Additional Documentation for "Who Votes for *Chavismo*? Class Voting in Hugo Chávez's Venezuela"

Table X1. *Representativeness of survey sample demographics*

	1993		1998		2000		2004		2006	
	Sample	**Pop**	**Sample**	**Pop**	**Sample**	**Pop**	**Sample**	**Pop**	**Sample**	**Pop**
Urbanization[a]										
Urban			84.1	87.0	88.8	87.0			95.2	93.4
Rural			15.9	13.0	11.2	13.0			4.8	6.6
Gender[b]										
Male	49.5	50	49.7	50	48.4	50	50.1	50	50.1	50
Female	50.5	50	50.3	50	51.6	50	49.9	50	49.9	50
Age[c]										
18-24	23.4	21.2	28.9	20.7	23.8	20.5	22.0	20.1	24.7	19.9
25-34	28.3	29.4	25.8	28.6	28.2	28.3	26.0	27.6	26.8	27.3
35-44	20.7	21.5	18.8	22.6	21.5	23.1	21.1	24.0	23.2	24.4
45-54	18.1	13.2	13.3	15.0	12.0	15.7	15.0	17.2	13.1	17.9
55 and older	9.6	14.7	13.2	13.1	14.5	12.4	16.0	11.1	12.2	10.5
State[c]										
Federal District			15.3	9.9			11.8	8.7	8.0	8.3
Amazonas			0.0	0.3				0.3	0.0	0.3
Anzoátegui			5.1	5.2			1.1	5.4	6.1	5.5
Apure			2.3	1.6			1.3	1.6	2.4	1.6
Aragua			6.6	6.3			7.6	6.3	7.2	6.3
Barinas			2.8	2.6			2.2	2.8	2.9	2.9
Bolívar			5.1	5.2			6.4	5.4	5.3	5.4
Carabobo			8.2	8.3			8.3	8.5	8.5	8.6
Cojedas			0.8	1.1			2.4	1.1	1.1	1.1

	1993		1998		2000		2004		2006	
	Sample	**Pop**	**Sample**	**Pop**	**Sample**	**Pop**	**Sample**	**Pop**	**Sample**	**Pop**
Delta Amacuro			0.5	0.4				0.4	0.0	0.4
Falcón			3.1	3.3			0.8	3.3	0.0	3.3
Guárico			1.9	2.7			2.1	2.7	2.7	2.7
Lara			6.0	6.7			9.0	6.9	6.4	6.9
Mérida			4.1	3.1			2.8	3.1	3.4	3.1
Miranda			6.8	10.2			6.8	10.0	10.1	10.0
Monagas			2.6	3.0			3.1	3.2	3.2	3.3
Nueva Esparta			0.9	1.6			1.8	1.6		1.6
Portuguesa			3.2	3.1			3.2	3.1	2.7	3.1
Sucre			3.7	3.5			5.1	3.3	3.1	3.2
Táchira			6.1	4.4			3.9	4.2	4.2	4.2
Trujillo			1.7	2.6			2.3	2.6	2.7	2.6
Vargas							3.3	1.7	1.6	1.9
Yaracuy			2.1	2.2				2.2	2.1	2.2
Zulia			11.3	12.8			14.8	13.2	16.7	13.2
Region[c]										
Capital					28.7	19.4				
Central					18.0	15.8				
Centro Occidental					10.2	15.4				
Guayana					6.0	6				
Insular						1.6				
Los Andes					6.4	8.4				
Los Llanos					7.3	4.3				
Nor-Oriental					9.8	11.8				
Sur Occidental						4.3				
Zulia					13.6	13				
Education[d]										

	1993		1998		2000		2004		2006	
	Sample	**Pop**	**Sample**	**Pop**	**Sample**	**Pop**	**Sample**	**Pop**	**Sample**	**Pop**
None	19.5	17.3	12.3	18.6	8.9	17.8	14.1	15.9	12.5	15.9
Primary	52.4	46.5	41.0	45.2	41.7	43.5	31.6	41.2	50.3	41.2
Secondary	22.5	19.7	23.9	20	34.1	20.5	37.3	22.9	25.5	22.9
University	5.6	16.4	22.9	16.3	15.3	18.1	17.0	19.9	11.7	19.9

[a] United Nations, *World Urbanization Prospects*, 1999 and 2005

[b] World Development Indicators

[c] Venezuelan National Census, 1990 and 2001 (reported values are interpolated using linear rates of growth)

[d] Economic Commission on Latin American and the Caribbean, *Social Panorama of Latin America*, 2006, Table 31.1 (reported values correspond to 1994, 1998, 2000, and 2005)

Table X2. *Comparison of survey sample and population vote distributions*

	1993		1998		2000		2004		2006	
	Survey	**Pop**	**Survey**	**Pop**	**Survey**	**Pop**	**Survey**	**Pop**	**Survey**	**Pop**
Rafael Caldera	29.3	30.5								
Claudio Fermín	20.6	23.6			8.0	2.7				
Oswaldo Alvarez Paz	34.7	22.7								
Andrés Velásquez	13.5	22.0								
Hugo Chávez Frías			48.0	56.2	61.0	59.8			76.3	62.8
Henrique Salas Römer			37.7	40.0						
Irene Sáez			2.5	2.8						
Luis Alfaro Ucero[†]			10.1	0.4						
Miguel Rodríguez			1.07	0.3						
Alfredo Ramos			0.09	0.11						
Francisco Arias					31.0	37.5				
Manuel Rosales									19.9	36.9
Others	2.0	1.2	0.54	0.18					3.8	0.3
No (2004 referendum)							37.6	50.1		
Yes (2004 referendum)							62.4	48.9		
Respondents	1,369		1,121		1,307		1,050		1,507	
Turnout	77.7	60.2	88.5	63.8	88.8	56.3	92.9	69.9	76.8	74.7
Abstention	22.4	39.8	11.5	36.2	11.2	43.7	7.1	30.1	23.2	25.3

Sources: Election results are from Molina (2004); National Electoral Commission.
[†] Ucero resigned from the race after the 1998 survey was conducted, and his party backed Salas Römer in an attempt to avoid a victory for Chávez (see McCoy 1999).

Table X3. *Descriptive statistics*

Year	Variable	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
1993	Income	1,388	1.36	0.88	0	3
	Age	1,479	1.62	1.28	0	4
	Gender	1,499	0.51	0.50	0	1
	Education	1,499	1.14	0.79	0	3
1998	Income	1,401	1.46	1.09	0	3
	Age	1,500	1.56	1.37	0	4
	Gender	1,500	0.50	0.50	0	1
	Education	1,492	1.57	0.97	0	3
2000	Income	1,364	1.39	1.11	0	3
	Age	1,500	1.65	1.35	0	4
	Gender	1,500	0.52	0.50	0	1
	Education	1,500	1.56	0.86	0	3
2004	Income	887	1.16	1.02	0	3
	Age	1,197	1.77	1.37	0	4
	Gender	1,197	0.50	0.50	0	1
	Education	1,015	1.57	0.93	0	3
2006	Income	1,303	1.61	1.05	0	3
	Age	1,464	1.66	1.31	0	4
	Gender	1,510	0.50	0.50	0	1
	Education	1,372	1.36	0.85	0	3

Table X4. *Effect of income on vote choice, 1998*

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Income group:										
1		0.164	0.231	0.214	0.446**	0.242	0.316*	0.240	0.482**	0.713***
		(0.18)	(0.20)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.22)	(0.19)	(0.20)
2	-0.164		0.0666	0.0500	0.282*	0.0778	0.152	0.0763	0.319*	0.549***
	(0.18)		(0.19)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.22)	(0.18)	(0.19)
3	-0.231	-0.0666		-0.0166	0.216	0.0112	0.0854	0.00968	0.252	0.482**
	(0.20)	(0.19)		(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.23)	(0.19)	(0.21)
4	-0.214	-0.0500	0.0166		0.232	0.0278	0.102	0.0263	0.269	0.499***
	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.19)		(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.21)	(0.16)	(0.18)
5	-0.446**	-0.282*	-0.216	-0.232		-0.204	-0.130	-0.206	0.0364	0.266
	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.16)		(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.21)	(0.16)	(0.17)
6	-0.242	-0.0778	-0.0112	-0.0278	0.204		0.0743	-0.00150	0.241	0.471**
	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.20)	(0.17)	(0.17)		(0.17)	(0.21)	(0.17)	(0.19)
7	-0.316*	-0.152	-0.0854	-0.102	0.130	-0.0743		-0.0758	0.167	0.397**
	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.17)		(0.20)	(0.16)	(0.17)
8	-0.240	-0.0763	-0.00968	-0.0263	0.206	0.00150	0.0758		0.242	0.472**
	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.20)		(0.20)	(0.21)
9	-0.482**	-0.319*	-0.252	-0.269	-0.0364	-0.241	-0.167	-0.242		0.230
	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.20)		(0.17)
10	-0.713***	-0.549***	-0.482**	-0.499***	-0.266	-0.471**	-0.397**	-0.472**	-0.230	
	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.21)	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.17)	(0.21)	(0.17)	
Age	0.0561*	0.0561*	0.0561*	0.0561*	0.0561*	0.0561*	0.0561*	0.0561*	0.0561*	0.0561*
	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)
Gender	-0.422***	-0.422***	-0.422***	-0.422***	-0.422***	-0.422***	-0.422***	-0.422***	-0.422***	-0.422***
	(0.079)	(0.079)	(0.079)	(0.079)	(0.079)	(0.079)	(0.079)	(0.079)	(0.079)	(0.079)
Education	0.0468	0.0468	0.0468	0.0468	0.0468	0.0468	0.0468	0.0468	0.0468	0.0468
	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.047)
Constant	0.644***	0.480**	0.414**	0.430**	0.198	0.403**	0.328*	0.404*	0.162	-0.0683

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.17)	(0.22)	(0.18)	(0.20)
Observations	1243	1243	1243	1243	1243	1243	1243	1243	1243	1243

Probit estimates with robust standard errors in parentheses (state dummies included in all models)
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table X5. *Effect of income on vote choice, 2000*

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Income group:							
1		-0.0542	-0.105	-0.148	-0.158	-0.194	0.000344
		(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.20)
2	0.0542		-0.0507	-0.0934	-0.103	-0.140	0.0546
	(0.18)		(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)
3	0.105	0.0507		-0.0427	-0.0527	-0.0892	0.105
	(0.18)	(0.14)		(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.15)
4	0.148	0.0934	0.0427		-0.0100	-0.0466	0.148
	(0.18)	(0.15)	(0.14)		(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)
5	0.158	0.103	0.0527	0.0100		-0.0366	0.158
	(0.21)	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.17)		(0.19)	(0.18)
6	0.194	0.140	0.0892	0.0466	0.0366		0.195
	(0.21)	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.19)		(0.18)
7	-0.000344	-0.0546	-0.105	-0.148	-0.158	-0.195	
	(0.20)	(0.17)	(0.15)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.18)	
Age	0.0337	0.0337	0.0337	0.0337	0.0337	0.0337	0.0337
	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.034)
Gender	-0.180**	-0.180**	-0.180**	-0.180**	-0.180**	-0.180**	-0.180**
	(0.089)	(0.089)	(0.089)	(0.089)	(0.089)	(0.089)	(0.089)
Education	-0.0727	-0.0727	-0.0727	-0.0727	-0.0727	-0.0727	-0.0727
	(0.055)	(0.055)	(0.055)	(0.055)	(0.055)	(0.055)	(0.055)
Constant	0.468**	0.522***	0.573***	0.615***	0.625***	0.662***	0.467**
	(0.21)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.21)	(0.20)	(0.20)
Observations	1113	1113	1113	1113	1113	1113	1113

Probit estimates with robust standard errors in parentheses (region dummies included in all models)

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table X6. *Effect of income on vote choice, 2004*

	(1)	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**	**(5)**	**(6)**
Income group:						
1		-0.0847	-0.0906	-0.278	-0.393	0.215
		(0.15)	(0.18)	(0.23)	(0.26)	(0.29)
2	0.0847		-0.00589	-0.193	-0.309	0.300
	(0.15)		(0.17)	(0.22)	(0.25)	(0.28)
3	0.0906	0.00589		-0.187	-0.303	0.306
	(0.18)	(0.17)		(0.24)	(0.26)	(0.29)
4	0.278	0.193	0.187		-0.116	0.493
	(0.23)	(0.22)	(0.24)		(0.31)	(0.34)
5	0.393	0.309	0.303	0.116		0.609*
	(0.26)	(0.25)	(0.26)	(0.31)		(0.35)
6	-0.215	-0.300	-0.306	-0.493	-0.609*	
	(0.29)	(0.28)	(0.29)	(0.34)	(0.35)	
Age	-0.0557	-0.0557	-0.0557	-0.0557	-0.0557	-0.0557
	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.046)
Gender	-0.190*	-0.190*	-0.190*	-0.190*	-0.190*	-0.190*
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Education	-0.142**	-0.142**	-0.142**	-0.142**	-0.142**	-0.142**
	(0.069)	(0.069)	(0.069)	(0.069)	(0.069)	(0.069)
Constant	0.270	0.355	0.361	0.548*	0.664**	0.0549
	(0.23)	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.29)	(0.32)	(0.35)
Observations	738	738	738	738	738	738

Probit estimates with robust standard errors in parentheses (state dummies included in all models)

*** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$

Table X7. *Effect of income on vote choice, 2006*

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Income group:						
1		-0.227	-0.331	-0.144	-0.336	0.0746
		(0.19)	(0.24)	(0.21)	(0.23)	(0.22)
2	0.240		-0.104	0.0828	-0.109	0.302*
	(0.19)		(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.18)
3	0.341	0.104		0.187	-0.00474	0.406**
	(0.24)	(0.19)		(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.20)
4	0.155	-0.0828	-0.187		-0.191	0.219
	(0.21)	(0.20)	(0.21)		(0.21)	(0.18)
5	0.333	0.109	0.00474	0.191		0.410**
	(0.23)	(0.20)	(0.22)	(0.21)		(0.17)
6	-0.0877	-0.302*	-0.406**	-0.219	-0.410**	
	(0.22)	(0.18)	(0.20)	(0.18)	(0.17)	
Age	0.00201	0.00611	0.00611	0.00611	0.00611	0.00611
	(0.047)	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.048)
Gender	-0.0247	-0.0227	-0.0227	-0.0227	-0.0227	-0.0227
	(0.100)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Education	-0.170***	-0.166***	-0.166***	-0.166***	-0.166***	-0.166***
	(0.064)	(0.064)	(0.064)	(0.064)	(0.064)	(0.064)
Constant	1.248***	1.360***	1.464***	1.277***	1.468***	1.058***
	(0.25)	(0.27)	(0.30)	(0.29)	(0.28)	(0.27)
Observations	786	765	765	765	765	765

Probit estimates with clustered standard errors in parentheses (state dummies included in all models)
*** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$