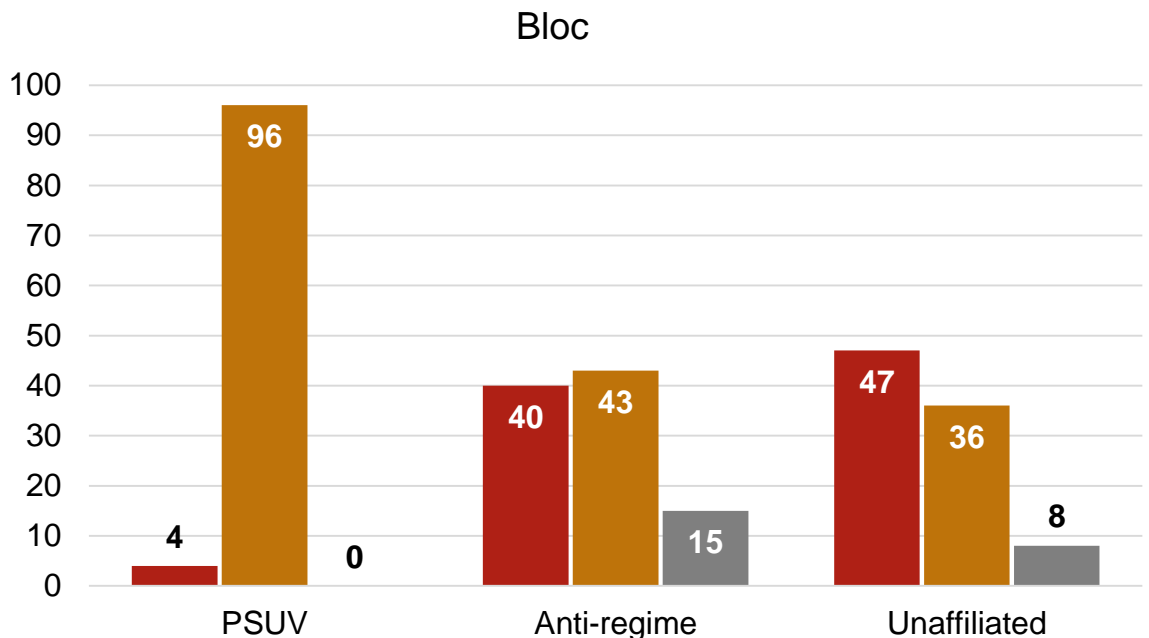
Figure 14



Thinking about the next few months, what would you prefer: move to another country or stay in Venezuela?



- Move to another country
- Stay in Venezuela
- Depends on how things go



- Move to another country
- Stay in Venezuela
- Depends on how things go



**Strong Backing for Guaidó**

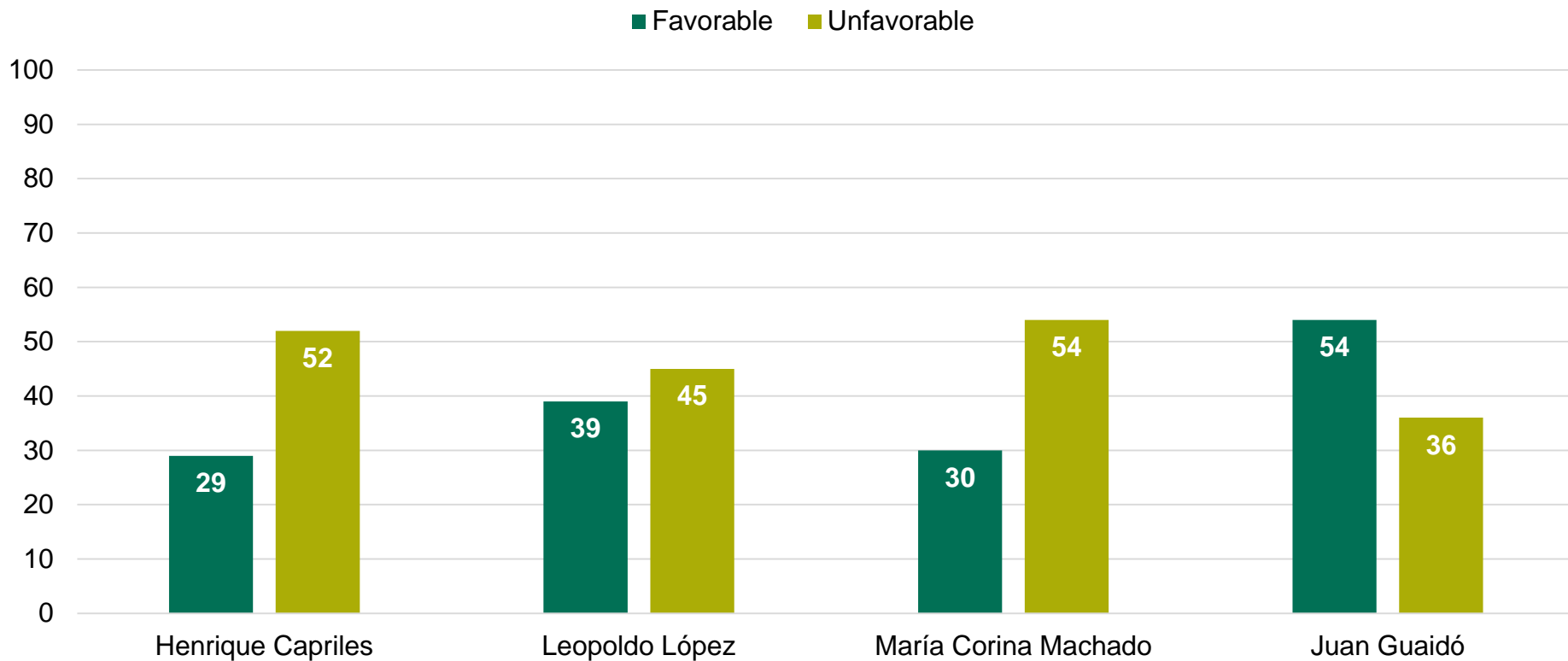


# Guaidó is only politician with favorable rating

Figure 16



I would like to measure your feelings towards some people and institutions.



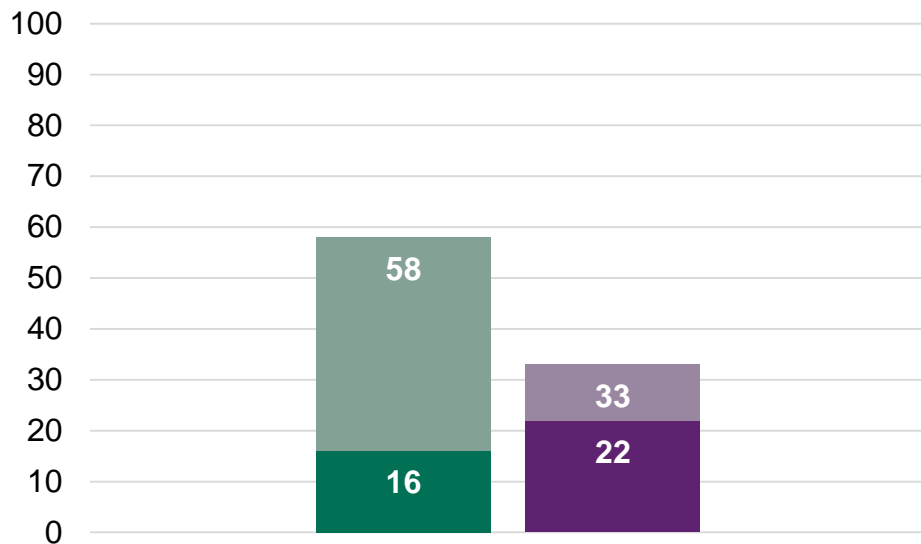
# Confidence in Guaidó's leadership

Figure 17



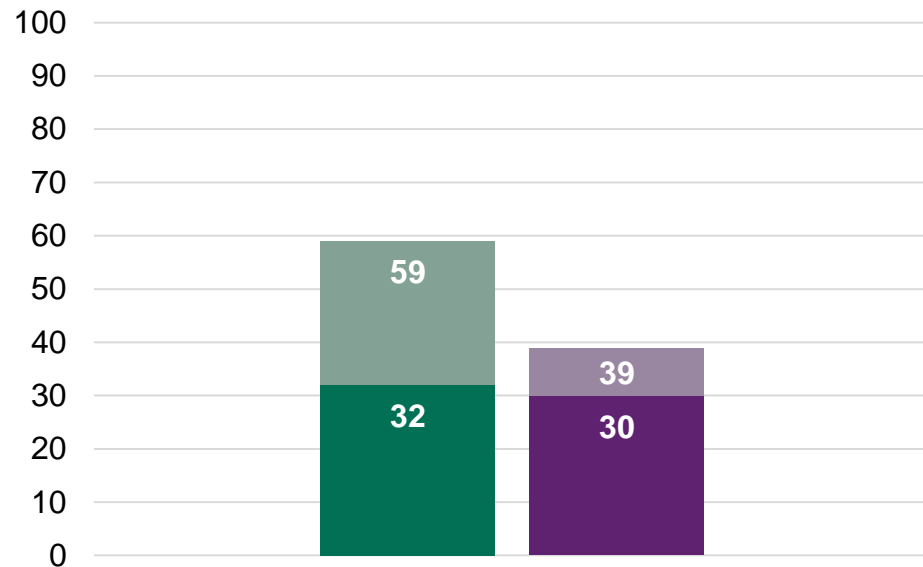
How would you rate the role played by Juan Guaidó as interim president appointed by the National Assembly: excellent, good, bad or very bad?

■ Excellent  
■ Very bad  
■ Excellent/good  
■ Very bad/bad



How much confidence do you have in Juan Guaidó to lead a political transition in Venezuela: a lot, some, little or no confidence?

■ A lot  
■ None  
■ A lot/some  
■ None/little



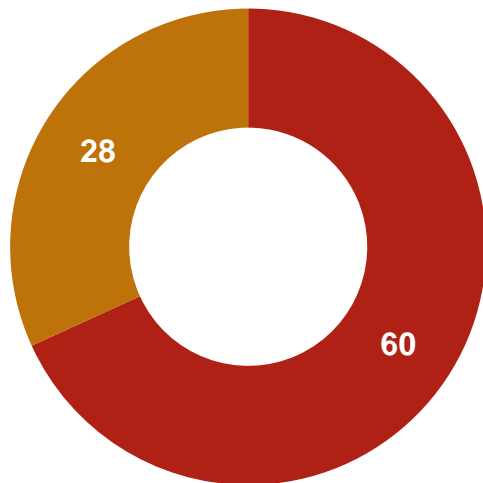
# Guaidó seen as more than just a transition figure

Figure 18



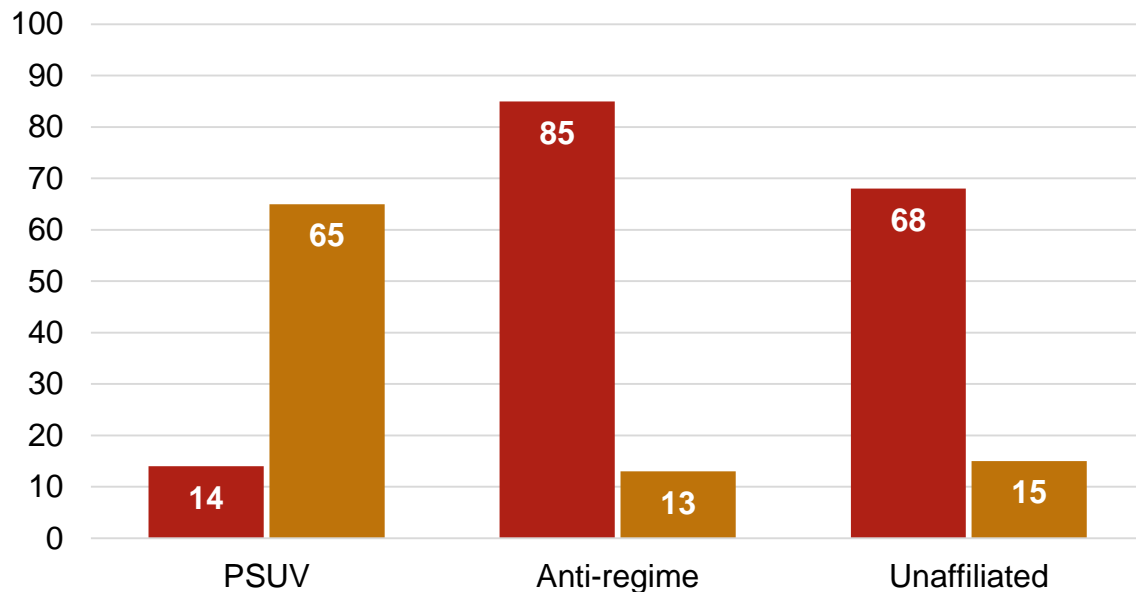
If presidential elections are held while Guaidó is interim president, do you think he should run as a candidate or should he only serve as president during the transition?

Total



■ Run as candidate ■ Only transitional

Bloc



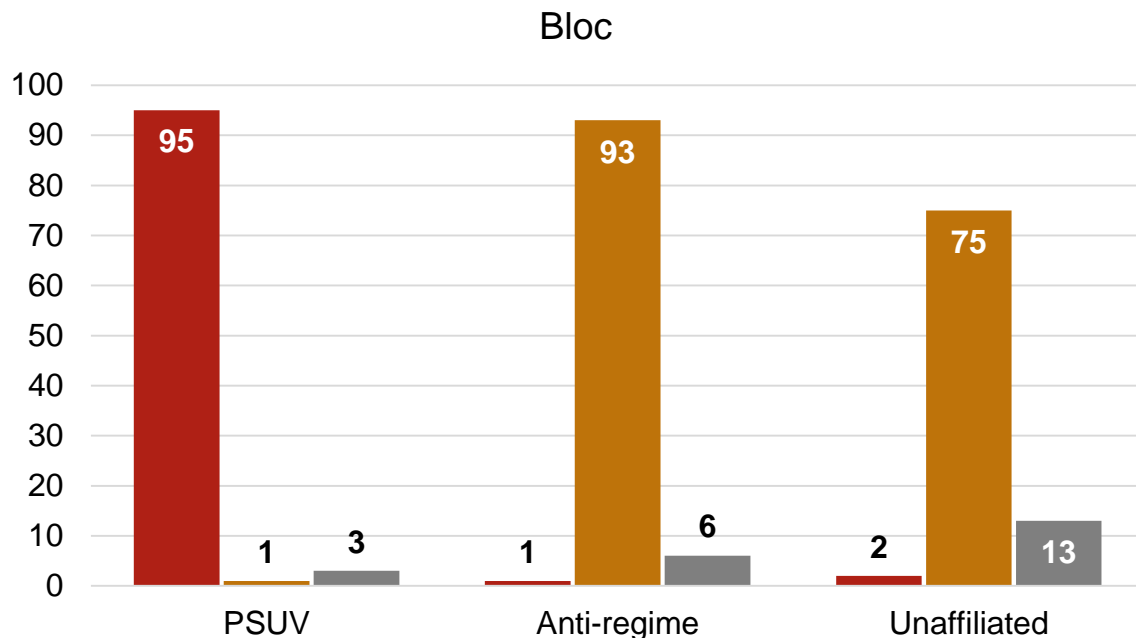
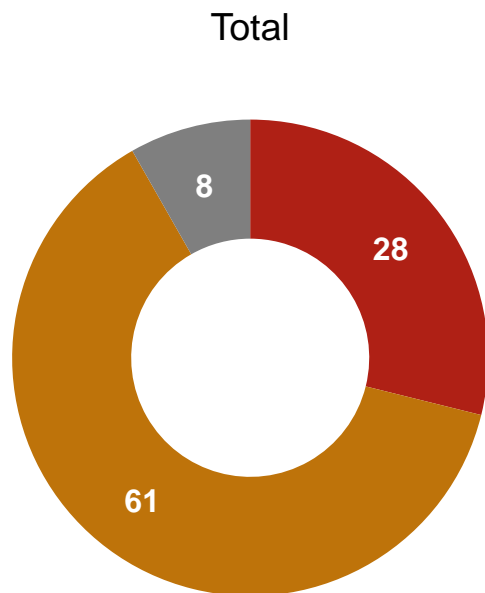
■ Run as candidate ■ Only transitional

# Guaidó would easily defeat Maduro

Figure 19



If presidential elections are held this year, and the candidates are Nicolás Maduro and Juan Guaidó, for whom would you vote?



■ Maduro ■ Guaidó ■ Don't know yet

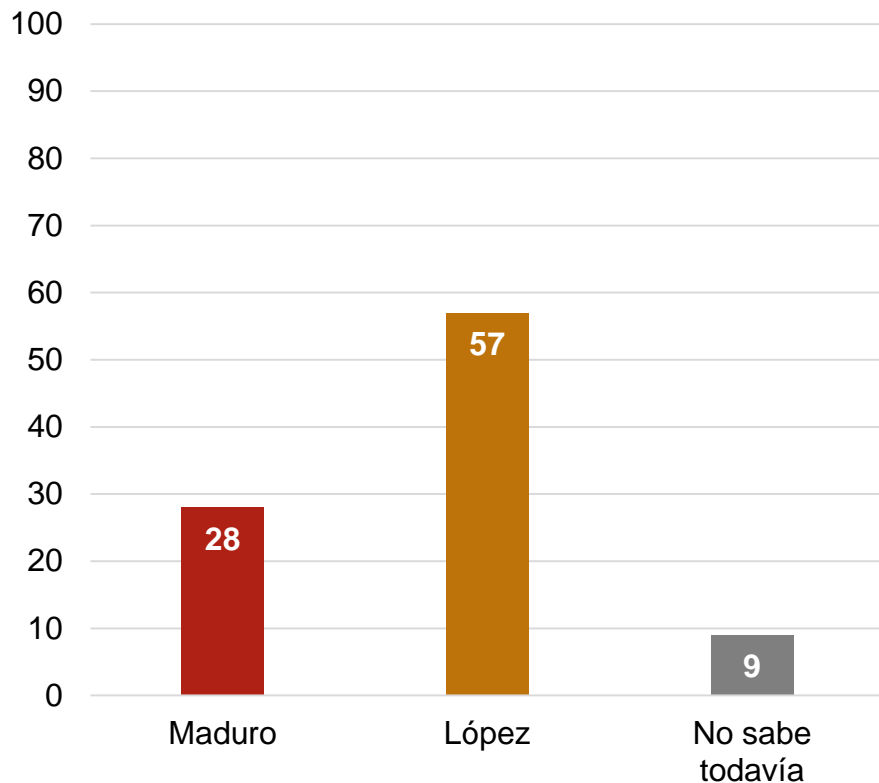
■ Maduro ■ Guaidó ■ Don't know yet

# Maduro would lose election under any scenario

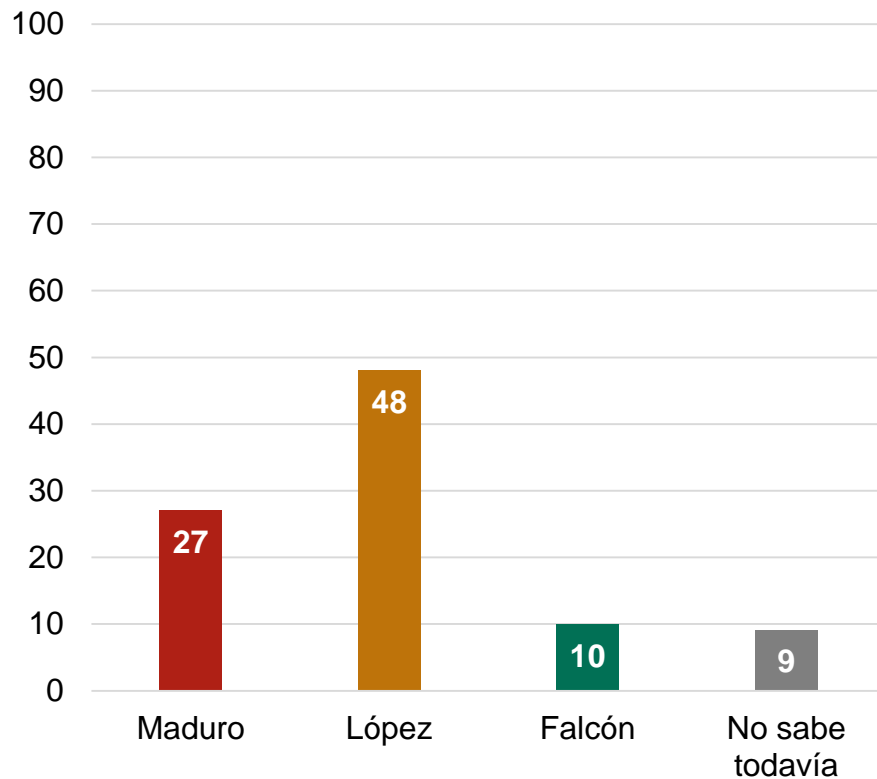
Figure 20



And if the candidates were **Nicolás Maduro** and **Leopoldo López**, for whom would you vote?



And if the candidates were **Nicolás Maduro**, **Leopoldo López** and **Henry Falcón**, for whom would you vote?





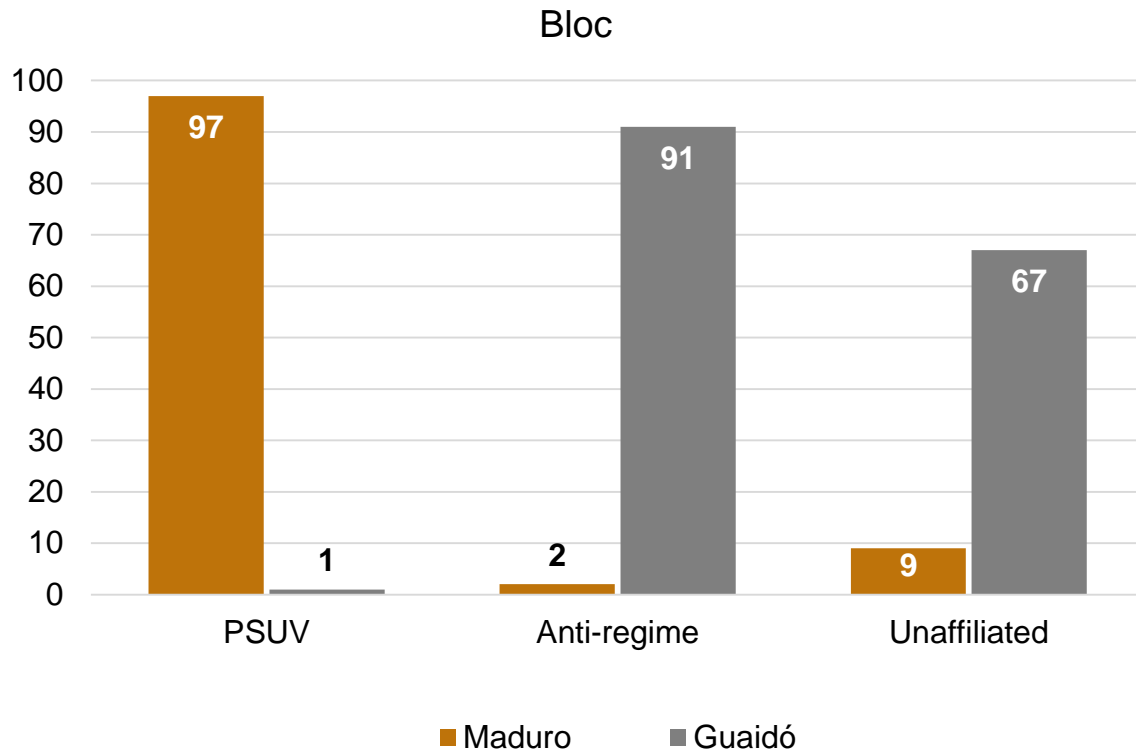
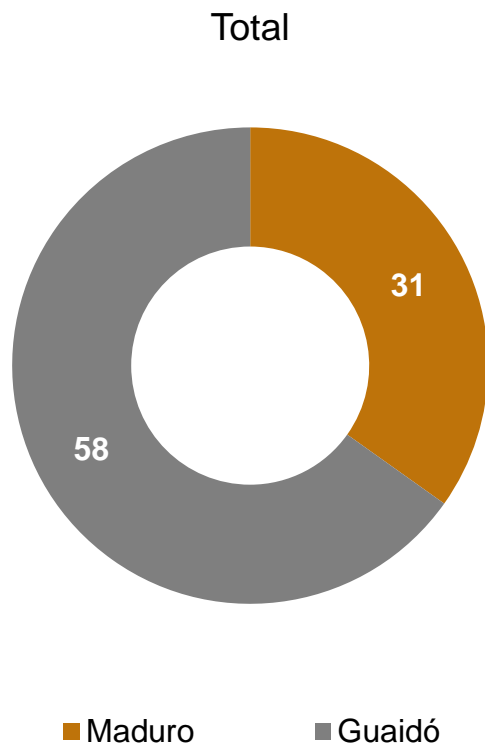
## Support for Elections Under Guaidó and Targeted Sanctions

# Clear majority wants Armed Forces to support Guaidó

Figure 22



And what do you want the members of the armed forces to do: **maintain their loyalty to Maduro and the military high command** or support the government of Juan Guaidó?

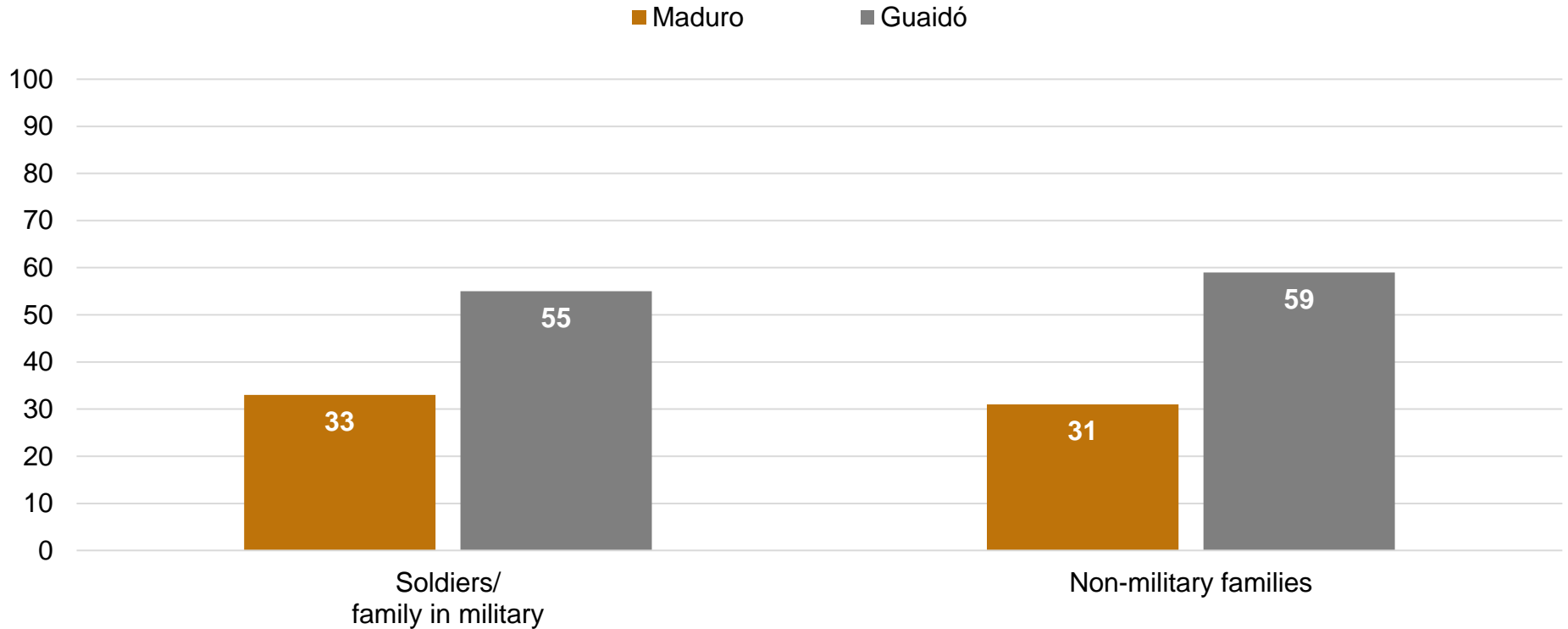


# Soldiers and their families want military to support Guaidó

Figure 23



And what do you want the members of the armed forces to do: **maintain their loyalty to Maduro and the military high command** or support the government of Juan Guaidó?





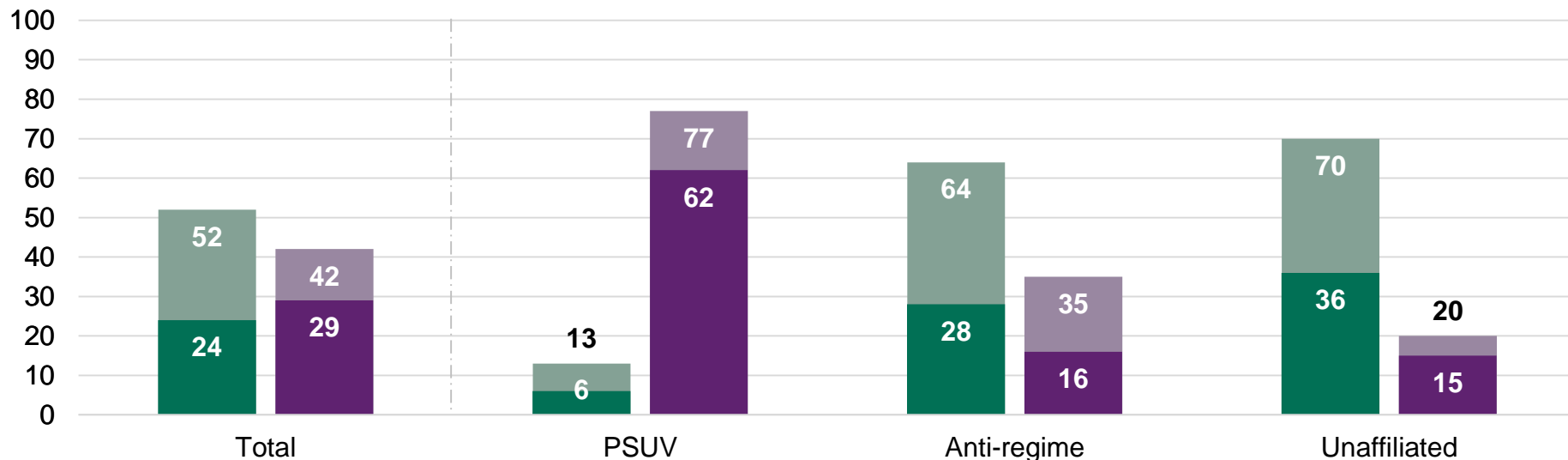
# Opponents support amnesty for government and army

Figure 24



As you know, Juan Guaidó has offered an amnesty to senior government officials, including Nicolás Maduro, and members of the army who support a transition to a new constitutional government. Crimes against humanity, such as murder and torture, would be exempt from amnesty. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with amnesty for government officials and army members who support a transition to a new constitutional government?

■ Strongly agree      ■ Strongly disagree  
■ Strongly/somewhat agree      ■ Strongly/somewhat disagree

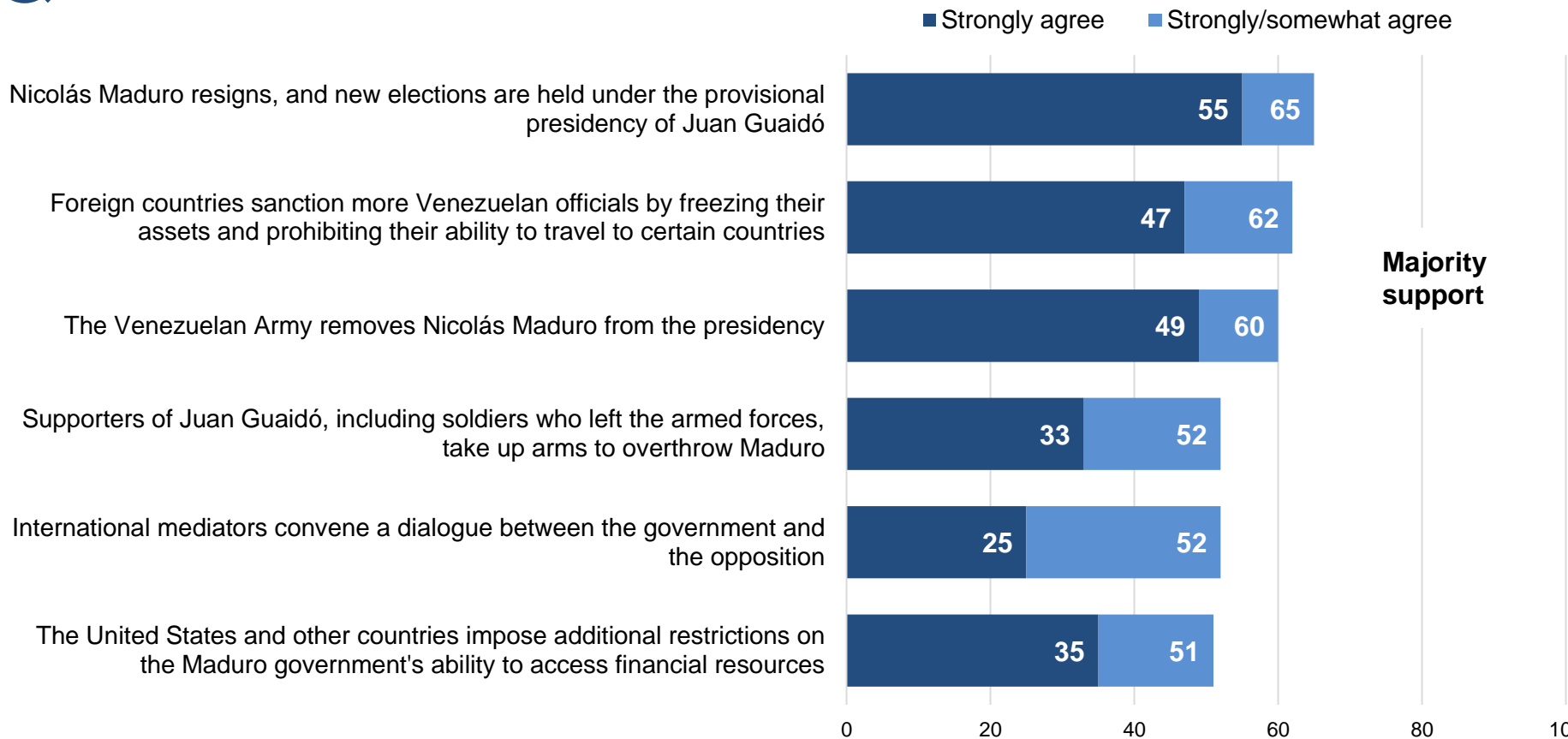


# Support for elections under Guaidó, sanctions and action by army

Figure 25



Now I am going to read you a list of possible ways to solve the political situation in Venezuela. For each of them, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?



# Greater consensus on mediated dialogue

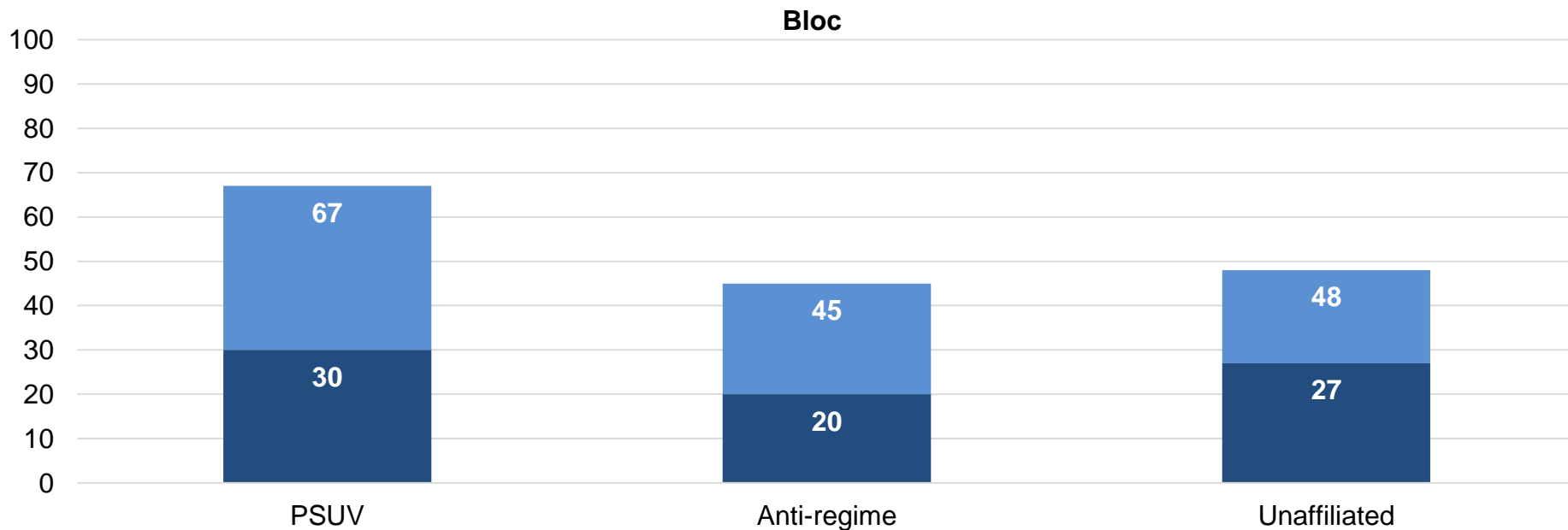
Figure 26



Please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?

International mediators convene a dialogue between the government and the opposition

■ Strongly/somewhat agree   ■ Strongly agree

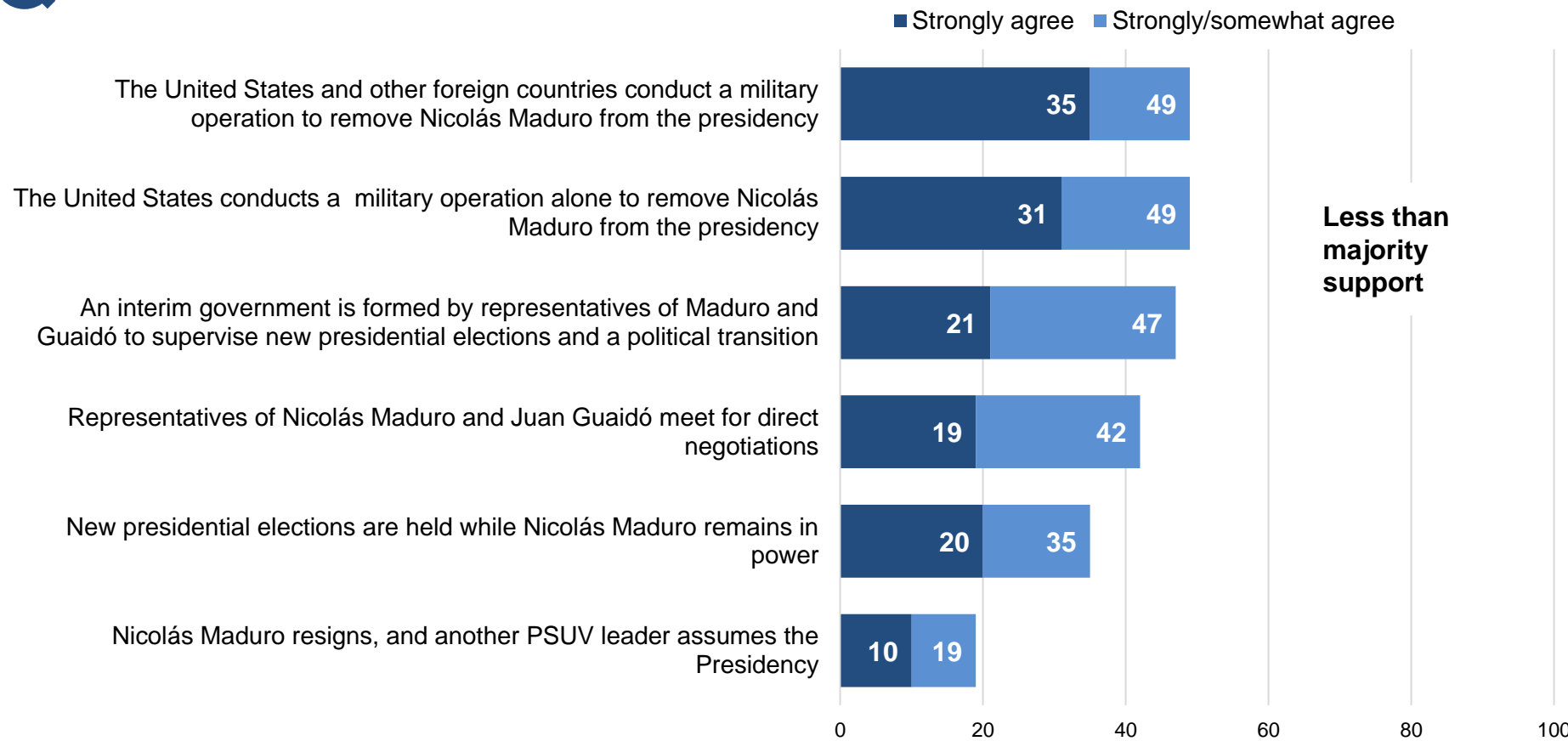


# Division on foreign military action; rejection of regime as part of solution

Figure 27



Now I am going to read you a list of possible ways to solve the political situation in Venezuela. For each of them, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?

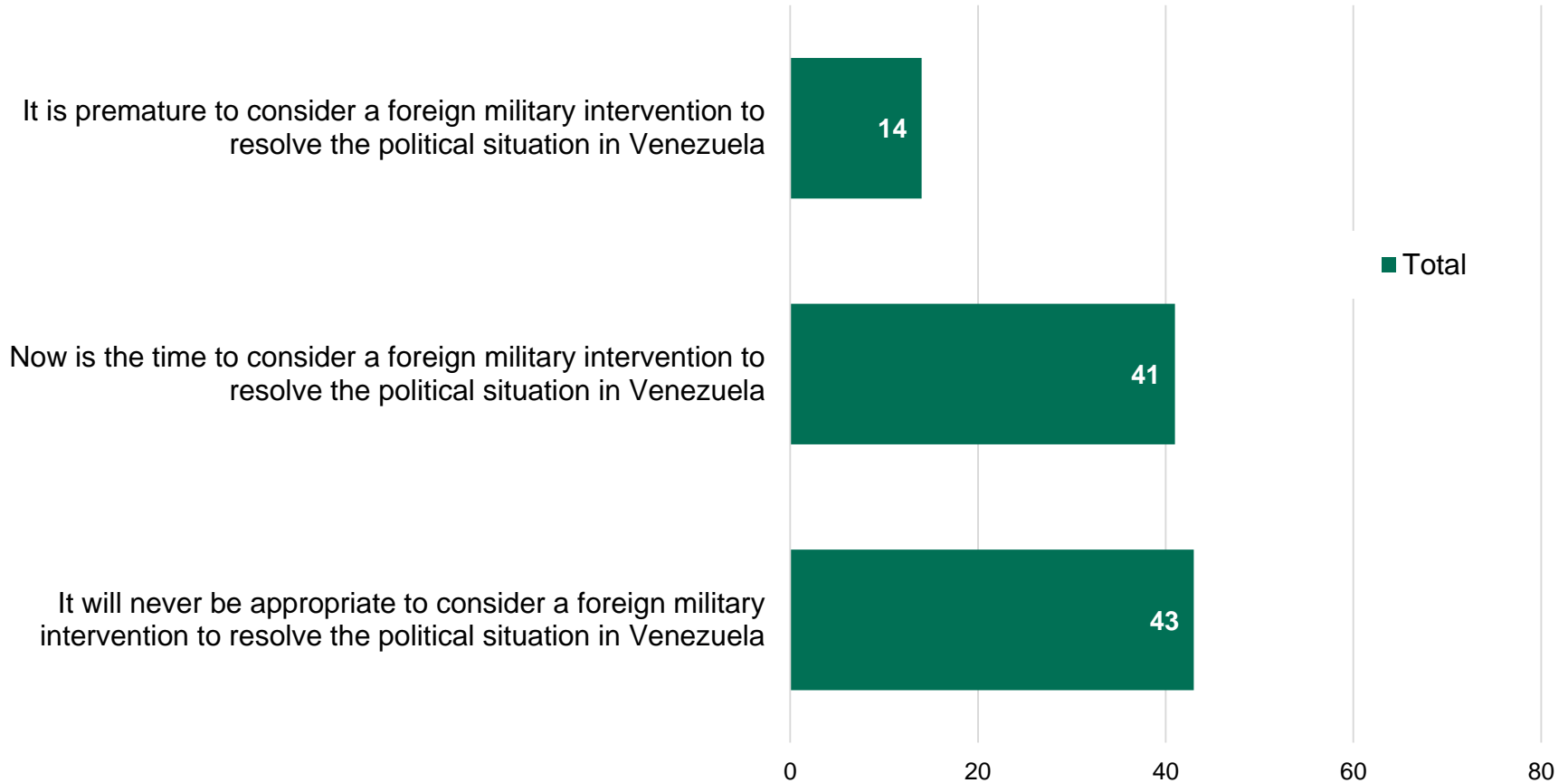


# Public divided on foreign military intervention

Figure 28



With which of the following statements do you agree more?



# Most anti-regime parties and non-affiliated want intervention now

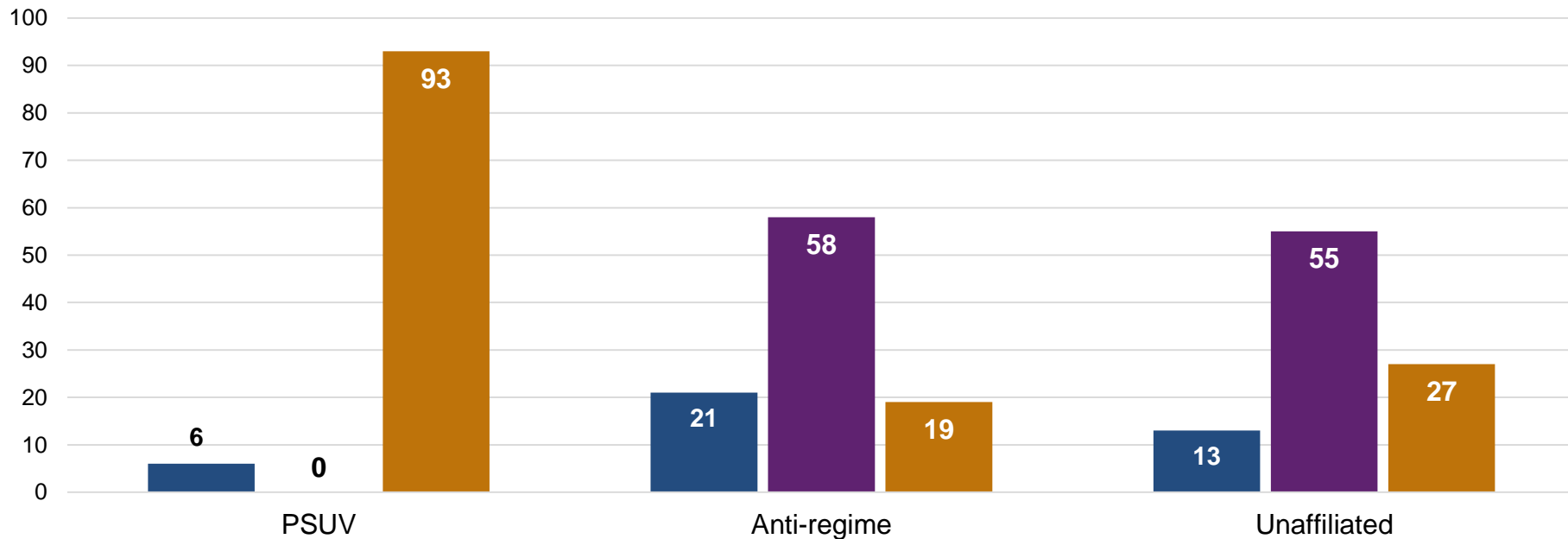
Figure 29



With which of the following statements do you agree more?

■ Premature    ■ Now is the moment    ■ Never appropriate

....to consider a foreign military intervention to resolve the political situation in Venezuela

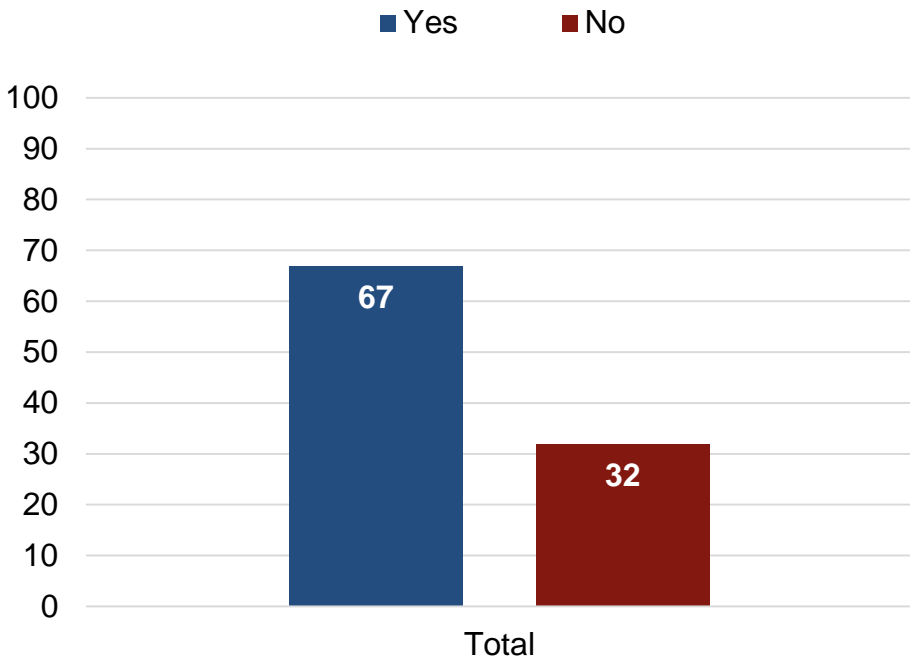


# Division on sanctions against PDVSA

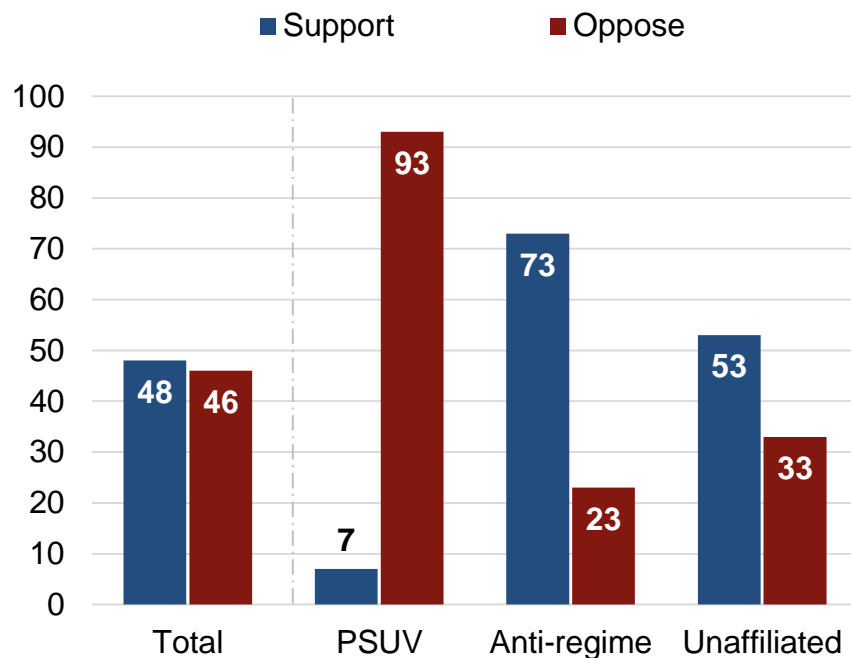
Figure 30



Have you seen or heard anything recently about the actions of the United States with respect to PDVSA?



The United States recently banned payments for Venezuelan oil to PDVSA. Do you support or oppose this action by the U.S. government?



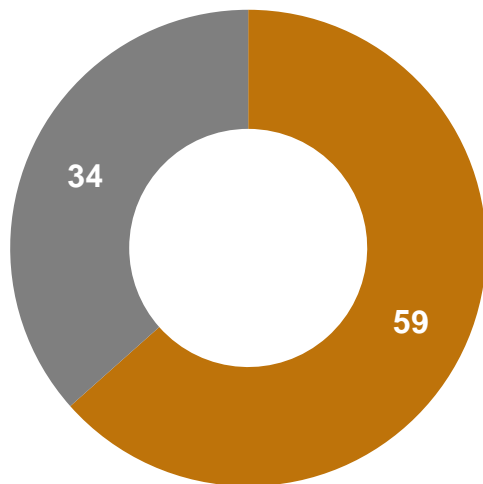
# Concerns about impact of sanctions

Figure 31



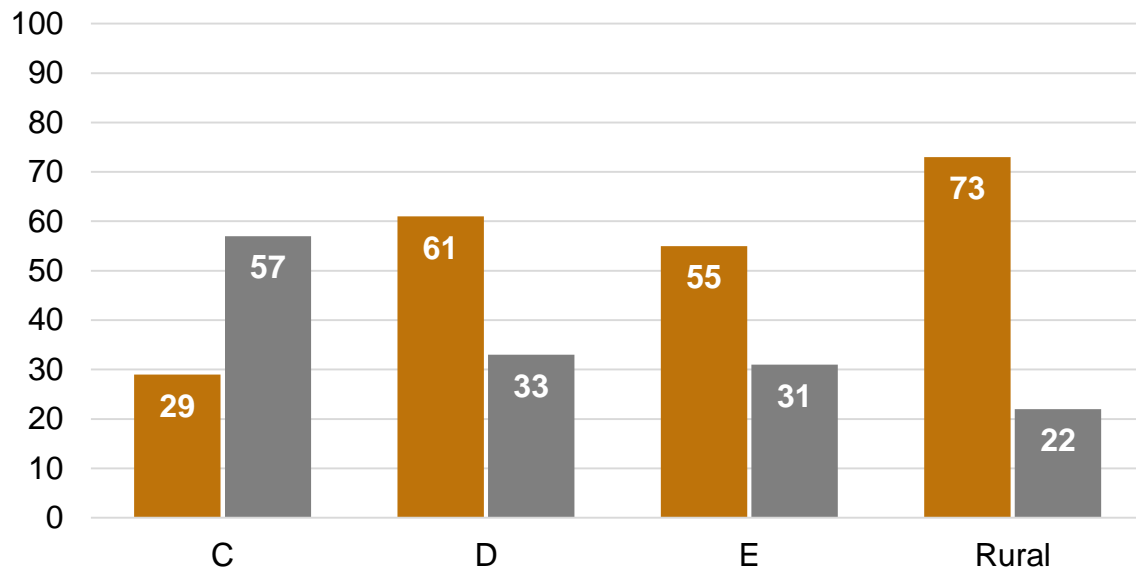
Thinking about the sanctions imposed by the United States and other countries on Venezuela in the last two years, have you and your family been impacted negatively or have you not been impacted?

Total



■ Negatively impacted ■ Not impacted

Social class



■ Negatively impacted ■ Not impacted





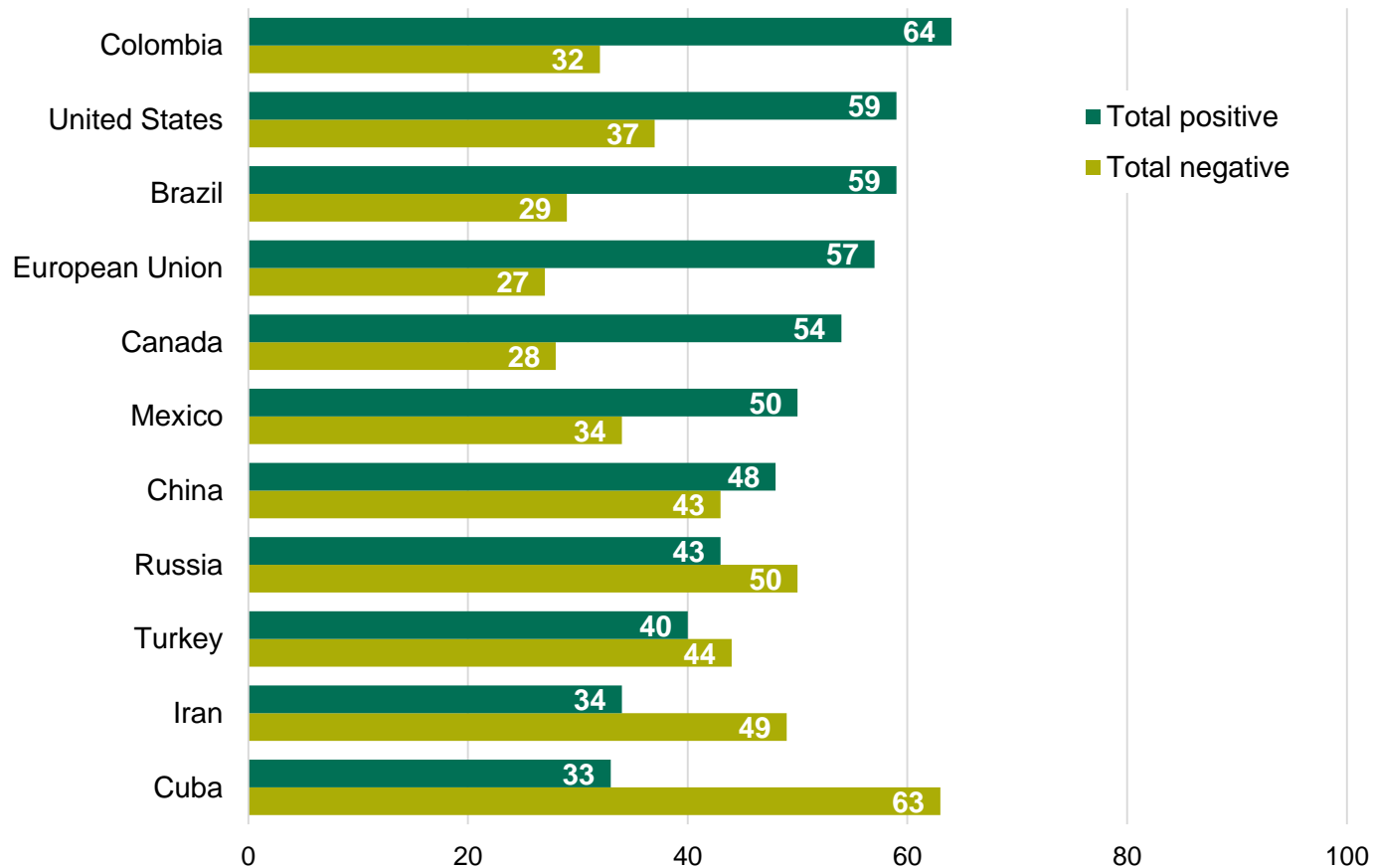
## Attitudes on Role of United States, EU and Lima Group

# Support for role of United States and allied countries

Figure 33



Now I am going to read you a list of countries. After each one, please tell me if you think that country is playing a very positive, positive, negative or very negative role in the current situation in Venezuela.

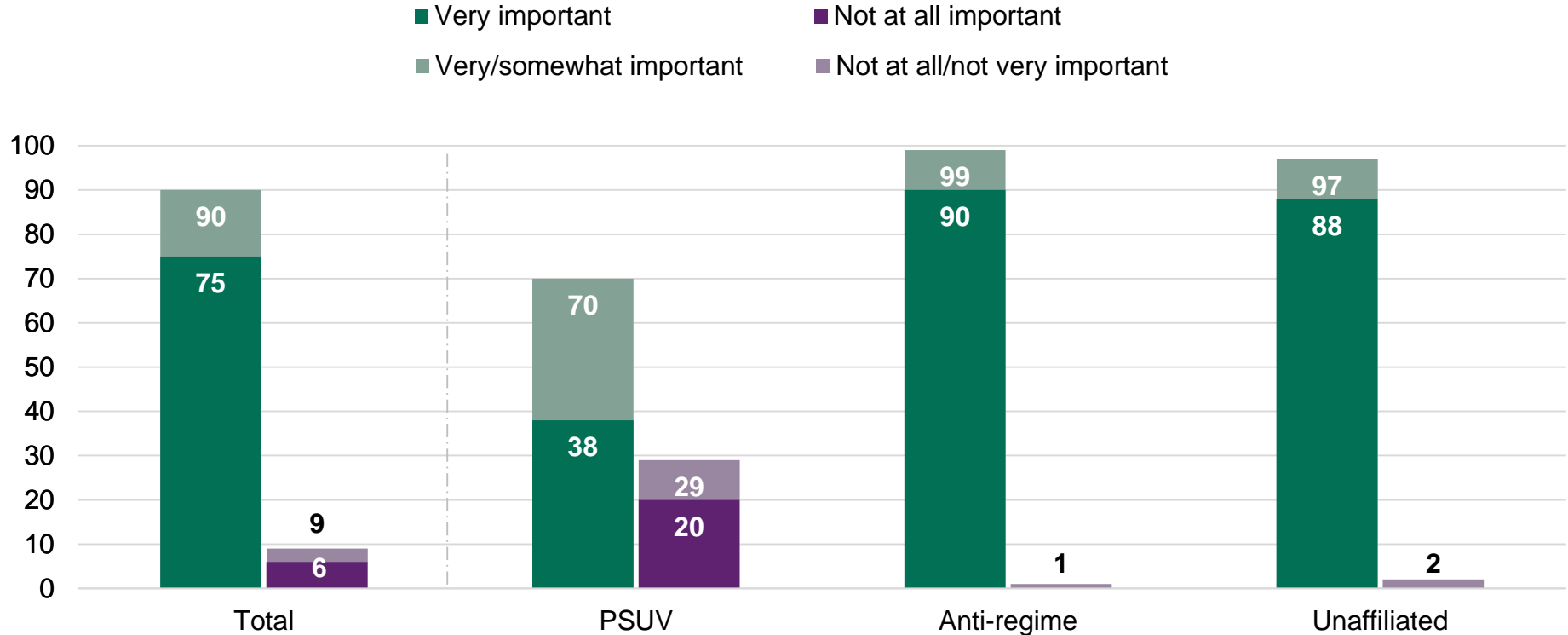


# Receptivity to investment from other countries

Figure 34



How important do you think the investment of companies from other countries is to revitalizing the Venezuelan economy?



## Chávez Legacy Mixed

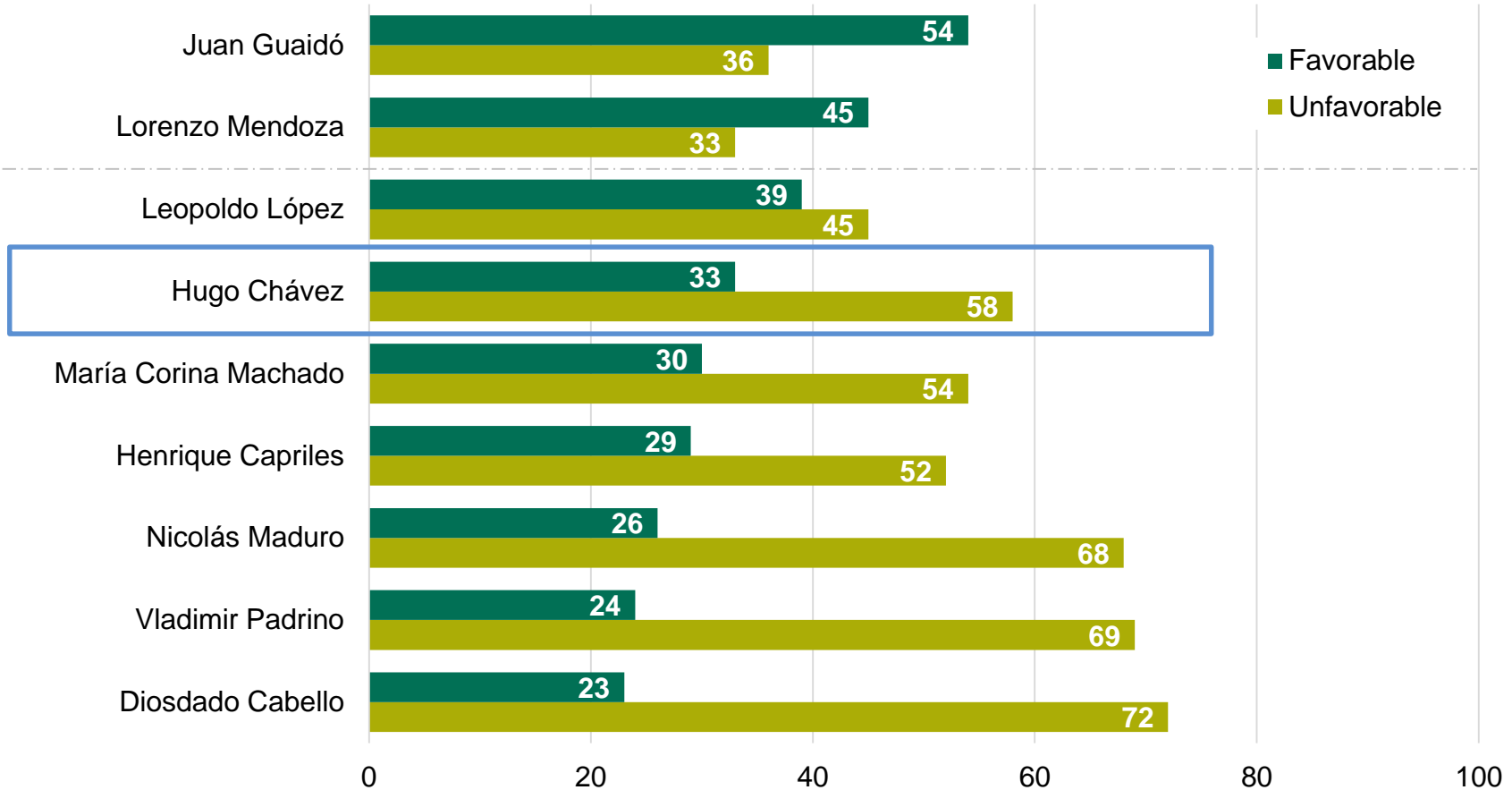


# Chávez personal image negative

Figure 36



I would like to measure your feelings towards some people and institutions.

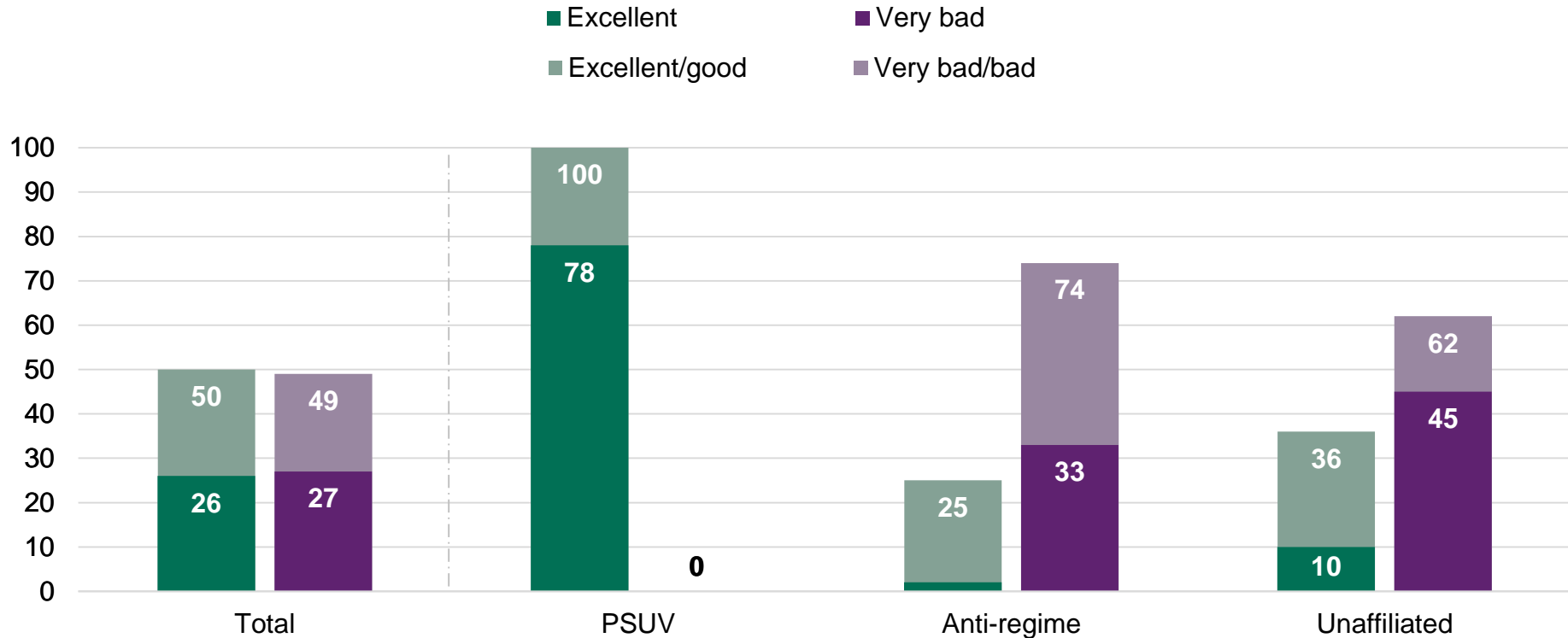


# Chávez receives decent rating for performance as president

Figure 37



And thinking now of President Hugo Chávez, how would you rate the job he did as president: excellent, good, bad or very bad?



# Majority wants to expunge Chavismo; notable minority wants to incorporate

Figure 38

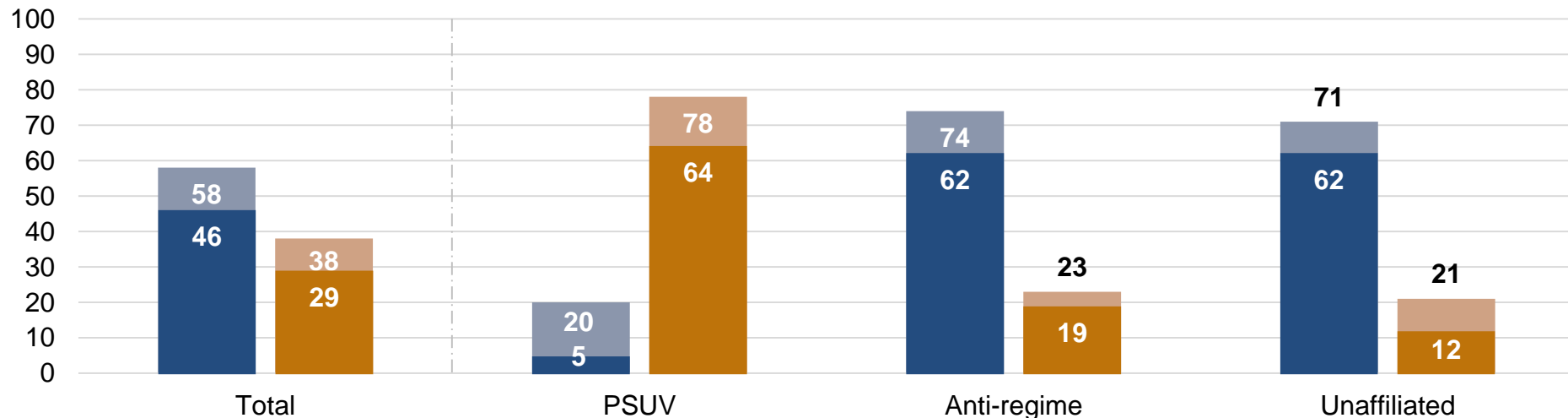


I am going to read you two sentences and I would like you to tell me if you agree with the first sentence or agree with the second sentence:

Venezuela will never be fully democratic and economically successful until it expunges Chavismo.

For Venezuela to achieve social and political peace, Chavismo must be recognized and incorporated.

■ Expunge strongly agree  
■ Expunge strongly/somewhat agree  
■ Incorporate strongly agree  
■ Incorporate strongly/somewhat agree

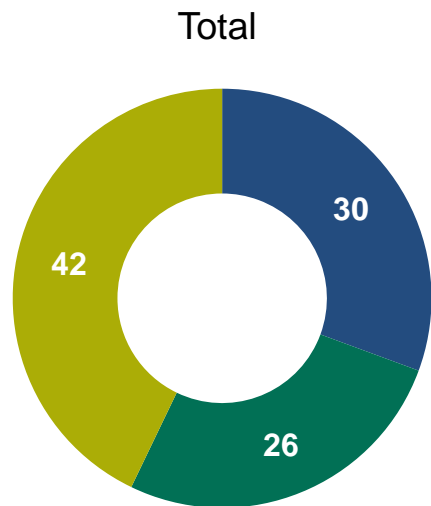


# Majority wants to maintain some Chavista policies

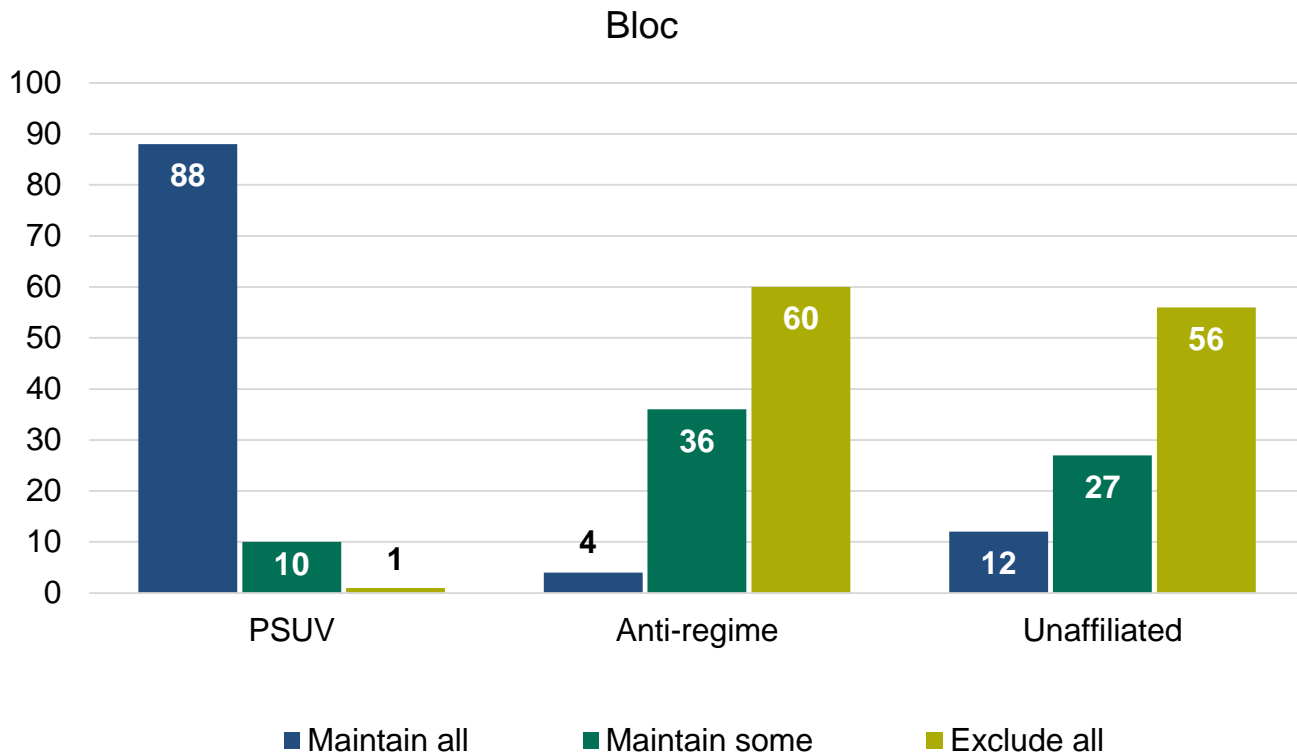
Figure 39



If there is a change of government: Would you like the next government to maintain all Chávez policies, maintain some of the Chávez policies or reject all Chávez policies?



- Maintain all
- Maintain some
- Exclude all



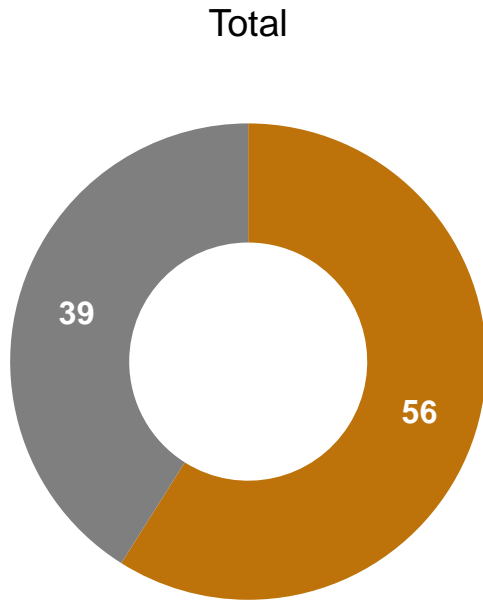


# Significant support for social programs

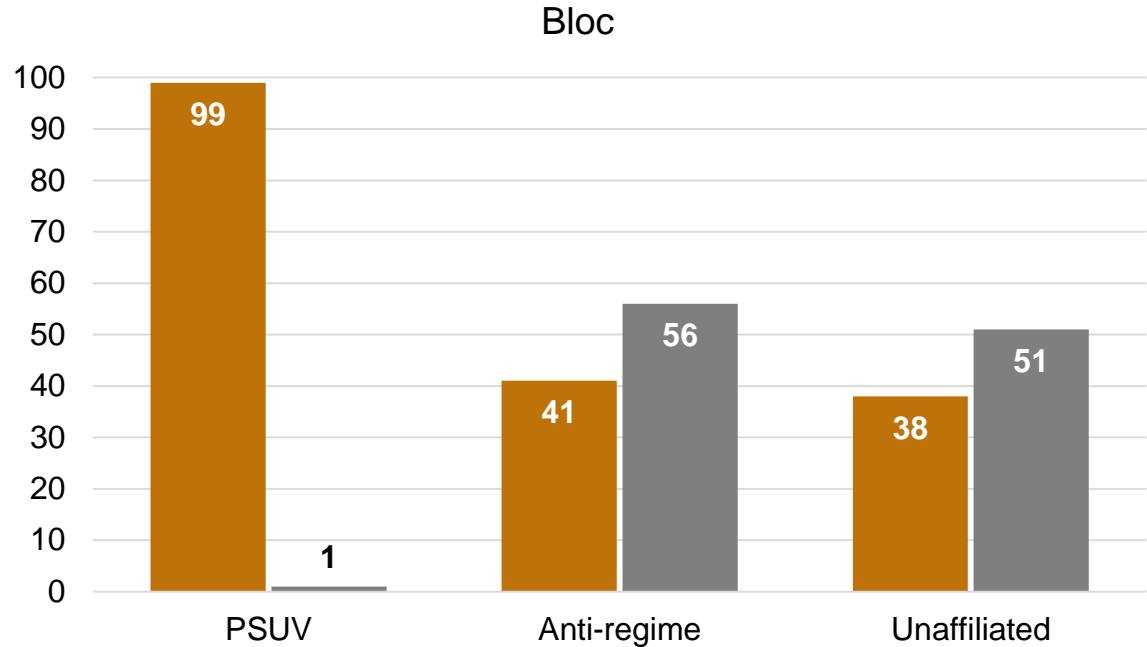
Figure 40



And speaking of the missions, if there is a change of government do you believe that the missions should be maintained or should they be eliminated?



■ Maintained ■ Eliminated



■ Maintained ■ Eliminated

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G B A O

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RESEARCH + STRATEGY