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
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**: 28
- **Supporters of anti-regime political parties**: 41
- **No party affiliation**: 31

![Political Blocs Chart]

Figure 4
## Demographic breakdown of political blocs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PSUV</th>
<th>Anti-regime</th>
<th>Unaffiliated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 - 29</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>43</td>
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<tr>
<td>30 - 39</td>
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<tr>
<td>40 - 49</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>50 - 59</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>60+</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>50+ years:</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>Some high school</td>
<td>27</td>
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<tr>
<td>High school graduates</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>Technical studies/some univ</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University grad/post-grad</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>78</td>
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</table>

Figure 5
Generally speaking, would you say the situation in the country is going in a very good, good, bad, or very bad direction?
In general terms, how would you rate the government of Nicolás Maduro?

- **Excellent/good**
- **Very bad/bad**

**February 2018:**
- Excellent/good: 75
- Very bad/bad: 24

**June 2018:**
- Excellent/good: 74
- Very bad/bad: 23

**April 2019:**
- Excellent/good: 73
- Very bad/bad: 25

**April 2019 – Bloc:**
- **PSUV:**
  - Excellent: 6
  - Excellent/good: 86
  - Very bad: 12
  - Very bad/bad: 95
- **Anti-regime:**
  - Excellent: 0
  - Excellent/good: 99
  - Very bad: 69
  - Very bad/bad: 70
- **Unaffiliated:**
  - Excellent: 0
  - Excellent/good: 69
  - Very bad: 3
  - Very bad/bad: 70
Maduro has lost support from lower social classes

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

In Figure 8, a bar chart shows the distribution of responses by education level. The chart compares the ratings of government performance among those with different educational backgrounds:

- **Some high school**: 31% rated Excellent, 43% Excellent/good, 29% Very bad, and 17% Very bad/bad.
- **High school graduates**: 66% rated Excellent, 49% Excellent/good, 70% Very bad, and 16% Very bad/bad.
- **Technical studies/some university**: 84% rated Excellent, 60% Excellent/good, 84% Very bad, and 17% Very bad/bad.
- **University grad/post-grad**: 65% rated Excellent, 65% Excellent/good, 65% Very bad, and 65% Very bad/bad.
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.

- Nicolás Maduro: Favorable 26, Unfavorable 68
- Diosdado Cabello: Favorable 23, Unfavorable 72
- Vladimir Padrino: Favorable 24, Unfavorable 69
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.

Figure 10

Nicolás Maduro
Diosdado Cabello
Vladimir Padrino

Soldiers/family in military
Non-military families
Soldiers/family in military
Non-military families
Soldiers/family in military
Non-military families

 Favorable
Unfavorable
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?

- **The government**: 64
- **United States**: 12
- **The opposition**: 12
- **Private companies**: 4

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

- **The government**: 68
- **United States**: 16
- **The opposition**: 9
- **Private companies**: 1
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?

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<thead>
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<th>Total</th>
<th>Allowed</th>
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<tr>
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<td>15</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-regime</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaffiliated</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 12
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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Bloc</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Move to another country</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stay in Venezuela</strong></td>
<td>56</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Depends on how things go</strong></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Anti-regime**
- Move to another country: 0
- Stay in Venezuela: 40
- Depends on how things go: 15

**Unaffiliated**
- Move to another country: 8
- Stay in Venezuela: 36
- Depends on how things go: 47
Strong Backing for Guaidó
I would like to measure your feelings towards some people and institutions.

- Henrique Capriles: Favorable 29, Unfavorable 52
- Leopoldo López: Favorable 39, Unfavorable 45
- María Corina Machado: Favorable 30, Unfavorable 54
- Juan Guaidó: Favorable 54, Unfavorable 36

Guaidó is only politician with favorable rating

Figure 16
Confidence in Guaidó’s leadership

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

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: 59
- A lot/some: 32
- None: 39
- None/little: 30
Guaidó seen as more than just a transition figure

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?

**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**
  - 60% Run as candidate
  - 38% Only transitional

- **Bloc**
  - **PSUV**
    - 14% Run as candidate
    - 65% Only transitional
  - **Anti-regime**
    - 85% Run as candidate
    - 13% Only transitional
  - **Unaffiliated**
    - 68% Run as candidate
    - 15% Only transitional

- **Run as candidate**
- **Only transitional**
If presidential elections are held this year, and the candidates are Nicolás Maduro and Juan Guaidó, for whom would you vote?

- **Total:**
  - Maduro: 61
  - Guaidó: 28
  - Don't know: 8

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

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

- Maduro: 28%
- López: 57%
- No sabe todavía: 9%

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

- Maduro: 27%
- López: 48%
- Falcón: 10%
- No sabe todavía: 9%
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?
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?
Support for elections under Guaidó, sanctions and action by army

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?

- Nicolás Maduro resigns, and new elections are held under the provisional presidency of Juan Guaidó
- Foreign countries sanction more Venezuelan officials by freezing their assets and prohibiting their ability to travel to certain countries
- The Venezuelan Army removes Nicolás Maduro from the presidency
- Supporters of Juan Guaidó, including soldiers who left the armed forces, take up arms to overthrow Maduro
- International mediators convene a dialogue between the government and the opposition
- The United States and other countries impose additional restrictions on the Maduro government’s ability to access financial resources

**Majority support**

- Strongly agree: 55/65
- Strongly/somewhat agree: 47/62
- Strongly/somewhat agree: 49/60
- Strongly/somewhat agree: 33/52
- Strongly/somewhat agree: 25/52
- Strongly/somewhat agree: 35/51
Greater consensus on mediated dialogue

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bloc</th>
<th>Strongly/somewhat agree</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PSUV</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anti-regime</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaffiliated</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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
  - Strongly agree: 35
  - Strongly/somewhat agree: 49

- The United States conducts a military operation alone to remove Nicolás Maduro from the presidency
  - Strongly agree: 31
  - Strongly/somewhat agree: 49

- An interim government is formed by representatives of Maduro and Guaidó to supervise new presidential elections and a political transition
  - Strongly agree: 21
  - Strongly/somewhat agree: 47

- Representatives of Nicolás Maduro and Juan Guaidó meet for direct negotiations
  - Strongly agree: 19
  - Strongly/somewhat agree: 42

- New presidential elections are held while Nicolás Maduro remains in power
  - Strongly agree: 20
  - Strongly/somewhat agree: 35

- Nicolás Maduro resigns, and another PSUV leader assumes the Presidency
  - Strongly agree: 10
  - Strongly/somewhat agree: 19
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

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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unaffiliated</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>33</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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?

**Figure 31**

- **Total**
  - Negatively impacted: 59%
  - Not impacted: 41%

- **Social class**
  - Class C: 29% negatively impacted, 71% not impacted
  - Class D: 33% negatively impacted, 67% not impacted
  - Class E: 31% negatively impacted, 69% not impacted
  - Rural: 22% negatively impacted, 78% not impacted
Attitudes on Role of United States, EU and Lima Group
Support for role of United States and allied countries

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.

![Bar chart showing support for role of various countries in Venezuela](chart.png)

- **Colombia**: Total positive = 64, Total negative = 32
- **United States**: Total positive = 59, Total negative = 37
- **Brazil**: Total positive = 59, Total negative = 29
- **European Union**: Total positive = 57, Total negative = 27
- **Canada**: Total positive = 54, Total negative = 28
- **Mexico**: Total positive = 50, Total negative = 34
- **China**: Total positive = 48, Total negative = 43
- **Russia**: Total positive = 50, Total negative = 43
- **Turkey**: Total positive = 50, Total negative = 40
- **Iran**: Total positive = 49, Total negative = 44
- **Cuba**: Total positive = 63, Total negative = 33
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 important
- Not at all/not very important

Figure 34

Receptivity to investment from other countries

Very/somewhat important
Not at all/not very important

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Very important</th>
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<th>Not at all important</th>
<th>Not at all/not very important</th>
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<td>Total</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unaffiliated</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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</table>
I would like to measure your feelings towards some people and institutions.

- Juan Guaidó: Favorable 54, Unfavorable 36
- Lorenzo Mendoza: Favorable 45, Unfavorable 33
- Leopoldo López: Favorable 45, Unfavorable 39
- Hugo Chávez: Favorable 58, Unfavorable 33
- María Corina Machado: Favorable 54, Unfavorable 30
- Henrique Capriles: Favorable 52, Unfavorable 29
- Nicolás Maduro: Favorable 68, Unfavorable 26
- Vladimir Padrino: Favorable 69, Unfavorable 24
- Diosdado Cabello: Favorable 72, Unfavorable 23
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.
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?

- Total: 88% want to maintain all Chavista policies, 30% want to maintain some, and 26% want to reject all.

- PSUV: 10% maintain all, 1% maintain some, and 4% reject all.
- Anti-regime: 12% maintain all, 36% maintain some, and 60% reject all.
- Unaffiliated: 12% maintain all, 27% maintain some, and 56% reject 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:
  - 39% support for social programs
  - 56% support for anti-regime bloc

- PSUV:
  - 99% support for maintained
  - 1% support for eliminated

- Anti-regime:
  - 41% support for maintained
  - 56% support for eliminated

- Unaffiliated:
  - 38% support for maintained
  - 51% support for eliminated