The AmericasBarometer

This study forms part of a research program that the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) of Vanderbilt University has been carrying out for more than two decades. LAPOP is a consortium of academic institutions spread throughout the Americas, with its headquarters in Vanderbilt University in the United States. More than 30 institutions throughout the region participate in LAPOP, whose efforts are directed at producing objective, non-partisan, and scientifically sound studies of public opinion. These studies focus primarily on the measurement of attitudes and behavior related to democracy. The Project has received generous support from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Department of Political Science of Vanderbilt University, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), and Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), as well as the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile and the Kellogg Institute of Notre Dame University. LAPOP also maintains linkages with the World Bank, the Organization of American States and others.

The most recent surveys, whose results are analyzed and discussed in this publication, were carried out in 2010, using a nationally representative sample in both urban and rural areas. The 2010 round of studies included 26 countries in the Americas, which allows for comparison of the results of each individual country with other countries in the region.

The public can access the data at no charge via our web page: www.lapopsurveys.org. The data, reports, articles and books that the Latin American Public Opinion Project produces are free and available to the public. This research and the data can also be accessed at our “data repositories” and subscribers at such universities as Columbia, Duke, Harvard, Notre Dame, Oxford University, Princeton, Stanford, the University of Texas, the University of North Carolina, Yale, and the Brookings Institution; and at institutions in Latin America such as the University of Costa Rica and Pontificical Catholic University of Chile. With these initiatives, LAPOP continues to collaborate with the development of academic and policy excellence throughout the Americas.
Executive Summary

Haiti in Distress: The Impact of the 2010 Earthquake on Citizen Lives and Perceptions¹

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¹ We would like to thank Dr. Margaret Sarles for her important guidance in the design of this study. Authors can be reached at: dominique.zephyr@vanderbilt.edu, abby.b.cordova@vanderbilt.edu
Introduction

“Haiti in Distress: The Impact of the 2010 Earthquake on Citizen Lives and Perceptions” presents the results of a comprehensive face-to-face public opinion survey carried out in July and August of 2010, especially designed for evaluating the human impact on those who survived the devastating earthquake that struck Haiti on January 12th, 2010. The survey was conducted by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) at Vanderbilt University as part of the region-wide AmericasBarometer with financial support from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

This study is being published at the time when the country is undergoing the political transition that has been occurring ever since the highly contested presidential election results of November 28th in 2010. This is also a moment when long-term development strategies for Haiti are being discussed and planned. As this study pinpoints some of the critical challenges and opportunities for democracy and development in Haiti, it should serve to inform the policy decisions that will be taken by the Haitian people, their government and international donors. More generally, the study should help and deepen scholarly understanding of the impacts of natural catastrophes; in 2010 alone, both Haiti and Chile suffered devastating earthquakes, and as we write these words Japan is struggling to recover from its worst earthquake in history.

The study encompasses a broad array of topics, including the impact of the earthquake on citizen security and on political variables as well as the exploration of citizens’ socio-economic conditions after the earthquake. The first part of the study focuses on the analysis of aspects related to citizens’ political views and behaviors before and after the earthquake, and how citizens’ personal experience with the disaster has transformed their opinions and lives. A post-earthquake assessment of Haitians’ living conditions is carried out in the second part of the study, providing extensive information on the state of citizens’ economy and basic services provision.

The 2010 post earthquake LAPOP survey of Haiti is based on a representative national sample of 1,752 voting-age Haitians, including an oversample of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) living in camps or tents. The interviews were conducted in Creole, and the margin of error for the survey is ± 2.34%. The 2010 survey contains a number of items that were also asked in the 2006 and 2008 LAPOP surveys in Haiti, making it possible to compare Haitians’ perceptions and experiences before and after the earthquake. We are also able examine Haiti’s reality in comparative perspective, analyzing its situation vis-à-vis that of 25 other countries included in the AmericasBarometer 2010 round of surveys.

Fluctuations in indicators before and after the earthquake in affected and non-affected municipalities are also monitored. Doing so allows us to explore whether an observed change is likely to be directly associated with the earthquake. Our expectation is to find substantial changes in key indicators particularly in municipalities that were affected the most. Of course, given the magnitude of the earthquake, it is also likely that areas that did not suffer significant infrastructure damage were also impacted in an indirect way as virtually all Haitians lost a relative or a friend in the tragedy, and an important number of displaced persons have migrated to non-affected areas. The weakened capacity of the state to respond to citizens’ demands after the earthquake is also likely to have impacted both affected and non-affected municipalities, although to different degrees.
In addition to tracking changes over time in affected communes and those not directly affected by the quake (which we call the “non-affected” municipalities), we also investigate the impact of personal experience with the earthquake on the views and experiences of citizens who suffered the greatest housing damage and/or are living in tents. Because of their tougher living conditions and experiences, individuals who suffered considerable housing damage and/or are living in tent camps are expected to show a different set of attitudes and behaviors than those who suffered less. The study is divided in two parts and consists of ten chapters.

A copy of the full study and a description of technical aspects related to the sample design of the survey can be obtained in LAPOP’s website. The following pages summarize the main findings of the 2010 study.

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2 The Haiti 2010 study can be downloaded at [www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/haiti.php](http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/haiti.php)
Before turning to the main results of the study, a note on how to interpret the graphically presented statistical information is appropriate. The LAPOP’s lead data analyst, Dominique Zéphyr, who is also one of the authors of the 2010 Haiti study, created programs using the statistical analysis software STATA to generate graphs which present confidence intervals taking into account the “design effect” of the sample. As a result, the graphs shown here now take into account this design effect. Confidence intervals allow determining the statistical significance of the survey results. This approach represents a major advancement in the presentation of the results of the LAPOP surveys, as we are now able to have a higher level of precision in the analysis of the data and show the results graphically. The interpretation of confidence intervals on bar and regression charts is provided below.

**Confidence intervals on bar charts:**

The reader should note carefully the grey areas representing the confidence interval associated with average estimates on each bar, as shown, for example, in Figure 1 below. Average estimates are depicted by a “dot” on each bar. Whenever two or more average amounts or bars are close enough to each other in magnitude so that the grey areas overlap, there is no statistically significant difference among observed mean values. In contrast, if the grey areas do not overlap, differences are statistically significant. As shown in Figure 1, the percentage of the population with high support for democracy in Ecuador (65.6%) is not significantly different from the percentage in Haiti (64.3%), because the grey areas or confidence intervals on the bars representing these two countries overlap.

**Interpreting regression charts:**

The results of regression models are illustrated graphically, as in Figure 2 below. Each predictor variable included in the analysis is listed on the vertical (y) axis. The impact of each of those variables or regression coefficients is depicted by a “dot” which, if located to the right of the vertical “0” line, indicates a positive contribution, and, if to the left of the “0” line, a negative contribution. Statistically significant contributors are shown by confidence interval lines stretching to the left and right of each dot; only when the confidence intervals do not overlap the vertical “0” line is a predictor variable significant (at .05 or better). The relative strength of each variable is indicated by standardized coefficients. For example, the results shown in Figure 2 indicate that education has a positive and statistically significant effect on support for democracy as the best form of government in Haiti.

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3 The design effect becomes important because of the use of stratification, clustering, and weighting in complex samples. It can increase or decrease the standard error of a variable, which will then make the confidence intervals larger or smaller than they would have been under the assumption of simple random sampling (SRS). Virtually all national survey samples are clustered and stratified, but often statistical results are presented as if SRS had been employed.
Main Findings of the Study

Citizen’s Opinions about Democracy after the Earthquake

One of the most encouraging findings of the study is that, despite the extraordinary social and economic consequences of the earthquake, Haitians have not turned their backs on democracy, maintaining their belief that democracy is the best possible form of government.

We find that the level of support for democracy after the earthquake has remained unchanged in municipalities that suffered great damage and municipalities that were less affected.

*The earthquake did not shake support for democracy as the best form of government in Haiti.*

When asked about their level of agreement with the notion that democracy is the best form of government, in 2010, 64.3% of individuals gave a score higher than 5 points on a 1-7 scale (see Figure 1). It is worth mentioning, however, that in comparison to other countries, Haiti is located among the countries in the Americas with the lowest average support for democracy.

Among the factors that determine the extent to which citizens support democracy in Haiti are the levels of education and satisfaction with the performance of the president. As can be seen in Figure 2, the regression results show that these two factors have a positive and statistically significant effect on support for democracy.

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4For the exact wording of the survey items presented in this executive summary and the description of index construction, visit: www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/haiti.php
Support for the Political System

While the disaster did not shake support for democracy, the survey found great discontent with the response of the national government to the emergency, resulting in widespread disenchantment with the political system itself. When asked after the earthquake about the performance of institutions, the lowest job approval rating was given to the national government, with 40.0 average points on a 0-100 scale (see Figure 3). In contrast, foreign NGOs and governments were given the highest scores, 68.1 and 59.7 points, respectively.

Citizens’ disappointment with the performance of the national government after the earthquake has almost certainly undermined the already low legitimacy of the political system, dropping from 40.6 points in 2008 to 32.0 points in 2010. The AmericasBarometer survey found that after the earthquake, low support for the political system was widespread in Haiti (see Figure 4).

The political legitimacy of institutions was eroded in municipalities affected by the quake and also in those that were not greatly impacted.

Compared to the levels in 2008, there was a statistically significant decrease in system support of about 10 points in the non-affected municipalities, areas themselves which had been higher in support prior to the earthquake when compared to the affected areas. There was also a sharp decline in the affected areas. This is not surprising since there is hardly a survivor of the earthquake who did not lose a relative or friend, and the protracted period of recovery that the country is facing has made all regions of Haiti, those directly affected and those not affected, disaffected with the legitimacy of their political system, which in any event, had been at a very low level prior to the earthquake.
Political Participation and Social Capital

As Haitians are facing one of the most difficult times in their history, and faith in political institutions has been lost, an important proportion of citizens have turned to the streets to demand action and have also engaged in citizen-based organizations.

Our analysis of the AmericasBarometer data indicates that individuals who were hit hard by the earthquake and are now living in tents have emerged as an important political force, showing the highest rate of protest participation.

The results show that 25% of Haitians living in tents reported to have participated in a street demonstration (see Figure 5).

The country, as a whole, shows the highest rate of participation in street demonstrations/protests in the Americas, with an overall average participation of 17.2%. The survey results also indicate that Haiti has the highest participation rate in civic organizations (excluding religious-based ones) in the Americas, with 76.6% of the population reporting to have participated in at least one civic association in the past twelve months. Moreover, we find that, between 2008 and 2010, participation in community improvement associations significantly increased in municipalities affected by the disaster, from 34.9% to 45.6% (see Figure 6).
Interestingly, while citizen engagement in civic organizations has increased in municipalities affected by the earthquake, individuals’ trust in their fellow citizens, another central component of social capital, has significantly declined in both affected and non-affected municipalities (see Figure 7).

Taken together, these results suggest that paradoxically, while participation in community-based civic organizations has increased in affected municipalities, the lower level of interpersonal trust suggest that effective collaboration or teamwork may become more difficult after the earthquake.

But, we find that individuals living in affected municipalities who suffered the greatest housing damage, many of whom were forced to move into tents, are the most suspicious of their neighbors. As can be seen in Figure 8, greater reported housing damage is associated with lower levels of interpersonal trust as measured by the level of trust towards neighbors.

After the earthquake, the average level of interpersonal trust in Haiti was 32.0 points (on a 0-100 scale), the lowest level in the Americas. It is likely that the low levels of trust have resulted from the disintegration of social networks brought on by the movement of people out of their home communities into tents. The lowered trust, we believe is also a function of crime, as described below.

**Crime and Corruption**

A first look at the crime statistics reveals that, in 2010, 19.3% of the respondents reported that they had been victims of a crime in the twelve months preceding the survey. Although the percent of crime victims slightly decreased between 2006 and...
2008 (from 16.9 to 14.3 percent), there was a statistically significant increase of five percentage points in crime victimization between 2008 and 2010. One of the most worrisome findings is that about 63% of crime victims reported having experienced a crime that involved violence. When asked about the type of crime suffered, the majority of victims (51.2%) reported having experienced either a robbery accompanied by a physical assault or an armed robbery. Moreover, about 12% of crime victims reported to have suffered a sexual assault, a kidnapping, or an assault unrelated to a robbery.

Moreover, the results of the LAPOP survey suggest that the earthquake has significantly worsened crime and violence in affected municipalities. After the earthquake, our survey found that crime rates in municipalities affected by the earthquake were more than double of those in non-affected municipalities (26.4 versus 12.1 percent). Between 2008 and 2010, crime victimization increased from 15.4 to 26.4% in municipalities affected by the earthquake (see Figure 9).

Not all individuals residing in affected municipalities have been exposed equally to crime. We find that women living in tents have suffered the most from the wave of violence and crime experienced by the country after the earthquake.

Figure 10 shows crime victimization rates for males and females by residence condition. In the graph, women are represented by “dots” and males by “triangles.” The greater the vertical distance between the dots and triangles, the greater the difference in crime victimization rates between females and males. As can be seen, while females and males living in affected municipalities in or at homes have similar crime victimization rates; females living in tents show the highest crime victimization rate. Whereas 36.2% of females living in tents reported to have been crime victims, 22.9% of males living in tents stated...
that they had been victims of a crime. In non-affected municipalities, in contrast, the gap between women and men in crime victimization is small, as shown in the figure. These results confirm with hard data what has been reported by the media; women living in tents have been the most vulnerable to abuse after the earthquake in Haiti, and indicate the need for focused action to help protect women better from the crimes that they are suffering.

Yet, the level of corruption among public officials, another type of unlawful behavior, remained unchanged after the earthquake. This may be, however, because the pre-earthquake levels of corruption in Haiti were already far higher than in any other country, and perhaps have reached the upper limits of reporting. In 2010, 53.6% of the population reported having to pay a bribe to a public official over the past twelve months (see Figure 11), compared to 48.2% in 2008.

**Trust in the Justice System and Support for the Rule of Law**

The weakened capacity of judicial institutions due to the earthquake coupled with higher levels of insecurity, have led citizens to become more distrustful of the national justice system, and to show higher approval of authorities acting at the margin of the law in order to fight crime. Trust in the justice system dropped from an average of 43.1 points (on a 0-100 scale) in 2008 to 36.2 points in 2010. Not surprisingly, the data revealed that trust in the justice system has declined predominantly in the areas where crime is the highest, namely in municipalities affected by the earthquake, from an average of 39.1 to 33.0 points.

As shown in Figure 12, citizen support for the rule of law has also significantly declined. In 2008, 81.4% of the population residing in municipalities that were later affected by the earthquake agreed that, in order to catch criminals, “authorities should always abide by the law,” but after the earthquake only 57.2% did.
Belief in the rule of law has declined significantly since the earthquake.

While Haitians do not think highly of the justice system, they have more positive views about the performance of the national police. In 2010, trust in the police in Haiti was relatively high compared to other countries in the Americas. With an average score of 53.7 points on a 0-100 scale, out of 26 countries, Haiti ranked 10th in terms of this item in the survey. Nevertheless, trust in the police went down in municipalities with the highest crime incidence (i.e. those affected by the earthquake). The average level of trust in the police dropped from 57.0 to 50.1 points on a 0-100 scale in those municipalities (see Figure 13).

Interestingly, although we find that an important proportion of Haitians approve that authorities or the police on occasion can skirt the law in order to catch criminals, the results also indicate that, after the earthquake, many citizens became less supportive of people taking the law into their own hands when the government does not punish criminals, perhaps fearing that unlawful actions like those could result in social chaos.

Local Government

We now turn to the examination of citizens’ perceptions of local governments and their level of involvement in local government activities. Distrust in local governments is a generalized phenomenon in Haiti which has remained largely unchanged over the last two years, notwithstanding the devastating effects of the earthquake for local governments. In 2010, the average level of trust in local government was 33.9 points on a 0-100 scale.

However, we find that individuals who reported serious housing damage due to the earthquake are less inclined to trust their municipalities, suggesting that they are particularly dissatisfied with the way their municipal governments have handled the crisis. This result is shown graphically in Figure 14.
Individuals who reported serious housing damage due to the earthquake are less inclined to trust their municipalities.

Furthermore, the findings show that despite the many great needs in the country, the vast majority of the citizens, 85.8%, have not asked their local governments for help. The data also show that the decision not to contact the local government is based on rational assessments, since only a small fraction of those who turn to their local governments reported having their problems resolved. Specifically, only 26.9% of those who sought assistance saw satisfactory responses to their demands (see Figure 15). Similarly, citizens have not become more active in local government activities such as meetings organized by municipalities.

**Economic Conditions after the Earthquake**

The 2010 survey also included a series of items that make it possible to assess citizens’ perceptions about their economy and their actual economic status. Given Haiti’s high level of poverty, not surprisingly the majority of the population considers that their personal economic situation is “bad” or “very bad.” As can be seen in Figure 16, 43.1% perceive that their economy is “bad,” and an additional 20.3% considered it as “very bad.” Objective measures of economic status calculated based on the LAPOP data further demonstrate the critical economic conditions of the population in Haiti.
The results indicate that 47.9% of the respondents were not working at the time of the survey, 34.5% were working, and 17.6% self-identified as students, retirees, or pensioners. Among those who were not working, 56.5 percent of them stated that they were actively looking for a job. Moreover, among those working, the quality of their jobs is very low; 55.7% of individuals who reported to have a job were identified as “informal” workers or employees without a formal contract and social protection.5

The data also revealed that low job quality, as measured by informal employment, is particularly predominant among female workers.

Figure 17 shows the employment status of respondents by gender. The chart on the left hand-side indicates that 30.7% of women were working at the time of the survey compared to 38.3% of men. Of the 30.7% of women that were working, 63.4% were identified as informal employees. On the other hand, about 50% of male workers were employed in the informal sector of the economy.

When LAPOP data on household assets and access to basic services are analyzed, a substantial decline in household “wealth,” and therefore an increase in poverty, is observed after the earthquake, reflecting the worsening of Haitians’ living conditions. Figure 18 shows the percent of the population that falls in each quintile of wealth by year. As can be observed, after the earthquake, a much larger proportion of individuals (45%) falls into the first quintile (i.e., poorest) of wealth, indicating that a sharply larger number of Haitians became poorer after the quake. Specifically, the percent of the population falling in the first quintile of wealth increased from about 20% to 45%.

5 Informal workers were defined as individuals working in the private sector without a job contract and health insurance through their employer (excludes employers or business owners).
Basic Services Provision

Access to basic services such as water, electricity, food, health, and education is greatly limited in the country, with some populations clearly showing a more limited access of basic services than others.

Staggering inequality in access to basic services is a central feature of Haiti’s underdevelopment.

For instance, we find that more than a half of the Haitian population (53.2%) reported not having direct access to electricity after the earthquake. But striking differences in access are found when the sample is divided between rural and urban areas and level of wealth. While in the rural areas 79.1% of those in the third tercile of household wealth have electricity in their homes, only 7.9% of individuals in the first tercile of wealth have access to this service. Similarly, regarding water services, only 40.1% of the population reported having access to running or piped-in water. But, in the rural areas only 12.6% of individuals in the first tercile of household wealth consume running or piped-in water, in comparison to 48.2% of those in the third tercile. Figure 19 depicts graphically the disparities in access to electricity and piped-in water by area of residence and level of household wealth. Box 2 summarizes the main results of the study concerning the level of access and inequality of basic services provision as well as citizens’ perceptions about the quality of the services.

Inequality in Access to Electricity and Piped Water

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP
### Access, Quality, and Inequality of Basic Services in Haiti, 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Access</th>
<th>Electricity</th>
<th>Water</th>
<th>Health</th>
<th>Nutrition</th>
<th>Education</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Only 48.8% of households have direct access to electricity in Haiti.</td>
<td>-Only 40.1% of families consume piped water in Haiti.</td>
<td>-About 37% of individuals reported to have personally (or someone else in their home) needed medical attention over the past year.</td>
<td>-About a third of the respondents reported that at least one adult member in the household had suffered from food deprivation for a whole day at least once in the 3 months prior to the survey.</td>
<td>-About 65% of households in Haiti have children in school-age (between 6 and 17 years old).</td>
<td>-A school-age child living in an average household, with 2 school-age children, has about 73% chance to attend school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inequality</td>
<td>-About 68% of households in the Metropolitan area and 26.7% in rural areas have access to electricity.</td>
<td>-About 68% of households in the Metropolitan area and 22.9% in rural areas have access to piped water.</td>
<td>-Individuals living in the Metropolitan area show the highest level of satisfaction with health care facilities, with 70.2 points on a 0-100 scale. Residents in rural areas reported the lowest average level of satisfaction with the services at healthcare facilities (58.0 points).</td>
<td>-Food insecurity is a significant problem in all areas in the country</td>
<td>-Respondents living in households with children studying in private institutions are significantly more satisfied with the quality of education than those with children in public schools, regardless of area of residence.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quality</td>
<td>-More than half of households with access to electricity receive the service fewer than 7 hours per day.</td>
<td>-Among those with access to piped water, only 47.2% of them reported receiving the service on daily basis.</td>
<td>-About half of the population rated the primary health care system in the country as “neither good nor bad.”</td>
<td>-About 44% of the population rated the quality of the education system as “neither good nor bad.” On the other hand, 36.2% reported a negative perception, considering education services as “bad” or “very bad.”</td>
<td>-</td>
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</table>
Life Satisfaction and Access to Basic Services

As with many other indicators reported in the study, we find that Haiti ranks last compared to other countries in the region when citizens’ level of life satisfaction is examined (see Figure 20). On a 0-100 scale, the average level of life satisfaction in Haiti is only 35.4 points. Conversely, Brazil and Costa Rica, the countries with the highest averages scores 67.7 and 71.6 points, respectively. Moreover, the average level of life satisfaction in Haiti is far below the second lowest score in the region, which scores a little over 50 points.

As depicted by the extent of life satisfaction, Haitians are by far the saddest citizens in the Western Hemisphere.

Figure 21 indicates that not having adequate electricity and water services are important contributors to the generalized life dissatisfaction in Haiti. Although the overall level of life satisfaction is low in the country, those who do not have access to electricity or piped-in water show even lower scores.

How can standards of living be improved in Haiti?

We find that, because of Haitians’ low confidence in the performance of government, support for governmental action to improve the lives of the poor is remarkably low. Indeed, Haiti shows the lowest level of support for an active state in the reduction of poverty and inequality in the Latin American and Caribbean region, with 62.7 points on a 0-100 scale (see Figure 22).

As can be seen in Figure 23, support for government intervention in the economy is strongly linked to citizens’ perceptions about the performance of the president, and therefore the government. Individuals with negative perceptions about the president’s performance show the lowest levels of support for public policies aimed at improving the living conditions of people in need. This finding has important implications for the design of development strategies for Haiti.
The findings of the study suggest that, given citizens’ low confidence in government, any development strategy put in place in Haiti will be more likely to succeed if it also entails an active participation of the private sector and non-governmental institutions along with efforts to strengthen the capacity of governmental institutions.

**Figure 22**
Support for Public Policies that Benefit the Poor in Latin America and the Caribbean

**Figure 23**
Support for Public Policies that Benefit the Poor and Satisfaction with the Performance of the President

Source: AmericasBarometer by LAPOP
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