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APPENDIX

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|----|
| Supporting Information | 1 |
| Table of Contents..... | 1 |
| Appendix I: Full Questionnaire | 2 |
| Appendix II: PCA Analysis..... | 7 |
| (a) An Extended Explanation of PCA Analysis | 7 |
| (b) PCA Analysis Separately by Type of Survey | 10 |
| (c) Confirmatory PCA Analysis with LAPOP Data..... | 11 |
| (d) Venezuela’s Immigration Problem and Fears toward “Castrochavismo” | 13 |
| Appendix III: Regression Analysis..... | 15 |
| (a) Logit Model | 15 |
| (b) Regression Analysis LAPOP Data..... | 16 |
| Appendix IV: Aggregated Plebiscite Results in Bogotá | 19 |
| Appendix References..... | 21 |

Appendix I: Full Questionnaire

Demographic questions:

1. Where were you born?

2. Age
 - (01) 15 to 20
 - (02) 20 to 30
 - (03) 30 to 40
 - (04) 40 to 50
 - (05) 50 to 60
 - (06) 60 to 70
 - (07) 70 to 80
 - (08) 80 to 90
3. Gender **[DO NOT ASK, WRITE IT DOWN]:**
 - (00) Male
 - (01) Female
4. What educational level did you complete?
 - (01) Primary
 - (02) Secondary
 - (03) Technical school
 - (04) University
 - (05) Graduate school
5. What would best describe your employment situation?
 - (01) Work in the private sector
 - (02) Work in the public sector
 - (03) I have my own business

- (04) Student
- (05) Other
- (06) None

6. What is your economic strata (*estrato*)?
 - (01) 1
 - (02) 2
 - (03) 3
 - (04) 4
 - (05) 5
 - (06) 6
7. What is your religion?
 - (01) Catholic
 - (02) Christian
 - (03) Jewish
 - (04) Protestant
 - (05) Jehovah's Witness.
 - (06) Evangelical/ Pentecostal
 - (07) Agnostic or atheist
 - (08) None
 - (09) Other

Politics and Institutions:

8. In political terms, people talk about left-wing positions and right-wing positions. On a scale of 1 to 10, what place would you be in? **[SHOW SCALE TO RESPONDENT]:**

| Left | | | | | Right | | | | |
|------|---|---|---|---|-------|---|---|---|----|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |

9. Did you not vote in the last presidential election? **[IF**

**RESPONDENT SAYS “YES”
SKIP QUESTION 10]**

- (01) Yes
- (02) No

10. Who did you vote for in the last presidential election?

- (01) Juan Manuel Santos
- (02) Clara López
- (03) Oscar Iván Zuluaga
- (04) Enrique Peñalosa
- (05) Marta Lucia Ramírez
- (06) Voto en blanco y/o nulo

11. Did you vote in the last Congressional election?

[IF RESPONDENT SAYS NO, SKIP TO QUESTION 13]

- (01) Si
- (02) No

12. Which party or political movement did you vote for in the last Senate election? **[IF**

RESPONDENT DOES NOT REMEMBER THE PARTY, ASK HIM/HER FOR THE NAME OF THE CANDIDATE]

- (01) Partido de la Unidad Nacional
- (02) Partido Centro Democrático
- (03) Partido Conservador
- (04) Partido Liberal
- (05) Partido Cambio Radical
- (06) Partido Alianza Verde
- (07) Partido Polo Democrático
- (08) Partido Opción ciudadana
- (09) Movimiento “MIRA”

13. Who is your favorite politician?

14. If the 2018 presidential elections were tomorrow, which of the following candidates would you vote for?

- (01) German Vargas Lleras
- (02) Sergio Fajardo
- (03) Alejandro Ordoñez
- (04) Claudia López
- (05) Humberto de la Calle
- (06) Gustavo Petro
- (07) Jorge Enrique Robledo
- (08) (None of the above)

In the three following questions, please give your answer according to the next scale. One means **not at all** and seven a **lot**. **[SHOW SCALE TO RESPONDENT]:**

| Not at all | | | | | A lot | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|-------|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

15. To what extent do you trust the Colombian justice system? (___)

16. To what extent do you trust the president? (___)

17. To what extent do you trust the armed forces? (___)

Attitudes, beliefs, and values

18. Which of the following statements do you most agree with?

- (01) There is life after death
- (02) The most important thing is what we do in this world
- (03) The most important thing is to follow the rules and beliefs of my religion

(04) The most important thing is to do good for other people

19. Do you believe that, under extreme circumstances, violence is a mechanism for obtaining justice?

- (01) Yes
- (02) No

20. Do you agree with the government granting subsidies to people when they are unemployed?

- (01) Yes
- (02) No

21. Do you believe that Venezuela is a democratic country?

- (01) Yes
- (02) No

22. Do you think that in future Colombia could be a country like Venezuela?

- (01) Yes
- (02) No

23. Of the following public policies, what do you think should be the priority of the Colombian government?

- (01) The fight against drug trafficking
- (02) Peace and the post-conflict
- (03) The fight against corruption
- (04) Economic growth

| | None | 15 mins | 30 mins | 1 hour | 2 hours | 3 hours |
|------------|------|---------|---------|--------|---------|---------|
| Newspapers | | | | | | |
| TV | | | | | | |
| Radio | | | | | | |
| Internet | | | | | | |

Media Consumption:

24. How much daily time do you dedicate to the consumption of informative content through the media? [IF THE RESPONDENT ANSWERS THAT HE DOES NOT, SKIP THE QUESTION REGARDING THE FREQUENCY].

25. On a scale of 1 to 4, where one is nothing and four a lot. How much credibility do you give to the information offered by these

| | None (1) | Little (2) | Enough (3) | A lot (4) |
|------------|----------|------------|------------|-----------|
| Newspapers | | | | |
| TV | | | | |
| Radio | | | | |
| Internet | | | | |

media outlets?

26. Of the following television channels, which are the two that you see most frequently for the consumption of informative content?

- (01) Caracol Television (___)
- (02) RCN Television (___)
- (03) City TV (___)
- (04) Channel One (___)
- (05) Cable News (___)
- (06) Red more news (___)
- (07) Regional channels (___)
- (08) Other (___)

27. Of the following radio channels, which are the two that you listen to most frequently for the consumption of informative content?

- (01) Caracol Radio (___)
- (02) W Radio (___)
- (03) The F.M. (___)
- (04) Blu Radio (___)
- (05) RCN Radio (___)
- (06) Radio Policía Nacional (___)
- (07) Other (___)

28. Of the following newspapers and magazines, which are the two that you read (printed or digital version) more(most?) frequently for the consumption of informative content?

- (01) El Tiempo (___)
- (02) El Espectador (___)
- (03) Revista Semana (___)
- (04) Quiubo (___)
- (05) DNA (___)
- (06) Metro (___)
- (07) Other (___)

29. Of the following news portals, which are the two that you visit most frequently for the consumption of informative content?

- (01) Las dos orillas (___)
- (02) Pulzo (___)
- (03) Kienyke (___)
- (04) La Silla Vacía (___)
- (05) None (___)

30. Of the following social networks, which are the two that you visit most frequently for the consumption of informative content?

- (01) Facebook (___)
- (02) Twitter (___)
- (03) Instagram (___)
- (04) Other (___)

Current politics and plebiscite

31. Will you vote for(in?) the plebiscite on October 2? [IF THE ANSWER IS YES, SKIP TO QUESTION 33]

- (01) Yes
- (02) No

32. If you answered NO to the previous question, which of these reasons best describes the reason why you will not vote?

- (01) Does not agree with the use of a plebiscite to endorse agreements
- (02) Believe that the government is giving the country to the FARC
- (03) You do not have your cedula (ID)
- (04) Not interested in politics
- (05) Other

Now, we are going to read a series of affirmations; please answer them according to the following scale. One strongly disagrees (does not believe) and seven strongly agrees (if you believe) [SHOW SCALE TO RESPONDENT]:

| strongly disagree | | | strongly agree | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|----------------|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

33. The Colombian government must guarantee ten seats in Congress to the FARC to participate in politics. (___)

34. The FARC has economic resources that have not been reported to the Colombian government. (___)

35. On October 2, if the peace agreement is defeated, there will be more violence in Colombia. (___)

36. If on October 2, the peace deal wins, the negotiated points of the peace agreement cannot be modified under any circumstances. (___)
37. The absence of prison for some members of the FARC is a symbol of impunity. (___)
38. Once the agreement is approved, the majority of the members of the FARC will demobilize. (___)

Concluding two questions:

39. How are you going to vote in the plebiscite?
- (01) Yes
 - (02) No
 - (03) Do not know
 - (04) Not going to
40. Which option do you think will win in the plebiscite?
- (01) Yes
 - (02) No

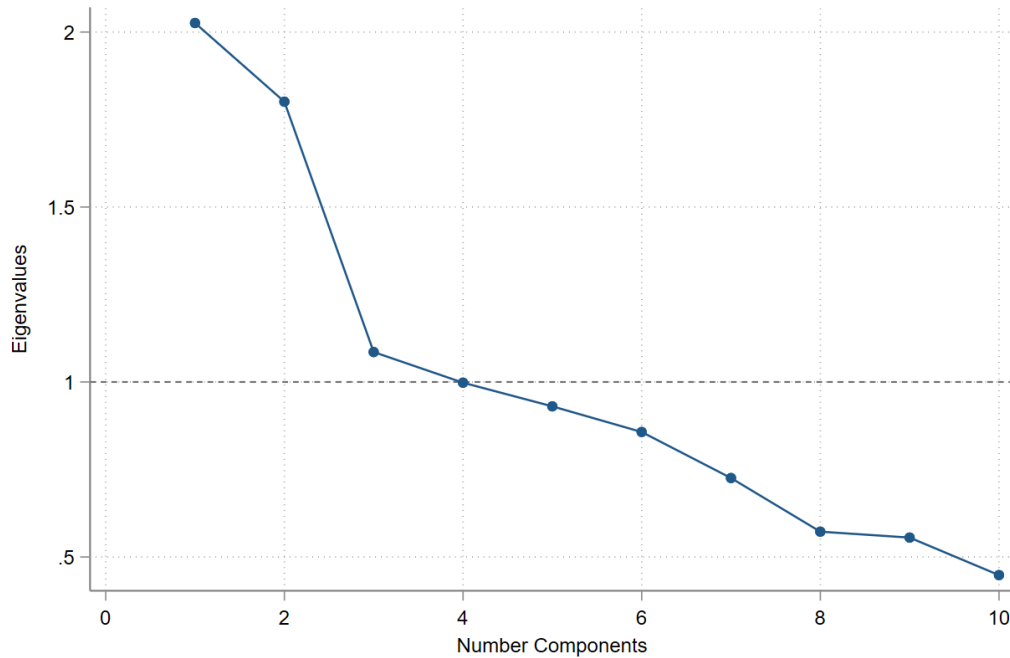
Appendix II: PCA Analysis

(a) An Extended Explanation of PCA Analysis

In PCA analysis, variables are transformed into new variables called principal components, which are standard scores. These new variables have a mean of zero and a standard deviation and variance of one. So, the total amount of variance in the dataset is equal to the number of variables (Geoffrey and Streiner 2003). In this case, we included ten original variables in the PCA analysis. Therefore, the outcome is ten components, each one constituted by the ten variables with different weights, as shown in Table II-1.

The goals of PCA analysis are to extract the most important information and reduce the size of the dataset—explain the variables in terms of a smaller number of components— (Abdi and Williams 2010). Thus, we followed the standard Kaiser-Guttman criterion to decide how many components to keep. Each component must account for the variance of at least one variable, so any component with an eigenvalue greater than one should be retained. In other words, an eigenvalue larger than 1 represents an “above average” component (Geoffrey and Streiner 2003). Graphically, this can be visualized in the scree plot of Figure II-1. Each succeeding component accounts for less variance than the previous one, which means that usually, most of the variation will be explained by the first components. In our case, the first three components meet these criteria.

Figure II-1. Scree plot of Eigenvalues After PCA



The weights for each variable within the components range between 0 and 1. The sum of the contributions of all variables within a component is equal to 1. The larger the value of the factor loading of the variable, the more it contributes to the component. Therefore, a handy and standard rule of thumb to determine when a factor loading is significant is when it is larger than the average contribution of all variables within each component (Abdi and Williams 2010). In this case, the average contribution is 0.3 on average for the first three components.

Therefore, the PCA analysis helped us to determine how the original variables were computed in terms of a smaller number of components, which are hypothetical constructs of what we call *type of voters*.

Table II-1. PCA Analysis with All Components and Variables (N=1,376)

| Variable | Comp1 | Comp2 | Comp3 | Comp4 | Comp5 | Comp6 | Comp7 | Comp8 | Comp9 | Comp10 |
|-------------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----------|---------|---------|
| Catholic | 0.1149 | 0.3887 | -0.4893 | -0.0552 | 0.1548 | 0.2891 | 0.6583 | 0.0298 | 0.1149 | 0.3887 |
| Evangelical-Christian | -0.108 | -0.0119 | 0.8083 | -0.1976 | 0.2081 | 0.2627 | 0.3916 | 0.01702 | -0.108 | -0.0119 |
| Left-right scale placement | 0.0485 | 0.5759 | 0.1505 | 0.0146 | 0.0675 | 0.1258 | -0.0573 | 0.3528 | 0.0485 | 0.5759 |
| Voted for Santos in 2014 Elections | 0.3981 | -0.0332 | -0.0281 | -0.0249 | 0.6565 | 0.2977 | -0.407 | 0.07828 | 0.3981 | -0.0332 |
| Voted for Zuluaga in 2014 Elections | -0.2668 | 0.4438 | 0.0985 | 0.1374 | -0.3169 | 0.2633 | -0.362 | 0.2238 | -0.2668 | 0.4438 |
| Trust in the judicial system | 0.4853 | -0.0453 | 0.1844 | 0.1784 | -0.4272 | -0.1358 | 0.2511 | 0.2192 | 0.4853 | -0.0453 |
| Trust in the President | 0.5777 | -0.105 | 0.0862 | 0.0736 | -0.0169 | -0.0707 | 0.0037 | 0.286 | 0.5777 | -0.105 |
| Trust in the armed forces | 0.3764 | 0.4085 | 0.1387 | 0.1387 | -0.1641 | -0.0151 | -0.1642 | 0.3275 | 0.3764 | 0.4085 |
| Violence to obtain Justice | -0.1774 | 0.1289 | 0.1069 | 0.7649 | 0.3963 | -0.406 | 0.149 | 0.006331 | -0.1774 | 0.1289 |
| Venezuela is a democracy | -0.027 | -0.3499 | -0.0441 | 0.5446 | -0.1733 | 0.6965 | 0.0328 | 0.03522 | -0.027 | -0.3499 |

(b) PCA Analysis Separately by Type of Survey

Table II-2. Three first principal components on the face-to-face survey, only items with significant loadings shown (N=326)

| Variable | Component 1: Pro- Government | Component 2: Right- Conservative | Component 3: Evangelical Christian |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|--|
| Catholic | | | |
| Evangelical Christian | 0.3287 | | -0.5462 |
| Left-right scale placement | | | 0.7683 |
| Voted for Santos in 2014 | | | |
| Elections | 0.3122 | 0.4849 | |
| Voted for Zuluaga in 2014 | | | |
| Elections | 0.4102 | | |
| Trust in the judicial system | | 0.5637 | |
| Trust in the President | 0.3976 | -0.3124 | |
| Trust in the armed forces | 0.5192 | | |
| Venezuela is a democracy | 0.3818 | | |
| Eigenvalues | 2.0171 | 1.5834 | 1.1735 |
| Proportion variance | 0.2017 | 0.1583 | 0.1174 |

Note: Another variable included in the analysis was to ask respondents if they believe violence is a mechanism to obtain justice, but only variables with loads above 0.3 are reported.

Table II-3. Three first principal components on the online survey, only items with significant loadings shown (N=1,050)

| Variable | Component 1: Pro- Government | Component 2: Right- Conservative | Component 3: Evangelical Christian |
|--|------------------------------------|--|--|
| Catholic | | | |
| Evangelical Christian | | 0.4029 | -0.449 |
| Left-right scale placement | | | 0.7623 |
| Voted for Santos in 2014 Elections | | 0.5438 | |
| Voted for Zuluaga in 2014 Elections | 0.3776 | | |
| Trust in the judicial system | -0.3883 | 0.3187 | |
| Trust in the President | 0.4596 | | |
| Trust in the armed forces | 0.5794 | | |
| Venezuela is a democracy | | 0.544 | |
| Eigenvalues | 2.400 | 1.847 | 1.074 |
| Proportion variance | 0.2400 | 0.1847 | 0.1074 |

Note: Another variable included in the analysis was to ask respondents if they believe violence is a mechanism to obtain justice, but only variables with loads above 0.3 are reported.

(c) Confirmatory PCA Analysis with LAPOP Data

As the literature suggests, a popular government is more likely to see its initiatives approved than an unpopular one. Thus, many would argue that support for the peace process was also influenced by government performance outside the process itself, such as the state of the economy or other social policy indicators. To address this relationship, we present supporting evidence in Table II-4 by replicating the PCA analysis using the 2016

LAPOP survey, which includes a question asking respondents to evaluate the president’s job—presidential approval. On the first component, in which we identify citizens as “pro-government voters,” the president’s approval loads negative (given the inverse scale, from 1 (very good) to 5 (very bad)). This result confirms the idea that government performance itself – besides trust in institutions – was an important factor that influenced “pro-government voters” to endorse the peace deal.

Table II-4. Three first principal components of LAPOP survey, including the variable of presidential approval, only items with significant loadings shown (N= 723)

| Variable | Component 1: Pro- government | Component 2: Catholic | Component 3: Right-Conservative |
|--|------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Catholic | | 0.6803 | |
| Evangelical Christian | | -0.6508 | |
| Left-right scale placement | | | 0.3770 |
| Voted for Santos on 2014 Elections | 0.4506 | | -0.3244 |
| Voted for Zuluaga on 2014 Elections | -0.3822 | | 0.4168 |
| Trust in the judicial system | 0.3539 | | 0.3672 |
| Trust in the President | 0.4992 | | |
| Trust in the armed forces | | | 0.5358 |
| Presidential Approval | -0.4485 | | |
| Eigenvalues | 2.6358 | 1.6215 | 1.3728 |
| Proportion variance | 0.2636 | 0.1622 | 0.1373 |

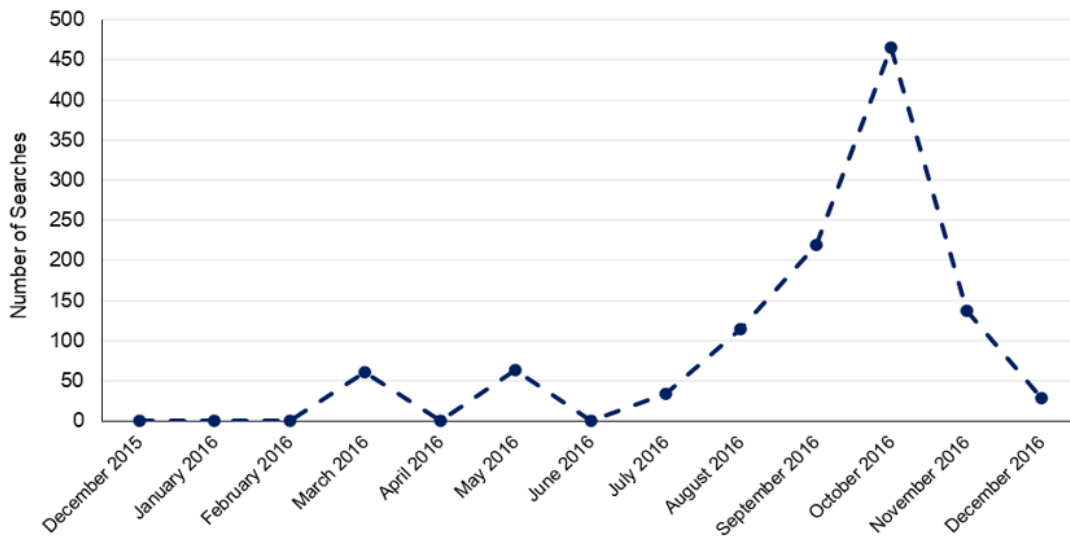
Note: Another variable included in the analysis was to ask respondents if they believe violence is a mechanism to obtain justice, but only variables with loads above 0.3 are reported.

(d) Venezuela’s Immigration Problem and Fears toward “Castrochavismo”

We used data from Google Trends to show how the polarizing narratives around “*castrochavismo*” and fears toward the FARC participation in politics increased during the last months previous to the referendum. Although internet searches are not a perfect measure of how often media covered these types of stories, and how often elites used the term, they are a good measure of the popularity of this narrative over time.

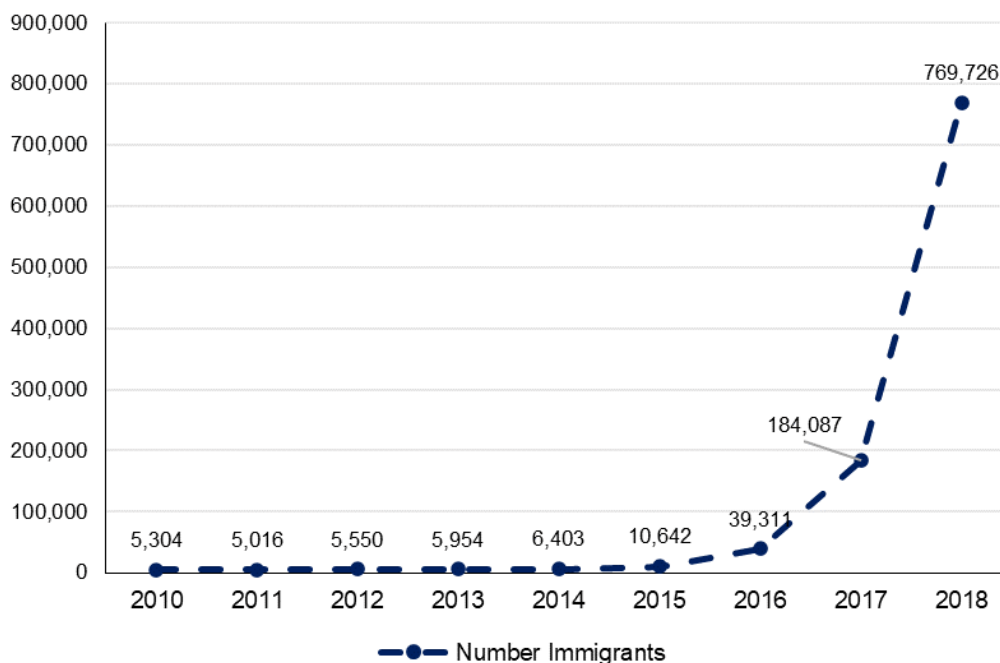
Figure II-2 plots the monthly searches for “*castrochavismo*”, relative to the highest point on the chart for the given region and time. As can be seen, the term started to become popular nearly three months before the referendum, with its highest pick in October 2016 and rapidly decreasing in the following months.

Figure II-2. Search Interest for the Term Castrochavimo



Figures II-3 and Table II-5 show how the number of Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia has increased in the last ten years. The majority has settled in Bogotá and the boarder departments, Norte de Santander and La Guajira.

Figure II-3. Venezuelans' immigration in Colombia (2010-2018)



Source: Migración Colombia (2018)

Table II-5. Venezuelans' immigration in Colombia by Departments (2018)

| Department | Department | Department | Department |
|--------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Bogota | 238,758 | Cesar | 32,471 |
| Norte de Santander | 151,803 | Bolivar | 31,674 |
| La Guajira | 123,756 | Arauca | 29,757 |
| Atlantico | 105,459 | Sucre | 11,498 |
| Antioquia | 71,58 | Casanare | 9,364 |
| Santander | 49,78 | Boyaca | 8,313 |
| Cundinamarca | 43,988 | Risaralda | 7,916 |
| Magdalena | 41,46 | Cordoba | 6,373 |
| Valle del Cauca | 38,747 | Meta | 5,507 |
| | | Putumayo | 1,106 |
| | | Guania | 3,765 |
| | | Tolima | 3,647 |
| | | Quindio | 3,487 |
| | | Caldas | 2,512 |
| | | Cauca | 2,434 |
| | | Nariño | 2,372 |
| | | Huila | 1,842 |
| | | Vichada | 1,719 |
| | | Putumayo | 1,106 |
| | | Choco | 336 |
| | | Amazonas | 316 |
| | | Caqueta | 132 |
| | | Guaviare | 118 |
| | | San Andres | 26 |

Source: Migración Colombia (2018)

Appendix III: Regression Analysis

(a) Logit Model

Table III-1 reports the results of the average marginal effects on the logit model. Consistent with the results of the linear model, there is a positive and statistically significant relationship between the first component and supporting the peace agreement. Being a pro-government citizen increases the probability of voting in favor of the referendum, by 6.6 percent on average. On the contrary, across the different model specifications, being a right-conservative voter decreases the probability of voting in favor of the referendum, by 9.4 percent on average. Again, we do not find that being an Evangelical-Christian has a statistically significant effect on the probability of supporting the plebiscite. Regarding the sociodemographic controls, across different model specifications, those who live in a lower socioeconomic *estrato* (3 or below), and are between 30 and 50 years old, are less likely to support the peace agreement. As can be seen in column 2, it decreases the probability of supporting the peace agreement by 3.6 and 6.3 percent on average, respectively.

Table III-1. Logit Model of Vote Choice

| Average Marginal Effects Reported | | | |
|--|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| VARIABLES | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| Scores for component 1 (Pro-Government) | 0.0662*** (0.0066) | 0.0654*** (0.0063) | 0.0660*** (0.0062) |
| Scores for component 2 (Right-Conservative) | -0.0948*** (0.0058) | -0.0937*** (0.0055) | -0.0943*** (0.0055) |
| Scores for component 3 (Evangelical-Christian) | 0.0023 (0.0073) | 0.0007 (0.0068) | 0.0000 (0.0068) |
| Sunday, September 25 | | -0.0723* (0.0405) | |
| Tuesday, September 27 | | 0.0806*** (0.0305) | |
| Sex: Male | -0.0103 (0.0169) | -0.0022 (0.0166) | -0.0050 (0.0166) |
| Age: Between 30 and 50 | -0.0657*** (0.0181) | -0.0637*** (0.0177) | -0.0637*** (0.0178) |
| Secondary school or below | -0.0385** (0.0194) | -0.0112 (0.0199) | -0.0096 (0.0199) |
| Estrato 3 or below | -0.0751*** (0.0177) | -0.0357* (0.0187) | -0.0383** (0.0187) |
| Online Survey | | | 0.1165*** (0.0254) |
| Observations | 1,093 | 1,093 | 1,093 |
| AIC | 577.231 | 554.131 | 555.371 |
| BIC | -414.963 | -430.069 | -433.826 |

Robust standard errors in parentheses

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

(b) Regression Analysis LAPOP Data

To strengthen our confidence in the results found in our survey, we replicate the regressions analysis with data from the 2016 LAPOP survey to test if the identified voters' profiles are more or less likely to support the peace accord. Table III-2 reports the results of the *linear probability model* (column one and two), and column three and four present the

average marginal effects of the logit model. Across different model specifications, being a pro-government voter increases the probability of supporting the peace deal, and right-conservative voters are less likely to endorse the peace referendum. More educated voters are more likely to vote yes, an additional year of education increases the probability of approving the plebiscite by 9 percent on average. Urban voters are 7 percent more likely to support the peace agreement than voters living in rural areas on average.

Table III-2. Models of Vote Choice LAPOP Data 2016

Average Marginal Effects reported in columns (3) and (4)

| VARIABLES | (1) LPM | (2) LPM | (3) Logit | (4) Logit |
|---|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Scores for component 1 (Pro-Government) | 0.0894*** (0.0113) | 0.0846*** (0.0125) | 0.0771*** (0.0089) | 0.0739*** (0.0105) |
| Scores for component 2 (Catholic) | -0.0052 (0.0119) | -0.0065 (0.0128) | -0.0048 (0.0127) | -0.0062 (0.0134) |
| Scores for component 3 (Right-Conservative) | -0.0547*** (0.0139) | -0.0484*** (0.0144) | -0.0421*** (0.0125) | -0.0379*** (0.0131) |
| Sex: Male | | -0.0051 (0.0340) | | -0.0099 (0.0345) |
| Age | | 0.0009 (0.0014) | | 0.0009 (0.0013) |
| Education (years) | | 0.00895* (0.0051) | | 0.00941* (0.0050) |
| Urban | | -0.0701* (0.0416) | | -0.0744* (0.0441) |
| Household Income (monthly) | | -0.0008 (0.0044) | | -0.0009 (0.0042) |
| Constant | 0.744*** (0.0157) | 0.681*** (0.0860) | | |
| Observations | 690 | 611 | 690 | 611 |
| AIC | 733.316 | 660.439 | 713.855 | 642.266 |
| BIC | -64.752 | -18.050 | -56.003 | -12.136 |

Robust standard errors in parentheses

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

Appendix IV: Aggregated Plebiscite Results in Bogotá

Figure IV-1. Map of Exit-Poll Results of the Plebiscite in Bogotá by Polling Place and Economic Strata.

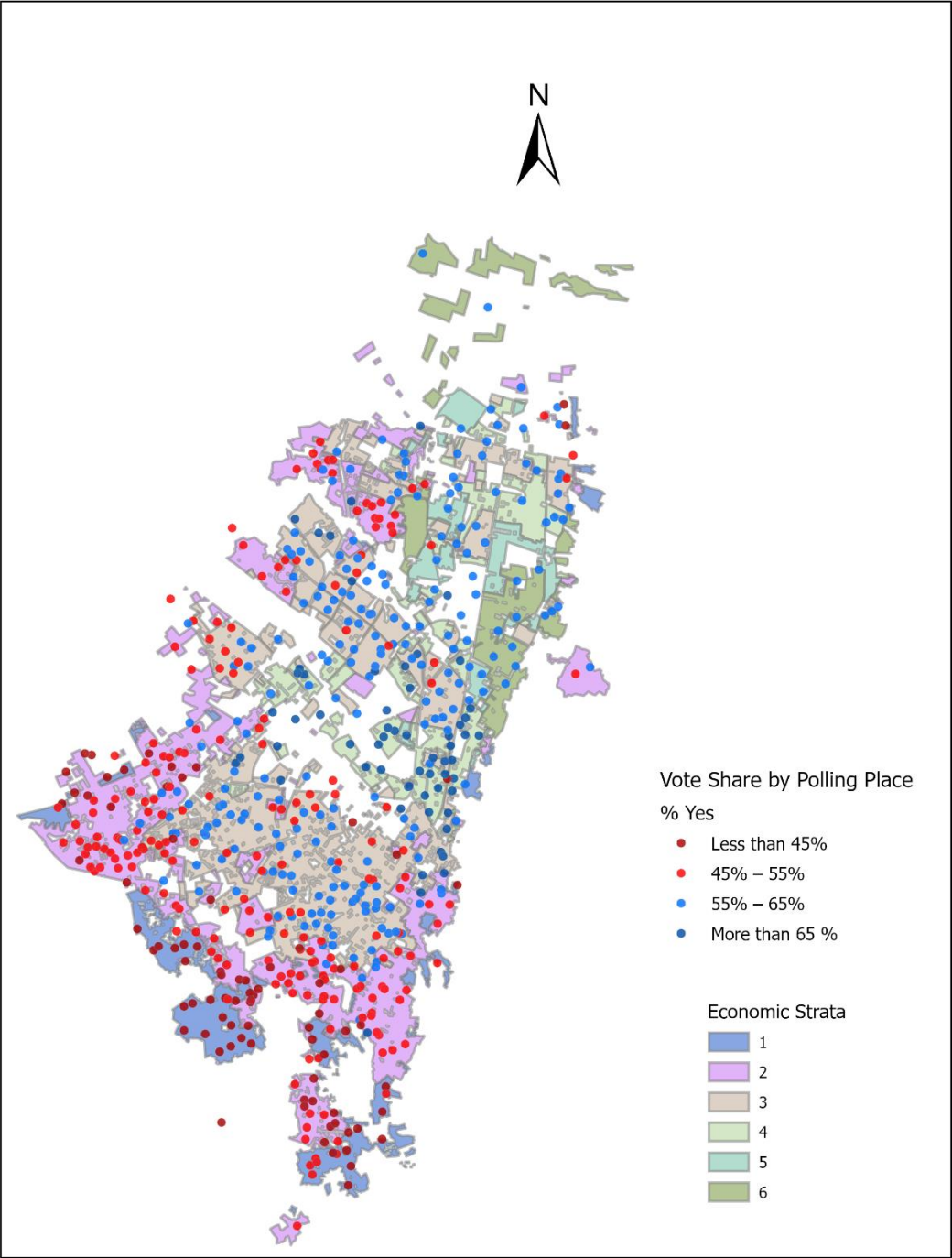


Figure IV-1 plots a map with the exit-poll results of the referendum by polling place station and socioeconomic strata in Bogotá. Clearly, in almost all the polling places located in *estratos* 1 and 2 (the poorest), the percentage of vote share supporting the peace agreement was very low when compared to the pattern exhibited in *estratos* 4, 5, and 6 (the richest). In the *localidades* (small district units within the city) of Usme, Ciudad Bolívar and Bosa located in the south of the town, where the majority of households are classified either as *estrato* 1 or 2 (blue and pink areas in the map), the percentage share of “yes” votes was less than 50 percent. In *localidades* such as Barrios Unidos and Usaquén located in the north-east of the city, where the majority of households are classified as *estratos* 4, 5, and 6, the percentage share of “yes” votes was more than 60 percent.

Although the percentage share of “yes” votes in Bogotá was 56 percent, our findings suggest it is crucial to analyze the relationship between socioeconomic strata (a proxy of income) and support for the peace agreement *within* each municipality.

Appendix References

Abdi, Hervé, and Lynne J. Williams. 2010. Principal Component Analysis. *Wiley interdisciplinary reviews: computational statistics* 2, 4: 433–459.

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