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
Conclusions

- 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

Political Blocs

- PSUV
- Supporters of anti-regime political parties
- No party affiliation

Figure 4
Demographic breakdown of political blocs

**PSUV**
- 18 - 29: 32
- 30 - 39: 23
- 40 - 49: 18
- 50 - 59: 18
- 60+: 8

**Anti-regime**
- 18 - 29: 43
- 30 - 39: 24
- 40 - 49: 14
- 50 - 59: 14
- 60+: 4

**Unaffiliated**
- 18 - 29: 40
- 30 - 39: 22
- 40 - 49: 23
- 50 - 59: 11
- 60+: 5

**Education**
- University grad/post-grad: 6
- Technical studies/some univ: 12
- High school graduates: 54
- Some high school: 27

**Occupation**
- Rural: 32
- Urban: 64

**Age**
- 50+ years: 26
- 50+ years: 18
- 50+ years: 16
Profound dissatisfaction, but regime maintains considerable base

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very good</th>
<th>Very good/good</th>
<th>Very bad</th>
<th>Very bad/bad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSUV</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-regime</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaffiliated</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Poor rating for Maduro's performance, and extraordinary polarization

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

- **Excellent/good**: 75, 24, 86
- **Very bad/bad**: 74, 23, 69

**April 2019 – Bloc**

- **Excellent**: 99, 6
- **Excellent/good**: 95, 12
- **Very bad**: 3, 0
- **Very bad/bad**: 70, 0

**February 2018**

- **Excellent/good**: 24
- **Very bad/bad**: 23

**June 2018**

- **Excellent/good**: 23
- **Very bad/bad**: 25

**April 2019**

- **Excellent/good**: 73
- **Very bad/bad**: 73
In general terms, how would you rate the government of Nicolás Maduro?

- **Excellent**: 31
- **Excellent/good**: 66
- **Very bad**: 29
- **Very bad/bad**: 43

**Education**

- Some high school: 31
- High school graduates: 49
- Technical studies/some university: 60
- University grad/post-grad: 65
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

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
---|---
Nicolás Maduro | 65 | 28
Diosdado Cabello | 71 | 23
Vladimir Padrino | 68 | 25

Soldiers/family in military | Non-military families
---|---
Nicolás Maduro | 69 | 26
Diosdado Cabello | 72 | 23
Vladimir Padrino | 69 | 24
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?

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

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?

- Total: 73% allowed, 25% blocked
- Bloc
  - PSUV: 15 allowed, 78 blocked
  - Anti-regime: 4 allowed, 96 blocked
  - Unaffiliated: 5 allowed, 93 blocked
Disapproval of Maduro-backed institutions

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

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

- **Total**
  - Move to another country: 4%
  - Stay in Venezuela: 56%
  - Depends on how things go: 9%

- **Bloc**
  - **PSUV**
    - Move to another country: 0%
    - Stay in Venezuela: 96%
    - Depends on how things go: 4%
  - **Anti-regime**
    - Move to another country: 40%
    - Stay in Venezuela: 43%
    - Depends on how things go: 15%
  - **Unaffiliated**
    - Move to another country: 47%
    - Stay in Venezuela: 36%
    - Depends on how things go: 8%
Strong Backing for Guaidó
Guaidó is only politician with favorable rating

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

I would like to measure your feelings towards some people and institutions.
Confidence in Guaidó’s leadership

**Q** 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: 16
- Excellent/good: 33
- Very bad: 58
- Very bad/bad: 22

**Q** 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: 32
- None: 59
- A lot/some: 33
- None/little: 30
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?
If presidential elections are held this year, and the candidates are Nicolás Maduro and Juan Guaidó, for whom would you vote?

- Total: 195 votes
  - Maduro: 61 votes
  - Guaidó: 28 votes
  - Don't know yet: 8 votes

- Bloc
  - PSUV: 95 votes
    - Maduro: 1 vote
    - Guaidó: 3 votes
    - Don't know yet: 1 vote
  - Anti-regime: 93 votes
    - Maduro: 1 vote
    - Guaidó: 6 votes
    - Don't know yet: 2 votes
  - Unaffiliated: 75 votes
    - Maduro: 2 votes
    - Guaidó: 13 votes
    - Don't know yet: 13 votes
Maduro would lose election under any scenario

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

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?

Figure 22
Soldiers and their families want military to support Guaidó

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?
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?
The United States and other countries impose additional restrictions on the Maduro government’s ability to access financial resources

International mediators convene a dialogue between the government and the opposition

Supporters of Juan Guaidó, including soldiers who left the armed forces, take up arms to overthrow Maduro

The Venezuelan Army removes Nicolás Maduro from the presidency

Foreign countries sanction more Venezuelan officials by freezing their assets and prohibiting their ability to travel to certain countries

Nicolás Maduro resigns, and new elections are held under the provisional presidency of Juan Guaidó
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

Bar chart showing agreement levels for three blocs: PSUV, Anti-regime, and Unaffiliated.
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?

The United States and other foreign countries conduct a military operation to remove Nicolás Maduro from the presidency

The United States conducts a military operation alone to remove Nicolás Maduro from the presidency

An interim government is formed by representatives of Maduro and Guaidó to supervise new presidential elections and a political transition

Representatives of Nicolás Maduro and Juan Guaidó meet for direct negotiations

New presidential elections are held while Nicolás Maduro remains in power

Nicolás Maduro resigns, and another PSUV leader assumes the Presidency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Strongly/somewhat agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The United States and other foreign countries conduct a military</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>operation to remove Nicolás Maduro from the presidency</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The United States conducts a military operation alone to remove Nicolás</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maduro from the presidency</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>An interim government is formed by representatives of Maduro and</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guaidó to supervise new presidential elections and a political</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representatives of Nicolás Maduro and Juan Guaidó meet for direct</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negotiations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New presidential elections are held while Nicolás Maduro remains in</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>power</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicolás Maduro resigns, and another PSUV leader assumes the Presidency</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Public divided on foreign military intervention

With which of the following statements do you agree more?

- It is premature to consider a foreign military intervention to resolve the political situation in Venezuela
  - 14

- Now is the time to consider a foreign military intervention to resolve the political situation in Venezuela
  - 41

- It will never be appropriate to consider a foreign military intervention to resolve the political situation in Venezuela
  - 43
Most anti-regime parties and non-affiliated want intervention now.

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

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

Q

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

Q

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

Q

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

Q
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?

- Negatively impacted
- Not impacted

**Total**
- 34 (Negatively impacted)
- 59 (Not impacted)

**Social class**
- C: 29 (Negatively impacted), 57 (Not impacted)
- D: 61 (Negatively impacted), 33 (Not impacted)
- E: 55 (Negatively impacted), 31 (Not impacted)
- Rural: 73 (Negatively impacted), 22 (Not impacted)
Attitudes on Role of United States, EU and Lima Group
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

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

- Very important
- Very/somewhat important
- Not at all/not very important

Total: 90 (Very important), 75 (Very/somewhat important), 6 (Not at all important)
PSUV: 99 (Very important), 38 (Very/somewhat important), 29 (Not at all important)
Anti-regime: 90 (Very important), 1 (Very/somewhat important), 2 (Not at all important)
Unaffiliated: 97 (Very important), 2 (Very/somewhat important), 2 (Not at all important)

Figure 34
I would like to measure your feelings towards some people and institutions.

- Juan Guaidó: 36 Favorable, 54 Unfavorable
- Lorenzo Mendoza: 33 Favorable, 45 Unfavorable
- Leopoldo López: 33 Favorable, 45 Unfavorable
- Hugo Chávez: 33 Favorable, 58 Unfavorable
- María Corina Machado: 30 Favorable, 54 Unfavorable
- Henrique Capriles: 29 Favorable, 52 Unfavorable
- Nicolás Maduro: 26 Favorable, 52 Unfavorable
- Vladimir Padrino: 24 Favorable, 69 Unfavorable
- Diosdado Cabello: 23 Favorable, 72 Unfavorable
Chávez receives decent rating for performance as president

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

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.**
Majority wants to maintain some Chavista policies

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: 88
- Maintain some: 60
- Exclude all: 56

**Bloc**
- PSUV: 10
- Anti-regime: 4
- Unaffiliated: 12

**Total**
- Maintain all: 42
- Maintain some: 30
- Exclude all: 26

**Chart**
- Maintain all
- Maintain some
- Exclude all
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?

**Total**
- Maintained: 56
- Eliminated: 39

**Bloc**
- PSUV: 99
- Anti-regime: (41, 56)
- Unaffiliated: (38, 51)