



THE POLITICAL CULTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN HAITI AND IN THE AMERICAS, 2016/17

A Comparative Study of
Democracy and Governance

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USAID
FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE



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Preface

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) takes pride in its support of the AmericasBarometer. While its primary goal is to represent the voice of the people on a broad range of important issues, the AmericasBarometer also helps guide USAID programming and inform policymakers throughout the Latin America and Caribbean region. In numerous ways, the AmericasBarometer informs discussions over the quality and strength of democracy in the region.

USAID officers rely on the AmericasBarometer to identify priorities and guide program design. The surveys are often used in evaluations, by comparing results in selected areas with national trends and/or by comparing data across time. The AmericasBarometer alerts policymakers and international assistance agencies to potential problem areas and informs citizens about democratic values and experiences in their country as compared to other countries.

At every stage in the development of the AmericasBarometer, the team realizes another objective of the project: building capacity. In the course of the project, experienced and expert individuals in the field of survey research work alongside and transfer knowledge and skills to students, local researchers, and others. These opportunities come through discussions over the development of the core questionnaire, cross-national collaborations on sample design, training sessions for fieldwork teams and office personnel involved in the surveys, and workshops and presentations on the analysis and reporting of the public opinion data.

The AmericasBarometer is coordinated by a team at Vanderbilt University, which hosts the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) and the researchers who devote significant portions of their time to this project. At the same time, the AmericasBarometer is a collaborative international project. In the first stage of each round, LAPOP consults with researchers across the Americas, USAID, and other project supporters to develop a core questionnaire. For each individual country survey, subject experts, local teams, and USAID officers provide suggestions for country-specific modules that are added to the core. In each country, LAPOP works with local teams to pre-test the questionnaire in order to refine the survey instrument while making sure that it is written in language(s) familiar to the average person in that country. Once the questionnaire is completed, it is programmed into software for fieldwork and each local survey team is trained according to the same exacting standards. The sample is designed and reviewed by LAPOP and local partners and programmed at this stage. At that point, local teams conduct interviews in the homes of selected respondents across the Latin America and Caribbean region. Throughout the process, LAPOP and these teams stay in constant contact to monitor quality, security, and progress. Once the data are collected, LAPOP audits and processes the files while engaging in conversations with a consortium of individuals and institutions, including USAID, over plans for the dissemination of those data, findings, and reports. A broad network of individuals across the region contributes to the reports that are developed after each round of the AmericasBarometer.

The collaborative nature of the AmericasBarometer improves the project and makes it possible. While USAID has been the largest supporter of the surveys that form the core of the AmericasBarometer, Vanderbilt University provides important ongoing support. In addition, each round of the project is supported by numerous other individuals and institutions. Thanks to this



broad and generous network of supporters, the AmericasBarometer provides a public good for all those interested in understanding and improving democratic governance in the region.

USAID is grateful to the LAPOP team, who assiduously and scrupulously works to generate each round of the AmericasBarometer under the leadership of Dr. Elizabeth Zechmeister (Director), Dr. Noam Lupu (Associate Director), and Dr. Mitchell Seligson (Founder and Senior Advisor). We also extend our deep appreciation to their outstanding former and current students located at Vanderbilt and throughout the hemisphere, to the local fieldwork teams, to all those who took the time to respond to the survey, and to the many expert individuals and institutions across the region that contribute to and engage with the project.

Christopher Strom
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Prologue: Background to the Study

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The AmericasBarometer by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) is a unique tool for assessing the public's experiences with democratic governance. The survey permits valid comparisons across individuals, subnational and supranational regions, countries, and time, via a common core questionnaire and standardized methods. Comparative research on democratic governance is critically important to understanding today's realities, anticipating key political challenges, and identifying actionable policy solutions. Around the globe, and in the Americas, democracy is on the defensive against public disillusionment with what it has delivered. Geographically, this round marks a significant expansion of the project into the Caribbean, a region often overlooked and understudied in survey research. Methodologically, this round marks our transition to using electronic devices for fieldwork, and with this the ability to take quality control to new levels, in every country in the project. Substantively, this round of the AmericasBarometer marks the first time in the history of the project in which we detect noteworthy and troubling declines in the average citizen's support for democracy on a number of key indicators.

The 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer is the seventh regional survey produced by LAPOP and the largest to date, covering 29 countries across the Americas. The round began in early 2016 in seven Caribbean countries and data collection in the 29th country concluded in the spring of 2017. The full dataset for this round includes over 43,000 interviews, conducted based on national sample designs and implemented with the assistance of partners across the region.

With roots in survey research dating back to the 1970s, LAPOP has been housed at Vanderbilt University since 2004. LAPOP and the AmericasBarometer were founded by Dr. Mitchell A. Seligson, who currently serves as Senior Advisor to LAPOP. The LAPOP research organization includes eight professional staffers, two research fellows, 15 affiliated Ph.D. students, a number of undergraduate students in various roles, and a roster of collaborators and sponsors from within Vanderbilt and across universities, NGOs, and other institutions throughout the Americas.

The AmericasBarometer consists of country surveys based on national probability samples of voting-age adults. The first set of surveys was conducted in 2004 in 11 countries; the second took place in 2006 and represented opinions from 22 countries across the region. In 2008, the project

grew to include 24 countries and in 2010 and 2012 it included 26 countries from across the hemisphere. In 2014, the AmericasBarometer was implemented in 28 countries. The 2016/17 round marks the largest in scope to date, covering 29 countries across the Americas.

LAPOP makes all reports from the project, as well as all country datasets available for download from its website, www.LapopSurveys.org, free of charge to all. The availability of these reports and datasets is made possible by the project's supporters, who are acknowledged on pages that follow.

In undertaking the AmericasBarometer, our key objective is to provide a dataset that advances accurate descriptions and understandings of public opinion and behavior across the Americas. We succeed in this effort to the extent that the AmericasBarometer is of interest and relevance to citizens, NGOs, public officials and their governments, the international donor and development communities, journalists, and academics. We strive to create datasets and reports that meet the rigorous standards to which we are held by our fellow academics and professional associations, while also ensuring that these reports are accessible and valuable to those evaluating and shaping democratic governance across the Americas. Our progress in producing the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer and this particular report can be categorized into four areas: questionnaire construction, sample design, data collection, and reporting.

With respect to *questionnaire construction*, our first step in developing the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer was to develop a new core questionnaire. We believe that democracy is best understood by taking into account multiple indicators and placing those in comparative perspective. For this reason, we have maintained a common core set of questions across time and across countries. This shared content focuses on themes that have become viewed as standard for the project: political legitimacy, political tolerance, support for stable democracy, participation of civil society and social capital, the rule of law, evaluations of local governments and participation within them, crime victimization, corruption victimization, and electoral behavior. To make room for new questions, we eliminated some prior core items in the 2016/17 survey. To do so, we solicited input from partners across the region and we carefully considered the trade-off between losing a time series for one round versus making space for new content. This process resulted in a first draft of a reduced questionnaire; we then proceeded to gather input into new common content, country-specific questions, and other revisions.

To develop new common content, we solicited input from subject, country, and AmericasBarometer project experts across the Americas. A number of these individuals generously agreed to participate in a set of planning caucus advisory committees organized by topic, and these groups developed proposals for questionnaire revision. A list of these advisory committee members appears below. Based on ideas developed during this period of activity, we conducted a series of question wording and ordering experiments, with support from the Research in Individuals, Politics, & Society lab at Vanderbilt. We presented some of these results to collaborators convened in New York City for a meeting in the spring of 2016. Following discussions at that meeting and additional sponsor requests and input, we then further revised the questionnaire. All new items were piloted in qualitative pre-tests across the Americas. Questionnaires from the project are available online at www.LapopSurveys.org and at the end of each report.



LAPOP adheres to best practices in survey methodology and also with respect to the treatment of human subjects. Thus, as another part of our process of developing study materials, we developed a common “study information sheet” and each study was reviewed and approved by the Vanderbilt University Institutional Review Board (IRB). All investigators involved in the project took and passed certified human subjects protection tests. All publicly available data for this project are de-identified, thus protecting the anonymity guaranteed to each respondent.

With respect to *sample design*, we continued our approach of applying a common strategy to facilitate comparison. LAPOP national studies are based on stratified probability samples of a typical minimum of 1,500 voting-age non-institutionalized adults in each country. In 2016, we introduced an exception to this rule with the inclusion of six countries that are part of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS); in these cases, the sample sizes are approximately 1,000. To ensure that the surveys are both nationally representative and cost effective, we stratify countries by major sub-regions and urban/rural divides, and we use a frequency matching approach to the selection of individuals by gender and age. Detailed descriptions of all samples are available on our website.

With respect to *data collection*, we have continued to innovate and expand the use of technology in the field. For the first time, the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer deployed electronic devices (tablets and phones) for data collection in 100% of the countries surveyed. The use of electronic devices for interviews and data entry in the field decreases errors, supports the use of multiple languages, and permits LAPOP to track the progress of the survey in real time, down to the timing and location of interviews (which are monitored but not recorded in public datasets in order to preserve respondents’ privacy). For the 2016/17 round, we developed and transferred to partner firms a set of quality control procedures that we call the Fieldwork Algorithm for LAPOP Control over survey Operations and Norms (FALCON ©). Via FALCON, teams working on LAPOP projects are able to verify the location of interviews within programmed geo-fences around work areas; verify interviewer identities via photos and signatures; and verify the quality of the interview via audio and timing files. FALCON allows fieldwork to be reviewed in real time, rather than after fieldwork has been completed, and this means that errors can be more effectively and efficiently remedied, resulting in higher quality data. We believe FALCON represents a revolutionary advance in technologically sophisticated and scientifically rigorous survey research, and we are committed to continuing to transfer knowledge of our advances to others.

Another innovation introduced into the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer is the LAPOP Automated Response Tracker (ART), which facilitates accurate recording of participation rates. While participation rates are useful metadata in public opinion studies, the onerous burden placed on field teams to systematically record this information can lead to errors, and incomplete or poor quality information. ART overcomes these challenges by routinizing the tracking of survey participation. By requiring enumerators to record this information electronically at the time of each contact attempt, we are able to facilitate and assure high quality data on participation rates.

Standardization is critical to the value of a comparative project, and one way we ensure that we meet this objective is by training all fieldwork teams in AmericasBarometer project protocol. Each local fieldwork team is trained by a LAPOP staffer or an experienced affiliate. Our interviewer manuals are available on our website.

Security issues in the field are a constant concern for all those who work in the field of public opinion research. Shifting patterns of crime, insecurity, and instability in certain parts of the region have brought about additional challenges to the safety of personnel working on the project. We take these issues very seriously and, as in past rounds, we worked with local teams during the course of fieldwork for the AmericasBarometer 2016/17 to develop security protocols and, in a small number of cases, to make substitutions to the original sample for locations that teams on the ground identified as especially dangerous.

Finally, with respect to *reporting*, we continued our practice of making book-length reports, infographics, and presentations based on survey data accessible and readable to the lay reader. This means that our reports make use of simple charts to the extent possible. Where the analysis is more complex, such as in the case of regression analysis, we present results in easy-to-read graphs. Authors working with LAPOP on reports for the 2016/17 round were provided a new set of code files generated by our exceptionally skilled senior data analyst, Dr. Carole Wilson, which allow them to create these graphs using Stata. The analyses in our reports are sophisticated and accurate: they take into account the complex sample design and report on the uncertainty around estimates and statistical significance. We include in Appendix A in this report a note on how to interpret the output from our data analyses.

The AmericasBarometer regional and country reports represent the product of collaborations among LAPOP researchers and a set of LAPOP-affiliated experts. The regional (comparative) report focuses on general trends and findings with respect to issues in democratic governance. As in recent years, we were fortunate to work with Dr. Ryan Carlin, Dr. Gregory Love, and Dr. Matthew Singer on the regional report. Selected content from the regional report appears in our country reports. In the country reports, the focus turns toward country-specific trends and findings, yet we often refer to the comparative public opinion landscape. We do so because comparisons across countries frequently provide important insight into country-specific findings. We are grateful to the roster of experts who contributed to the 2016/17 series of country reports. In cases in which USAID commissioned the report, we solicited – and benefited from – USAID input into the selection of topics and feedback on a draft of the report. All AmericasBarometer regional and country reports can be downloaded free of charge from our website.

Each round of the AmericasBarometer involves a multi-year process and the effort of thousands of individuals across the Americas. In each country, we partner with a local firm and we further benefit from input from researchers, country experts, sponsors, and subject experts located in institutions across the Americas. This network is critical to the quality of the AmericasBarometer and its availability as a public good. On behalf of this entire team, we express our hope that the reports and data generated by this project reach and are useful to the broadest possible number of individuals interested in and working on democracy and development.



Acknowledgements

Conducting national surveys across every independent country in mainland North, Central and South America, and a significant number of countries in the Caribbean, requires extensive planning, coordination, and effort. The most important effort is that donated by the individual members of the public in the Americas, who, as survey respondents, either patiently worked with us as we pre-tested each country survey or took the time to respond to the final questionnaire. It is due to their generosity that we are able to present this study and so we begin with a heartfelt note of gratitude to each respondent to the AmericasBarometer survey.

The AmericasBarometer is made possible by core support from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Vanderbilt University. We owe a debt of gratitude to both institutions. Over the course of this most recent round of the AmericasBarometer, our main contact at USAID, Vanessa Reilly, transitioned to a new position. Chris Strom stepped in as our new point of contact on the project. Both Vanessa and Chris have had a positive impact on the project, especially by amplifying its value and use as a tool for policymakers. At Vanderbilt, the Dean of the College of Arts & Science, Dr. Lauren Benton, and the Chair of the Political Science Department, Dr. David Lewis, have championed and supported the project in important ways. We gratefully acknowledge the interest and support of the staff, students, and faculty in the department of political science, the Center for Latin American Studies, the office of Sponsored Programs Administration, and the leadership at Vanderbilt. Support for selected efforts associated with the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer came from collaborations with organizations and institutions that include Ciudadanía (Bolivia), the Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA), Dartmouth University, Environics (Canada), Florida International University, the Inter-American Development Bank, the National Endowment for Democracy, the Open Society Foundation (in partnership for this project with Igarapé), the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, the United Nations Development Programme, the Universidad Católica Andrés Bello (Venezuela), the University of Illinois, and at Vanderbilt University: the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, the Office for Equity, Diversity and Inclusion, the Research on Individuals, Politics, & Society Lab, and the Trans-Institutional Programs (TIPs) initiative (and the TIPS-Brazil project). We thank the individuals behind all of these collaborations for their work to support, shape, and sustain the AmericasBarometer. On the page that follows, we present the logos of some of the partner institutions that were core to the success of this most recent round of the AmericasBarometer.

Mexico and Central America



Andean/Southern Cone



Caribbean, U.S., and Canada





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Liz Zechmeister

Noam Lupu

Nashville, Tennessee

August 2017

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Introduction

Democracy is on the defensive in the Americas and around the world. In a number of places across the Americas, countries have been coping with security and economic crises, and scandals emanating from governments and parties. Among the mass public, scepticism is brewing over the extent to which democracy can succeed in delivering on citizens' expectations and improving the quality of their daily lives. The 2016/17 AmericasBarometer taps into this simmering frustration and permits it to be studied in comparative perspective across population subgroups, countries, and time. The survey also documents some notable signs of resilience. In this same vein, the survey reveals important nuances in challenges to democratic governance across a heterogeneous region. In this way, the AmericasBarometer provides a refined tool with which to make the types of diagnoses and distinctions that are so important to designing and implementing effective policy.

A core focus of the AmericasBarometer is citizens' evaluations of "democratic governance." Democratic governance refers to a system of politics and policy in which citizens' direct, indirect, and representative participation is privileged and enabled via basic freedoms, with the goal of ensuring that states are held accountable for their actions. As the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (2013) has defined it, "Democratic governance is governance that takes place in the context of a democratic political system, which is representative of the will and interests of the people and is infused with the principles of participation, inclusion, and accountability" (p. 37). The appeal of democratic governance is derived from its potential to improve the quality of citizens' lives by facilitating efforts to decrease corruption, increase economic development (and decrease poverty), and build strong communities. The legitimacy of democratic governance hinges, at least in part, on how well it delivers on these expectations (Booth and Seligson 2009). For this reason, taking stock of its successes and short-comings requires assessing citizens' varied experiences and evaluations of democratic governance.

In the latest in a series of region-wide reports on the AmericasBarometer, we examine public support for the institutions at the core of democracy, the extent to which citizens feel their countries are succeeding in supplying the basic liberties required of democratic governance, citizens' experiences and evaluations regarding corruption and police-community relations, their assessment of lottery scamming, human trafficking, and marijuana decriminalization, and their general democratic orientations. To do so, we make use of data from the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer, often in combination with data from prior rounds of the study. Within the report, main findings are presented at the outset of each chapter, and in this introduction, we present a preview of these core results. Though Chapters 1, 2, and 6 provide some detail on important variation across countries while highlighting Haiti, Chapters 3, 4, and 5, cover exclusive issues for Haiti.

Democracy in the Latin America and Caribbean region is facing a critical set of challenges, from low public trust in elections, parties, and political leadership to deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties, the rule of law, citizen security, and robust service provision. As the chapters within note, and as is evident in the AmericasBarometer datasets and the country-specific reports based on this project, experiences of individual countries vary significantly one to the other; each component of democratic values and governance described in this report, and more, can be

analysed in greater detail using these resources. Yet, overall, we can conclude that the public's continued support for democratic governance depends crucially on whether the region's political systems can deliver on its promises. While the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer identifies a number of concerning trends and outcomes in the typical citizen's experiences and evaluations of democratic governance in the region, it also finds some important signs of resilience in that democratic orientations conducive to stable democracy have shown a slight rebound. This willingness to engage and these commitments to certain core values are assets on which policymakers can draw as they identify ways to bolster and maintain democratic governance in Haiti and across the region.



Chapter 1.

Support for Electoral Democracy in the Americas

Mollie J. Cohen with LAPOP

I. Introduction

Since the Third Wave democratic transitions of the 1970s and 1980s, electoral democracy has been the status quo system of government in the Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) region. More than 100 (mostly) free, competitive, and fair elections for executive positions have been held across the region since the 1980s, with many of them observed by the Organization of American States, international NGOs, and in-country governance organizations. In Latin America and the Caribbean, elections have become “the only game in town” (Linz and Stepan 1996) when it comes to ascension to political leadership.

Yet, scholars have recently pointed to a democratic “recession” in the developing world, and in the LAC region specifically (Diamond 2015; Puddington 2012; but see Levitsky and Way 2015). Leaders in several countries have curtailed citizens’ rights and press freedoms (see Chapter 2 of this report). A string of corruption scandals¹ across the LAC region has fueled citizens’ already-high skepticism of politicians (see Chapter 3 of this report). Presidents in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela have repeatedly sought to extend their time in office beyond established term limits (BBC 2015; *Guardian* 2016a; Sonneland 2016).

The challenge of high quality governance has, in some contexts, been exacerbated by economic slowdown and persistent criminal violence (see also Chapter 4 of this report).² For example, the scarcity of basic goods in Venezuela provoked violent street protests in 2014 (Rodríguez 2016). In 2017, the incumbent administration took arguably illegal steps to tighten the *Chavista* regime’s hold on power (BBC 2017; Rodríguez and Zechmeister 2017). Viewed by citizens as a “self-coup”, this action sparked renewed street protests. The military responded by cracking down on protestors, resulting in numerous deaths (Cawthorne and Ulmer 2017). As another example, high levels of criminal violence in Mexico, Bolivia, and much of Central America, combined with low confidence in law enforcement, have led some citizens to take the law into their own hands (Bateson 2012; Zizumbo 2017). This summary execution of suspected criminals without trial undermines the state and its monopoly on the legitimate use of force (Zizumbo 2017).

¹ Several high-impact scandals have roots in *The Panama Papers*, leaked in April 2016, which implicated politicians across the region in the largest global corruption scandal in history (see *Guardian* 2017). The *lavajato* scandal in Brazil led to the ouster of the president, the investigation of more than a hundred politicians (including her replacement), and arguably aggravated already high perceptions of corruption in Brazil. Even prior to these political bombshells, Layton (2014) made the case that mass protest participation among Brazilians in the wake of the World Cup was driven in large part by perceptions of corruption.

² In 2016/17, 59% of AmericasBarometer respondents in the “LAC-21” countries (see Footnote 11) said that the national economy has gotten worse – the poorest national economic perceptions observed since the study’s inception in 2004 and a notable increase (ten percentage points) since 2014.

In short, the gradual decay of basic liberties, episodes in which political corruption is exposed and made salient, and the economic and security crises that compound barriers to high quality governance suggest that citizens in the Americas may have good reason to be disillusioned with democracy. This chapter assesses public support for the *minimal* requirements of democracy – that is, the presence and persistence of elections as the means to select governing representatives – in Haiti and, more generally, in the Latin America and Caribbean region.

II. Main Findings

This chapter assesses public support for the minimal requirements of democracy in Haiti and in the LAC region. Some key findings are:

- Across the region, support for democracy is significantly lower in 2016/17 than in previous years. Haiti is no exception: 50% reported supporting democracy in 2017, down from 57% in 2014. As the level of material wealth increases, the percentage of individuals supporting democracy turns higher. A larger percentage of older individuals support democracy than their younger counterparts.
- Support for military coups in Haiti increased 4.3 percentage points in 2016/17. Support for executive coups also increased, but in a lower magnitude (3.9 percentage points). Support for coups in general tends to decrease, as individuals grow older. While support for military coups is larger among people with less education and in urban areas, support for executive coups is slightly more justified among women.
- Trust in elections is very low in Haiti: Only 18.5% of the population expressed trusting that institution. This is the lowest level of support in the hemisphere. However, it has increased from the 14.8% average in 2014.
- Trust in political parties has remained relatively stable in Haiti across time, even though it decreased to 13.5% in 2017 from 18.8% in 2014. Older citizens and those with lower educational levels tend to trust political parties more than the young and the educated.
- Partisan identification remained relatively stable in 2017. Around one third of the Haitian population surveyed reported identifying with a political party.

III. The Basic Tenets of Electoral Democracy

This chapter examines support for tenants of minimal or electoral democracy in the LAC region.³ “Minimalist” definitions of democracy argue that the presence of competitive elections (i.e., with a true possibility of alternations in power) is sufficient to identify a democracy.⁴ For example, in

³ This chapter uses the terms “democracy” and “electoral democracy” interchangeably.

⁴ In contrast to this minimalist definition of democracy, “maximalist” definitions argue that the protection of civil liberties is necessary for democracy to flourish. Dahl (1971) theorized that inclusiveness, or public participation, and liberalization, or public contestation, are key features of a democracy, or “polyarchy” (p.7). Public contestation and participation include voting *as a minimum*, but also implicate a free press and citizen participation through non-electoral channels (e.g., protest). Later chapters in this report turn to the supply



his classic work, Schumpeter (1942) defines democracy as, “...that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions... by means of a competitive struggle for the people’s vote” (p. 260). Huntington (1991) similarly defines democracies as systems in which “powerful collective decision makers are selected through fair, honest, and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes” (p. 7). Diamond (1999) calls systems with “regular, competitive, multiparty elections with universal suffrage” *electoral* democracies (a minimal level of democracy, which he contrasts with “liberal” democracies, p. 10).⁵

In seeking to measure “minimal” democracy, scholars often focus on the *competitiveness* of elections. Following Third Wave democratic transitions, several authoritarian states implemented elections to assuage public demand for democracy and to appease the international community’s demands to liberalize political institutions. However, elections in such contexts often take place on an uneven playing field. Entrenched incumbent rulers and dominant parties have been known to manipulate the rules of competition (e.g., by inconsistently applying electoral law for challengers versus incumbent candidates) and, in extreme cases, election outcomes (e.g., by outright fraud).^{6,7}

In short, minimal or electoral democracies are countries in which competitive elections are held, and have led (or are likely to lead) to alternation in power at the national level. In the years following Third Wave democratic transitions, the vast majority of executive elections in the LAC region have met this minimum standard of democratic competition. However, over the years and including in recent times, some presidents across the region have taken steps to consolidate power behind powerful parties and individuals. For example, presidents in Bolivia, Ecuador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Venezuela have sought to extend or eliminate term limits (BBC 2015; *Guardian* 2016a; Sonneland 2016). Viewed in the context of minimal definitions of democracy, these steps have the potential to harm democratic governance by limiting the competitiveness of elections.

of civil liberties and quality governance – two key pieces of maximal definitions of democracy. This chapter focuses more narrowly on support for and attitudes around competitive elections, which all scholars agree are necessary, if not sufficient, for democracy.

⁵ Introducing participation requirements complicates the task of classifying electoral democracies. Around the world, many systems recognized as democratic have, or have had, limited access to the franchise. For example, in the United States, felons are barred from voting in many instances and in Switzerland women were not able to vote until 1971. Yet, most scholars still classify the contemporary U.S. and pre-1971 Switzerland as electoral democracies. A second complication comes from the ‘universal suffrage’ requirement: Is it sufficient that all citizens have access to the franchise, or must all citizens *participate* via the franchise (i.e., through the implementation of mandatory voting, see Lijphart 1999)?

⁶ Scholars have termed these systems, where elections are *held* but where the possibility of alternations in power is limited, “competitive authoritarian” regimes (see, e.g., Levitsky and Way 2010).

⁷ In particular, once they have identified the presence of elections, scholars typically ask whether two or more viable partisan options are present and whether a system has produced an alternation in power in the executive branch to identify electoral competitiveness and distinguish democracies from non-democracies (see Przeworski 1991, Przeworski et al. 2000). Przeworski et al. (2000) indicate that post-transitional regimes must include the alternation of power, and treat systems where elections are held but incumbents never lose power as authoritarian (p.27).

The legitimacy and integrity of elections has been repeatedly called into question in the region. In 2016, the Peruvian electoral court was accused of favoritism when it removed high-polling presidential candidates from contention for minor errors in campaign paperwork (Cohen 2016; RPP 2016). Nicaragua's 2016 election was accompanied by accusations of fraud and an uneven playing field that favored the incumbent party; the circumstances resulted in an election boycott by the opposition (and a landslide victory for the incumbent; see Baltodano 2016). Donald Trump has called into question the integrity of U.S. elections by repeatedly stating that he lost the popular vote due to fraudulent voting during the 2016 presidential contest (BBC 2016). In Ecuador's 2017 runoff election, the losing opposition candidate argued that the election results had been manipulated and refused to concede, leading to mass street protests (BBC 2017). Finally, in Venezuela, incumbents associated with the *Chavista* regime have been accused of limiting opposition parties' access to campaign resources and in 2016, the government cancelled gubernatorial elections in what some viewed as an attempt to stop the opposition from gaining power (Cawthorne 2016).

None of these incidents signifies the imminent downfall of democracy; yet, each serves as a reminder that electoral democracy does not always persist. Democracy has been the status quo political system in the Latin America and Caribbean region since the 1970s and 1980s, and since that time, scholars have debated whether and to what extent democracy has "consolidated" in these countries – that is, whether electoral democracy exists as "the only game in town" (Linz and Stepan 1996).⁸ At the core of democratic consolidation is the relative stability of the political system. Simply put, regimes that are "consolidated" are likely to persist in the future (Diamond 1994; Schedler 1998).⁹

The persistence of democratic institutions relies in large part on citizen attitudes. Indeed, by defining regime consolidation in terms of its status as "the only game in town," scholars directly implicate citizens and allude to two distinct sets of attitudes. First, citizens in consolidated democracies must support democratic norms and institutions (e.g., democracy as an ideal; the peaceful transfer of power across party lines; free and fair elections). Second and equally important, citizens in consolidated democracies must *reject* replacing political leaders with means other than elections (e.g., via military coup).

The following sections assess the state of democratic consolidation in Haiti by examining citizens' support for democracy in the abstract and their rejection of coups.

Support for Democracy in the Abstract

To what extent do individuals in the Americas believe that democracy is the best political system, and how does their support for democracy in 2016/17 compare to past years? Since its inception,

⁸ Discussions of "democratic consolidation" can be problematic, as they often assume that all countries transitioning from dictatorship, and indeed all countries that hold competitive elections, are moving toward "deepening" democratic quality, when this is not always the case (see, for example, Levitsky and Way 2012).

⁹ The term "democratic consolidation" has been used to describe the prevention of democratic breakdown and the degradation of democratic norms, as well as to denote the "deepening" of democracy (e.g., through the increased protection of civil and other liberties) (see Schedler 1998). As in defining electoral democracy, we define consolidation "minimally" (and, arguably, "negatively"), as the avoidance of regime breakdown.



the AmericasBarometer project has asked respondents across the Americas the following question assessing support for democracy¹⁰:

ING4. Changing the subject again, democracy may have problems, but it is better than any other form of government. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?

Respondents provided an answer ranging from 1–7, with one signifying “strong disagreement” and seven denoting “strong agreement.” Figure 1.1 displays the percentage of respondents in each country that reports support for democracy (values of five to seven on the seven-point scale). Responses range from a low of 48.4% in Guatemala to a high of 82.4% in Uruguay. The percentage of the public that supports democracy is highest in some of the region’s oldest and most stable democracies (Uruguay, Canada, Argentina, the United States, and Costa Rica), while support for democracy is notably lower in countries that have recently experienced democratic, political or security crises, e.g., Guatemala, Paraguay, Mexico and Honduras. Haiti is part of this group, as well. Only half of the citizens in Haiti show support for the idea of democracy in the abstract. Haiti is the fourth country with the *lowest* support in the region, only above Guatemala, Paraguay, and Mexico.

¹⁰ This question is often referred to as a “Churchillian” question of democratic support, as it is derived from Winston Churchill’s oft-quoted speech from the House of Commons, in which he noted that, “...democracy is the worst form of Government except for all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.”

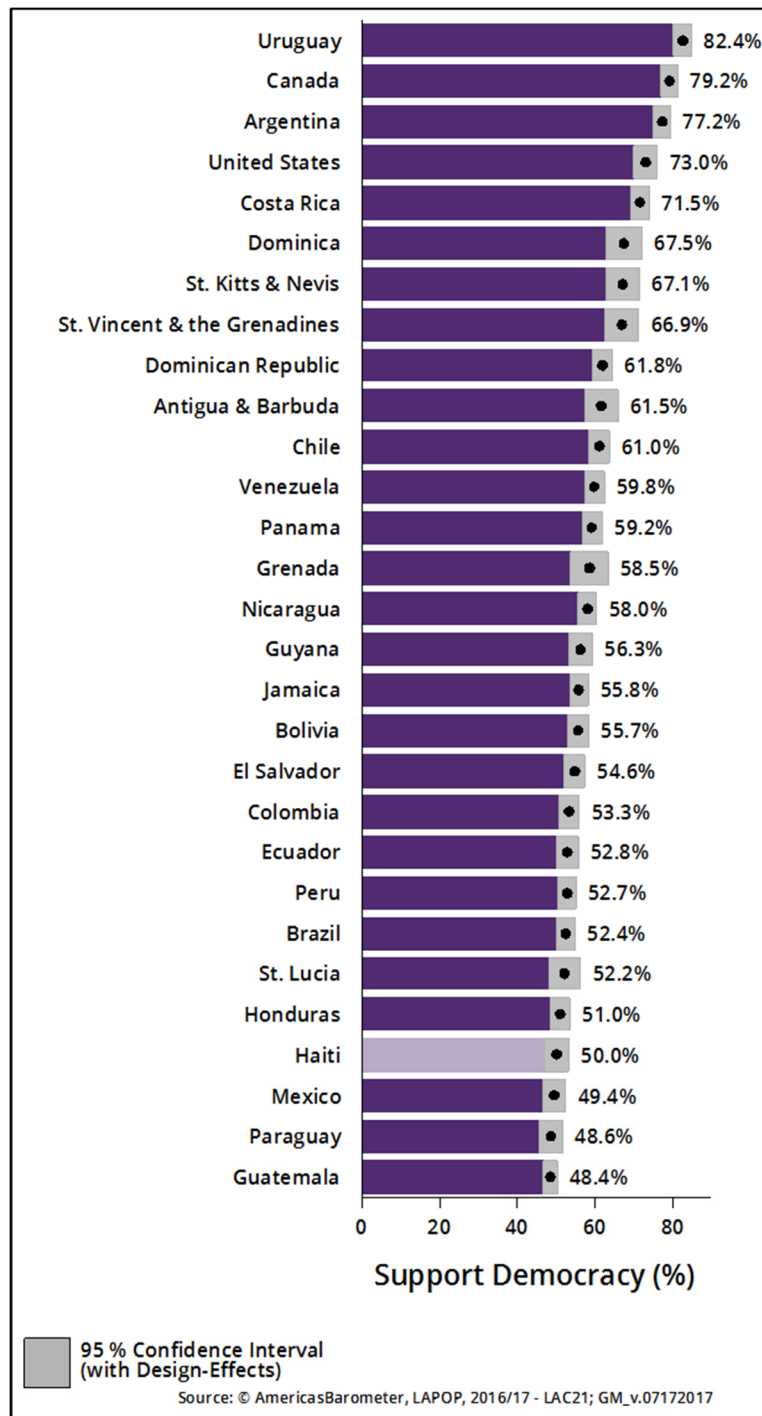


Figure 1.1. Cross-National Support for Democracy

Figure 1.2 documents the level of support for democracy in Haiti, as it has changed across time. This and all other cross-time and sub-group analyses in this chapter use data from Haiti. Support for democracy in the abstract in Haiti has reached its lowest level since 2006. Figure 1.2 shows that the peak of support was obtained in 2012 (75.1%), then it experienced a sharp decline in 2014, and yet another decline in 2017 (57% and 50%, respectively).

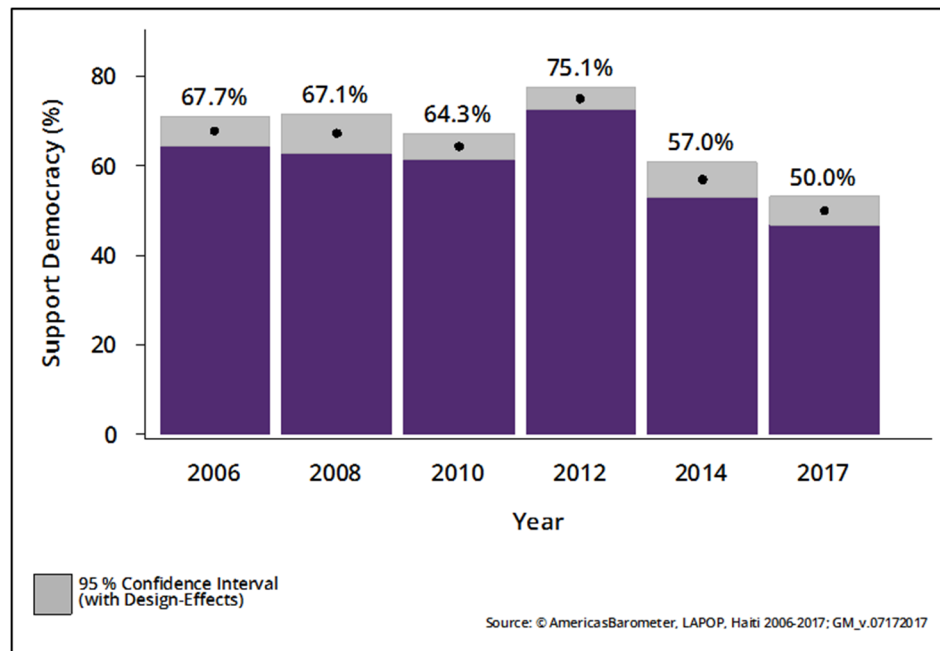


Figure 1.2. Support for Democracy over Time in Haiti

Who is most likely to support democracy? Figure 1.3 shows statistically significant relationships between five demographic and socio-economic subgroups (education, wealth, urban/ rural residence, gender, and age) and support for democracy in Haiti. In all such figures in this chapter, we only show relationships that are statistically significant with 95% confidence. If a category is excluded, this means that it does not significantly predict a particular dependent variable.

Two socioeconomic factors are significantly associated with support for democracy in Haiti: *material wealth* and *age*^{11,12}. In general, wealthier individuals are more likely to support democracy than the poor are. In addition, as individuals grow older, they are more likely to support democracy. While 56.9% of the individuals in the fifth quintile of wealth express support for the idea of democracy, only 43% of individuals in the first quintile do so. With respect to age, 43.9% of Haitians in the 18-25 cohort support democracy as opposed to 55.6% in the 66+ cohort.

¹¹ Other socioeconomic and demographic factors, such as education, urban residence, and gender do not show statistically significant differences with respect to support for democracy in Haiti.

¹² See the regression tables with full results in the Appendix.

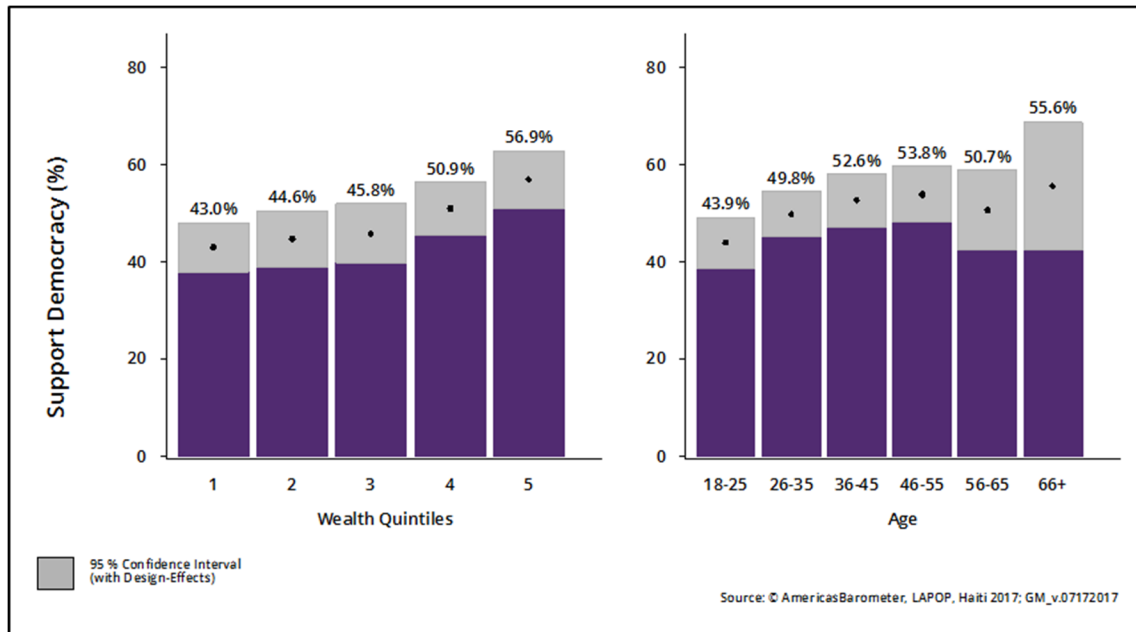


Figure 1.3. Demographic and Socio-Economic Correlates of Support for Democracy in Haiti

Rules of the Game: Support for Coups under High Crime and Corruption

In addition to support for democracy in theory, acceptance of democracy as “the only game in town” is key to the stability and persistence of democratic governance. This means, in short, that citizens in democratic societies should not support military coups that replace the incumbent democratically elected government with military leadership. The 2016/17 AmericasBarometer includes two items that tap participants’ hypothetical willingness to support a military takeover of the government. Half of respondents received the first of the following questions, while the other half was randomly assigned to receive the second:

Now, changing the subject. Some people say that under some circumstances it would be justified for the military of this country to take power by a coup d’état (military coup). In your opinion would a military coup be justified under the following circumstances? **[Read the options after each question]:**

JC10. When there is a lot of crime.

- (1) A military take-over of the state would be justified
- (2) A military take-over of the state would not be justified

JC13. When there is a lot of corruption.

- (1) A military take-over of the state would be justified
- (2) A military take-over of the state would not be justified

Figure 1.4 shows the percentage of respondents in each country that responded that they would support a military coup under each of these circumstances. Support for military coups under high levels of crime ranges from a low of 23.3% in the United States to a high of 59.3% of respondents in Jamaica. Support for coups under high corruption ranges from 23% in Argentina to 53.2% in

both Costa Rica and Jamaica. In the particular case of Haiti, 28.9% support coups under high crime, and 31.7% under high corruption. In both cases, Haiti ranks towards the lower tier of the scale.

More generally, levels of support for military coups are lowest in Argentina, Uruguay, the United States, and Nicaragua. Support for coups is consistently high compared to the rest of the region in Jamaica, Peru, and Mexico.

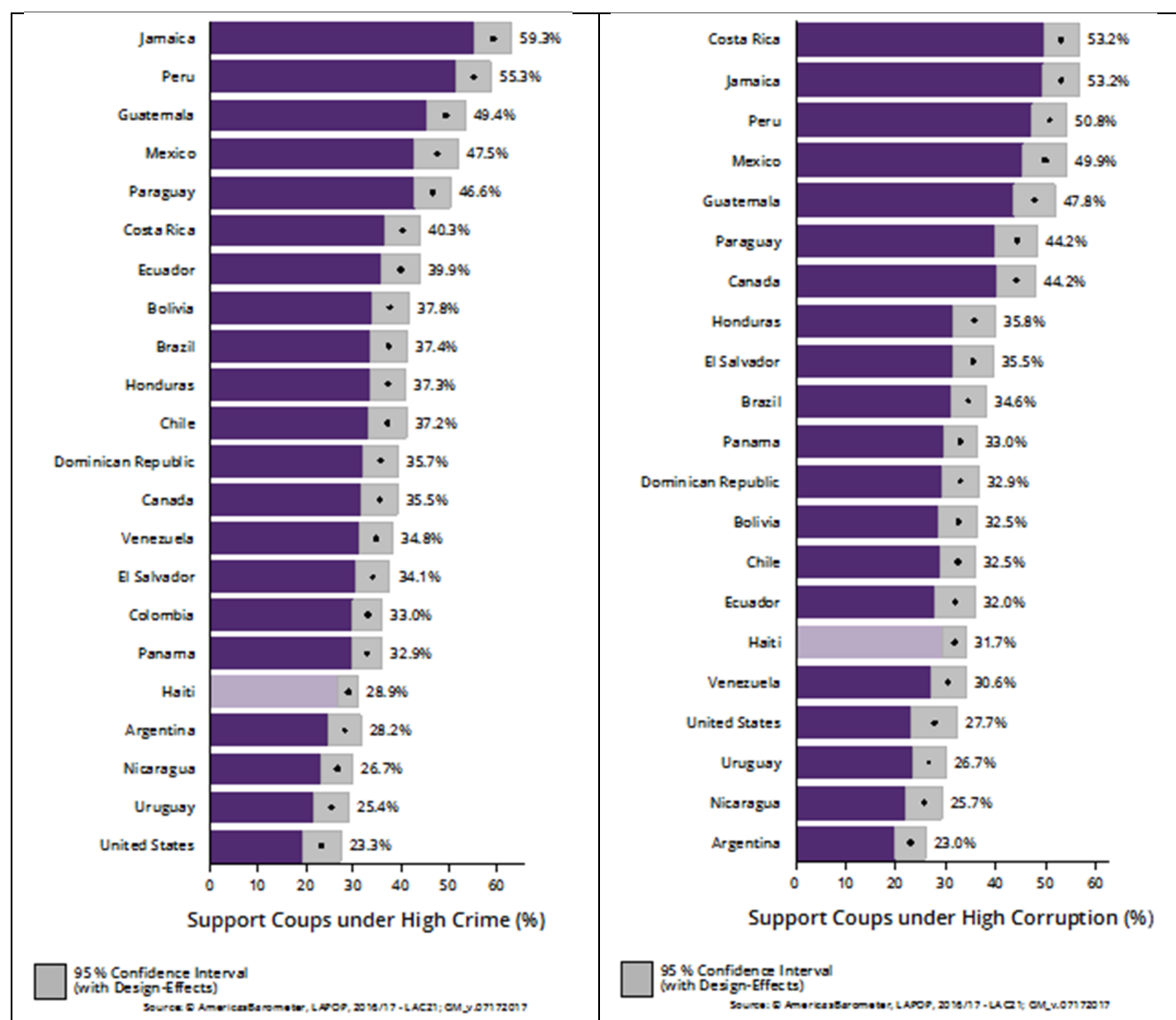


Figure 1.4. Support for Military Coups under High Crime and High Corruption

For cross-time, socio-economic, and demographic analyses, we assess support for military coups, generally, by creating an index of these two variables¹³. Even though support for military coups is

¹³ In survey rounds when both questions were asked to all respondents, we generated an additive index, adding responses to both items and dividing through by two for each individual. In 2016/17, we proxy support for military coups, generally, with support for coups under either high crime or high corruption – whichever question the respondent received.

relatively low in Haiti in comparison to other countries, it has increased over time. Figure 1.5 shows that the percentage of Haitians who support military coups has doubled from 2012 to 2017, increasing from 15.4% to 31%.

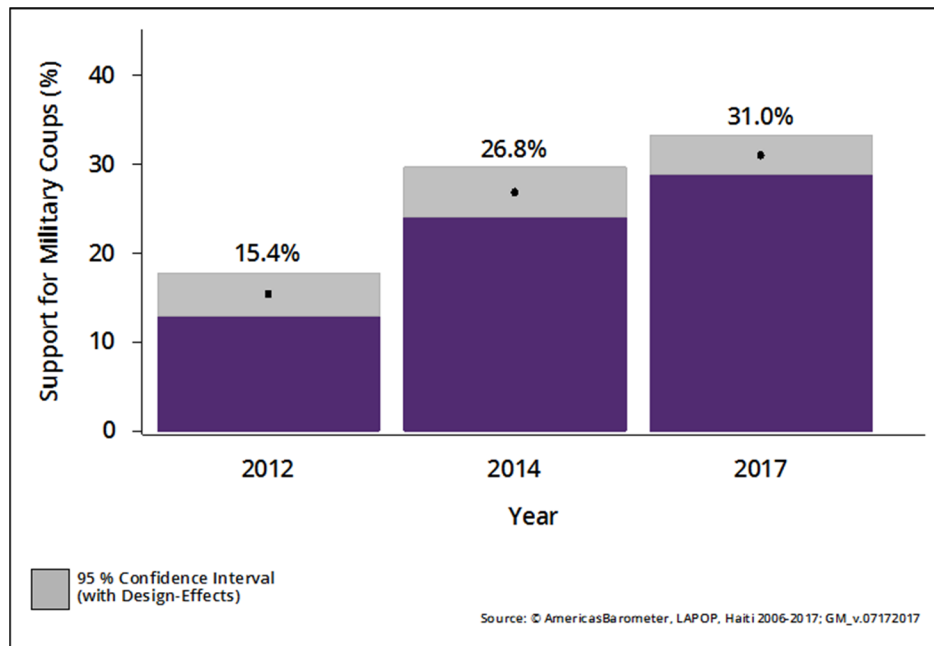


Figure 1.5. Support for Military Coups across Time in Haiti

Figure 1.6 shows support for military coups by demographic and socio-economic subgroups. We find relatively higher support among younger individuals (from 16 to 35 years of age), people with no secondary education, and Haitians residing in urban areas.¹⁴ More specifically, 40.1% of the people in the 18-25 years of age cohort support military coups. In contrast, only 17.4% of individuals 66 years of age or older do so. While 18.5% of Haitians with post-secondary education support military coups, 29.9% to 33.7% of people with no education, primary, or secondary education would approve of the military taking power in the country. Finally, 36.1% of the population in urban areas support military coups. Only 26.2% do so in rural areas.

¹⁴ We found no differences in support for military coups according to the gender respondent or their wealth.

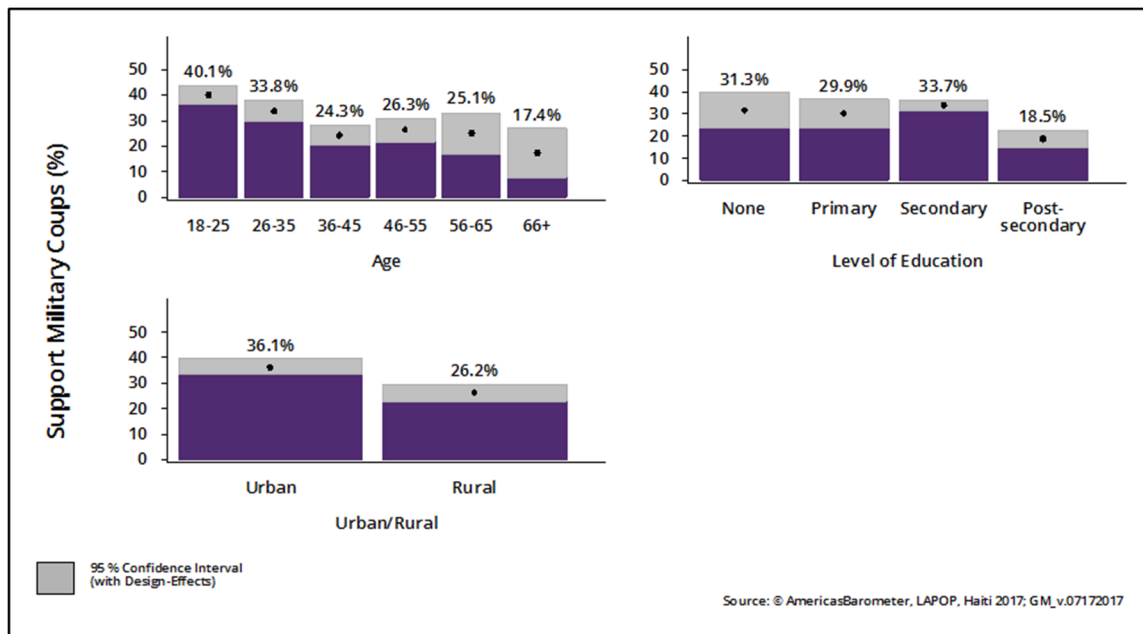


Figure 1.6. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Support for Military Coups in Haiti

Support for Executive Coups

In addition to the questions discussed above, the AmericasBarometer in 2016/17 asked all respondents the following question, gauging support for executive coups – that is, the shutdown of legislative bodies by the executive branch:

JC15A. Do you believe that when the country is facing very difficult times it is justifiable for the president of the country to close the Congress/Parliament and govern without Congress/Parliament?

(1) Yes, it is justified (2) No, it is not justified

Because takeovers by the executive versus the military imply action by different government actors, we analyze these questions separately. Figure 1.7 shows the distribution of support for executive coups in very difficult times across countries in the Latin America and Caribbean region in 2016/17. Support for executive coups across the region is substantially lower than support for hypothetical coups under high crime or high corruption, averaging 20.5% across the region. Support for executive coups is the lowest in Uruguay (8.7%) and support for executive coups is by far the highest in Peru (37.8%) – a country that experienced an executive coup in 1993. Haiti ranks second from the top, right after Peru. In Haiti, 30% of the population support executive coups.

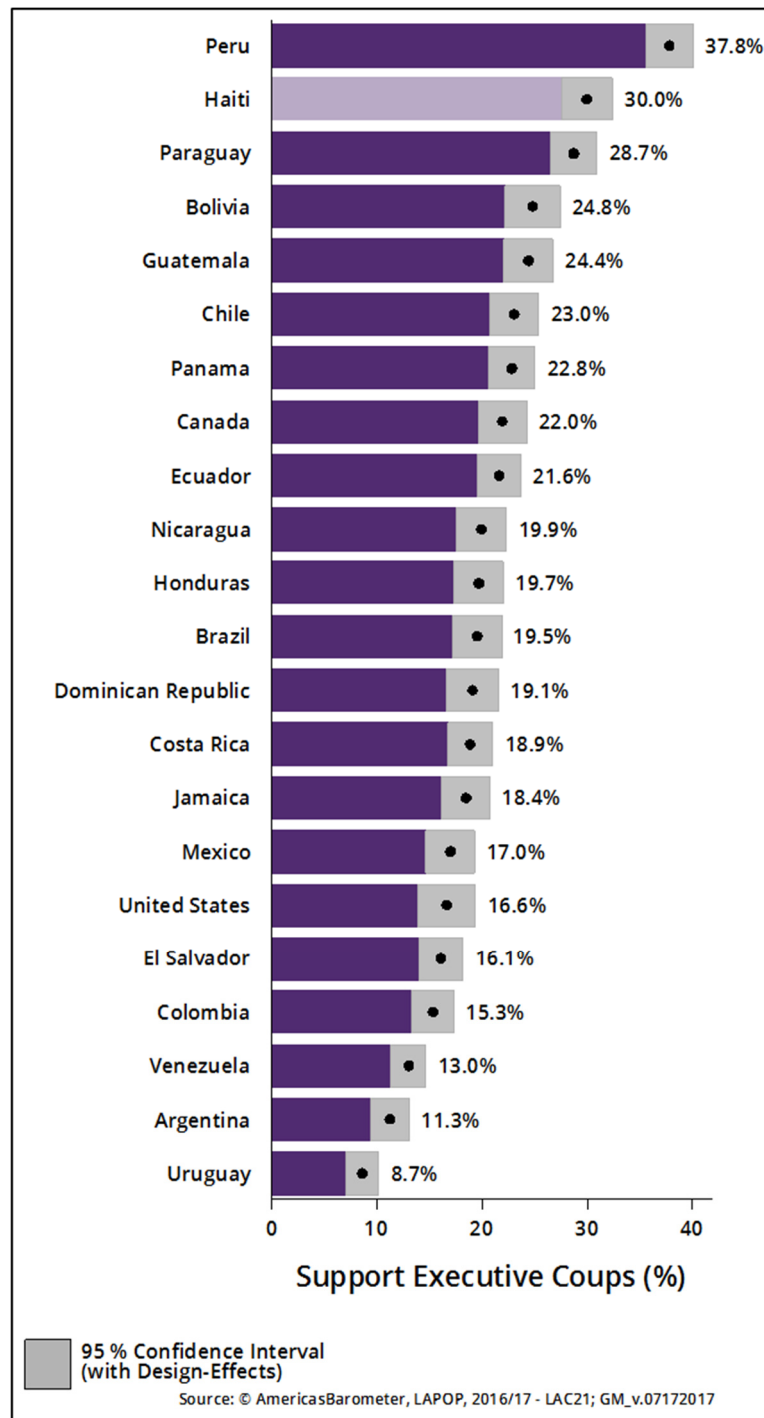


Figure 1.7. Support for Executive Coups

While support for executive coups is lower than support for military coups under high crime or high corruption, on average, in Latin America and the Caribbean, Figure 1.8 shows that levels of support for an executive shutdown of the legislature increased substantially in the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer by 3.9% with respect to 2014.

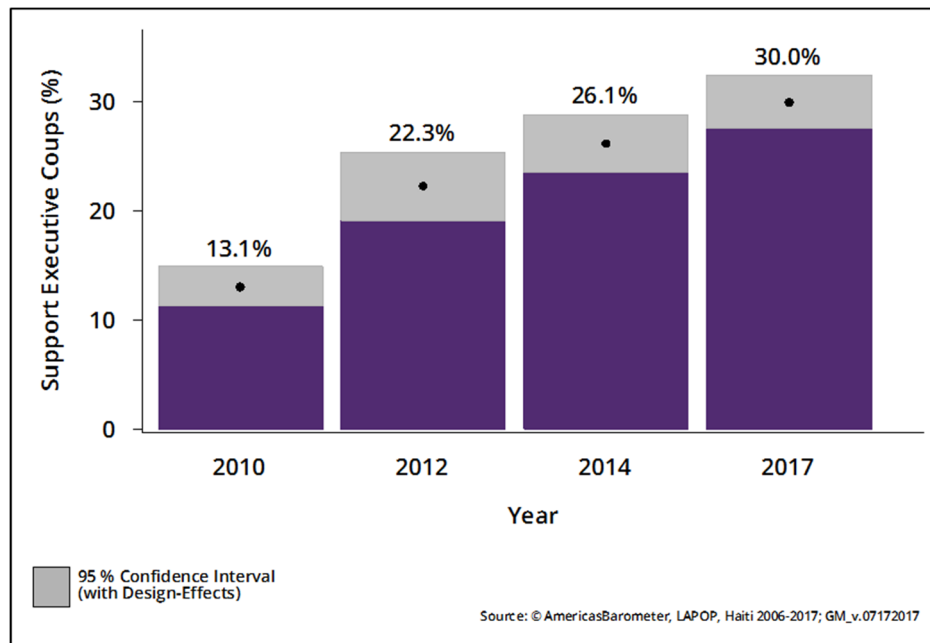


Figure 1.8. Support for Executive Coups across Time in Haiti

Figure 1.9 shows that two social factors correlate with support for executive coups. On the one hand, younger individuals express higher support for executive coups than their older counterparts do. While 40.1% of people between 18-25 years of age support executive coups in Haiti, only 17.4% of people 66 years old and older do so. On the other hand, women tend to show more support for the idea of executive coup than men do. As shown in Figure 1.9, however, the difference is only three percentage points.

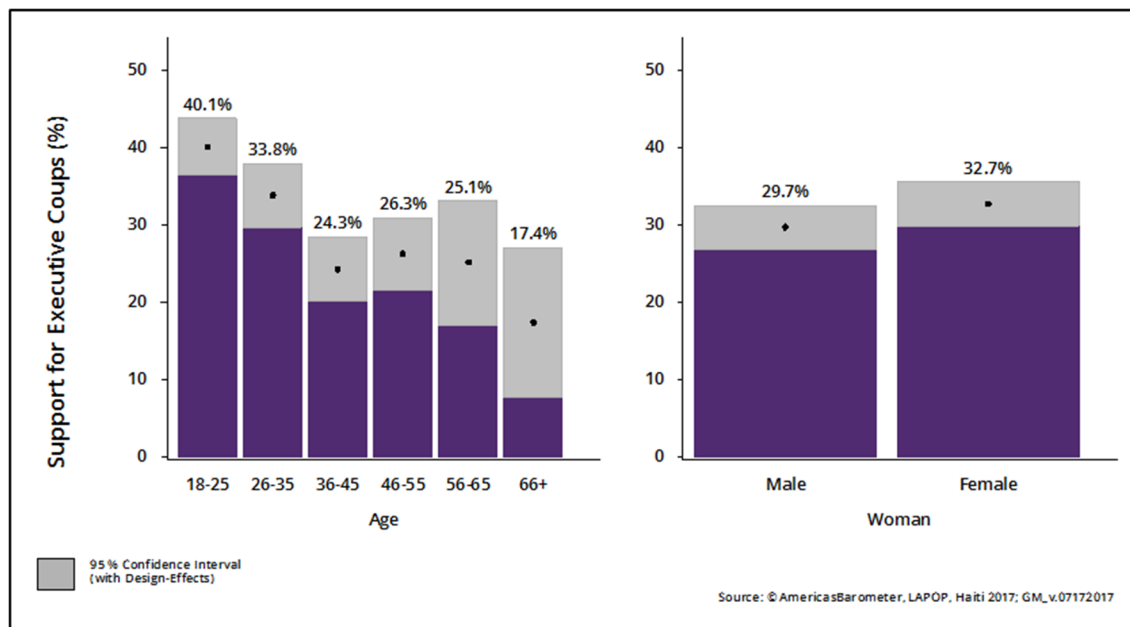


Figure 1.9. Demographic Predictors of Support for Executive Coups in Haiti

On balance, these metrics of minimal support for democracy, support for democracy in theory and the rejection of coups, suggest declining public support for democracy in the region. Haiti is no exception. Support for democracy in theory, for example, declined 7 percentage points in this country from 2014. While levels of support for hypothetical coups are generally low and support for military coups has increased 3.3 percentage points since 2014, support for executive coups increased by 3.9 percentage points in 2016/17 in Haiti. Although these figures are noteworthy, they are also hypothetical, abstract, and general. While respondents express lower support for democracy on average, or more support for hypothetical coups, it is unclear from these analyses whether this overarching displeasure is reflected in opinions about institutions as they function in respondents' national political contexts. The remainder of this chapter turns to this question.

IV. Support for Democratic Institutions: Elections and Parties

Electoral democracy relies on citizen participation through elections: voters select their representatives and straightforwardly voice their preferences at the ballot box. Public trust and participation in these institutions are therefore important for understanding citizen support for democracy as it functions in the real world and, as well, serve as a signal of citizens' commitment to democracy (a foundational piece of democratic consolidation).

Voters select who governs through their participation in competitive elections. This process permits citizens an indirect role in policy-making under electoral democracy, which occurs "...through the competition and cooperation of elected representatives." (Schmitter and Karl 1991, 76). Citizens' preferences are thus mediated through their interactions with political institutions (e.g., elections) and actors (e.g., politicians and parties) in a democracy. Citizen trust in the electoral process as clean, competitive, and fair is therefore foundational to democracy's legitimacy¹⁵.

For voters, democratic elections are an opportunity to punish or reward outcomes from the previous term, and to signal their prospective preferences (see, e.g., Ferejohn 1986; Lewis Beck 1986; Manin, Przeworski, and Stokes 1999; Powell 2000). For elections to produce winners and electoral mandates, some portion of the public must participate in them by voting¹⁶. Around the world, scholars have observed inequities in who participates: abstainers are often less interested in and more alienated from politics than other citizens (see Karp and Banducci 2008; Carreras and Castañeda-Angarita 2014), and those who vote are wealthier and more educated than those who abstain (Carlin, Singer and Zechmeister 2015; Carreras and Castañeda-Angarita 2014; Nadeau et al. 2017)¹⁷.

¹⁵ Scholars argue that trust in elections *among the losers* is potentially more important than democratic support among winners (see, e.g., Anderson et al. 2007).

¹⁶ There is some debate as to what the ideal rate of participation is. While some argue that full participation is a normative good (see, e.g., Lijphart 1997), others (e.g., Rosema 2007; see also Schumpeter 1942) argue that low electoral participation can signal citizen satisfaction with the status quo and may yield better representative outcomes (see also Singh 2016).

¹⁷ Several Latin American countries have sought to minimize these inequities and enforce a view of voting as both a right and a duty by implementing mandatory vote laws (Fornos et al. 2004). Mandatory vote laws arguably reduce unequal participation by income, and scholars have also suggested that compulsory voting



In short, citizens legitimate electoral democracy by trusting in elections as a mechanism to select leaders and by participating in elections. The following sections examine citizen trust and participation in elections in Latin America and the Caribbean, with the goal of better understanding support for electoral democracy in the region.

Trust in Elections

In 2004 and every round since 2012, the AmericasBarometer has asked individuals the following question:

B47A. To what extent do you trust elections in this country?

Responses range from 1–7, with one indicating “no trust” and seven denoting “strong trust.” Figure 1.10 shows the percentage of individuals who trust elections (values of five to seven on the seven-point scale) in each country where the question was asked in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer study. The percentage of respondents who report trust in elections ranges widely, from 18.5% in Haiti to 73% in Uruguay. There are no clear trends in the ranking of countries. For example, Nicaragua’s 2016 election was accompanied by accusations of fraud culminating in a boycott of the election by opposition parties; yet, trust in elections is fourth from the highest in the region in that country. In Colombia in contrast, only 24% of respondents report trust in elections, although elections have been regularly certified as clean from fraud by international observers in recent years. Haiti ranks last in the scale.

can increase citizens’ *cognitive* engagement (that is, their knowledge of and interest in politics, see Carlin and Love 2015; Singh 2015; Söderlund et al. 2011). However, increased turnout across demographic subgroups does not necessarily mean increased positive participation in elections. Voters in the LAC region regularly turn out and spoil their ballots to signal their discontent with status quo politics, and levels of spoiled voting are especially high where voting is mandated (Cohen 2017; Power and Garand 2007).

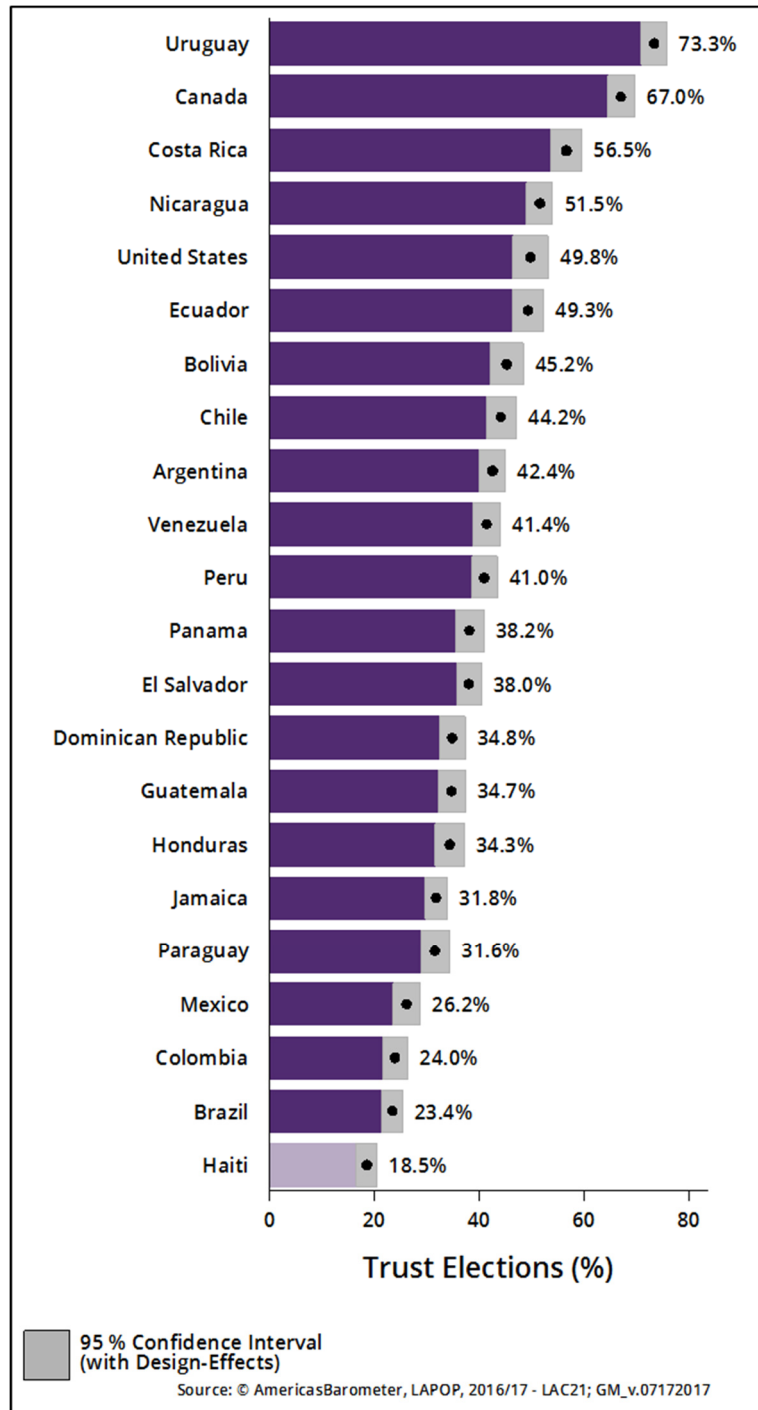


Figure 1.10. Percentage of Respondents Who Trust Elections

In Haiti, an average of 18.5% of citizens trust elections in 2017. Although this very low trust rate is the lowest level of trust in elections found in the region, it has increased slightly from the 14.8% average found 2014, back to the 2012 levels (Figure 1.11).¹⁸

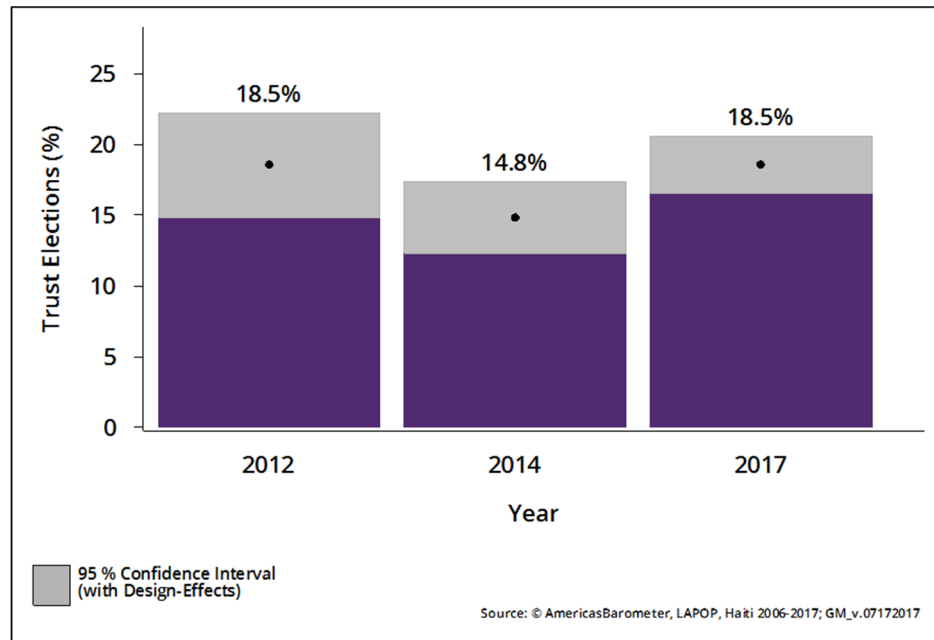


Figure 1.11. Trust in Elections over Time in Haiti

In terms of who is most likely to trust elections, the results in Figure 1.12 show that both age and level of education are significant contributors. As individuals grow older, the probability of trusting elections grows larger. Only 12.0% of individuals in the 18-25 age cohort trust elections, as opposed to 33.9% in the 66+ cohort. Conversely, the level of education is negatively associated with trust in elections in Haiti. While 37.1% of the people with no education trust elections, 12.9% of the people with post-secondary education do so.

¹⁸ LAPOP now reports the percentage of respondents who indicate positive responses to questions such as these (percent who responded 4 or higher on the 7-point trust scale). This is a change from past reports where the scale was transformed to a 0 to 100 scale and the average response was reported.

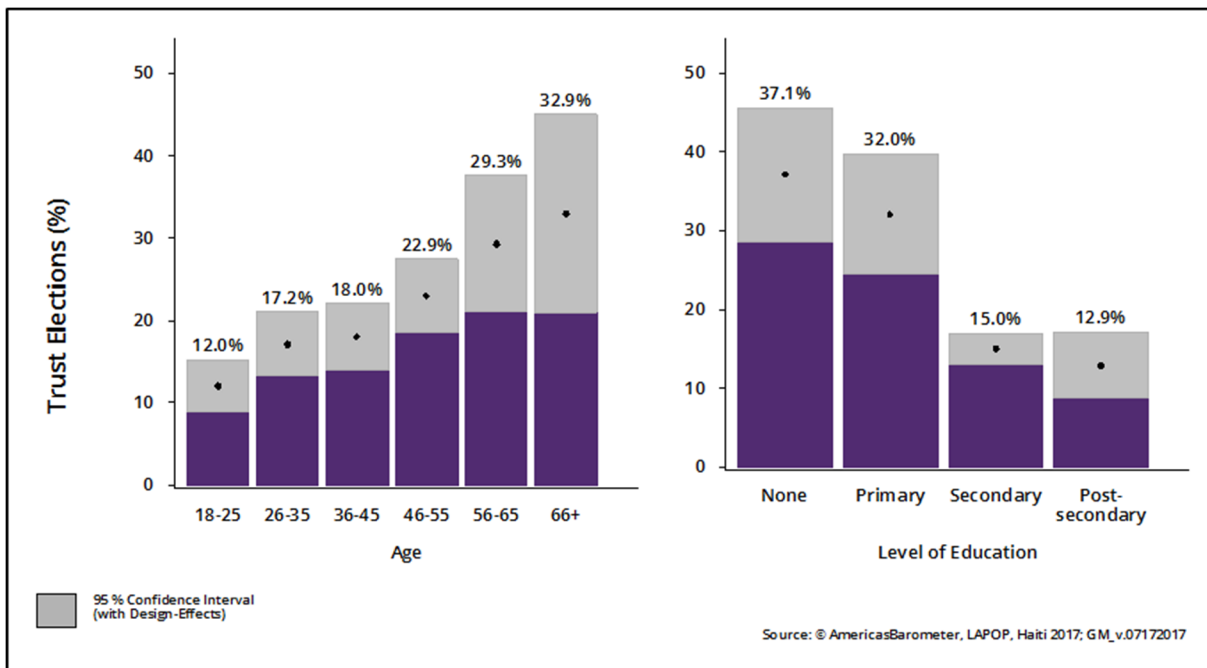


Figure 1.12. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Trust in Elections in Haiti

Participation in Elections

In addition to supporting and trusting elections in theory, democracy requires citizen participation in elections to select winners. To measure electoral participation, the AmericasBarometer asks respondents in each country the following question:

VB2. Did you vote in the (first round of the) last **presidential elections** of (year of last presidential elections)?

(1) Voted

(2) Did not vote

Figure 1.13 shows the distribution of reported voter turnout in each of the countries in the study. Reported turnout ranges from 52.5% in the 2016 general election in Jamaica to 89.3% in Peru's 2016 general election¹⁹. Unsurprisingly, reported turnout is the highest in countries where mandatory vote laws exist and are strictly enforced (Peru, Uruguay, Ecuador; see Fornos et al. 2004) and is substantially lower in countries where voting is voluntary (e.g., Chile, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Colombia). With 56.1% of the respondents reporting to have voted, Haiti ranks amongst countries with the lowest level of reported vote.

¹⁹ As in most studies of electoral behavior, turnout is over-reported by several percentage points in the AmericasBarometer study. For example, official turnout in the first round Peruvian election in 2016 was 81.8% of eligible voters, and official turnout in the 2016 US elections was 60.2% of eligible voters. Turnout over-reporting can be caused by social desirability (voting is seen as normatively desirable, and interviewees lie to appear to be good citizens) and faulty memory (individuals do not remember what they did during the last election, so incorrectly guess that they turned out to vote).

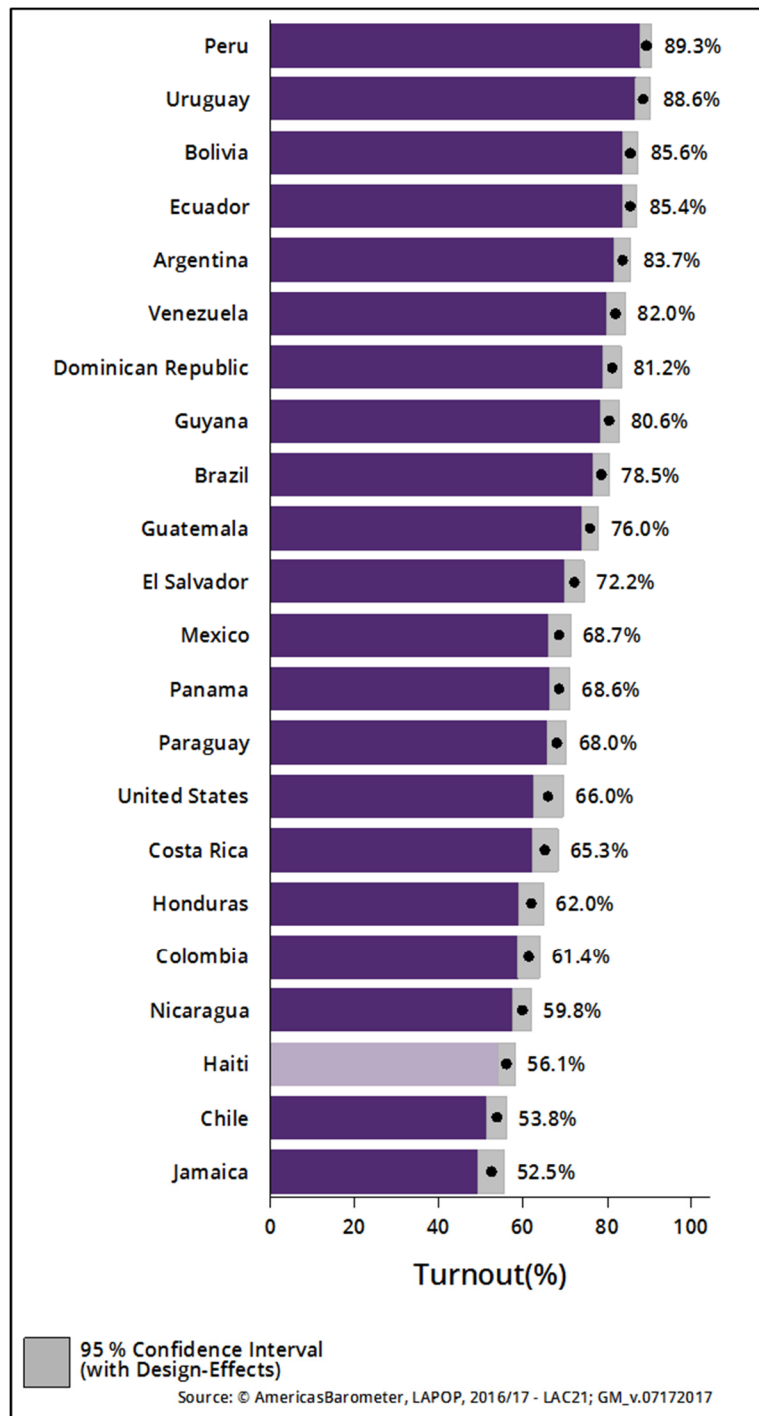


Figure 1.13. Turnout across Countries

Who participates in elections? There are some interesting patterns in Figure 1.14. First, fewer individuals (36.5%) in the 18-25 age cohort participate in elections in comparison with the rest of Haitians (the other cohorts, on average, show a participation rate of 61.9%). This means that the majority of the younger Haitians choose not to vote. Women (46.1%) also participate far less than men do (65.8%). Finally, individuals with post-secondary education (67%) participate more than individuals with fewer years of schooling.

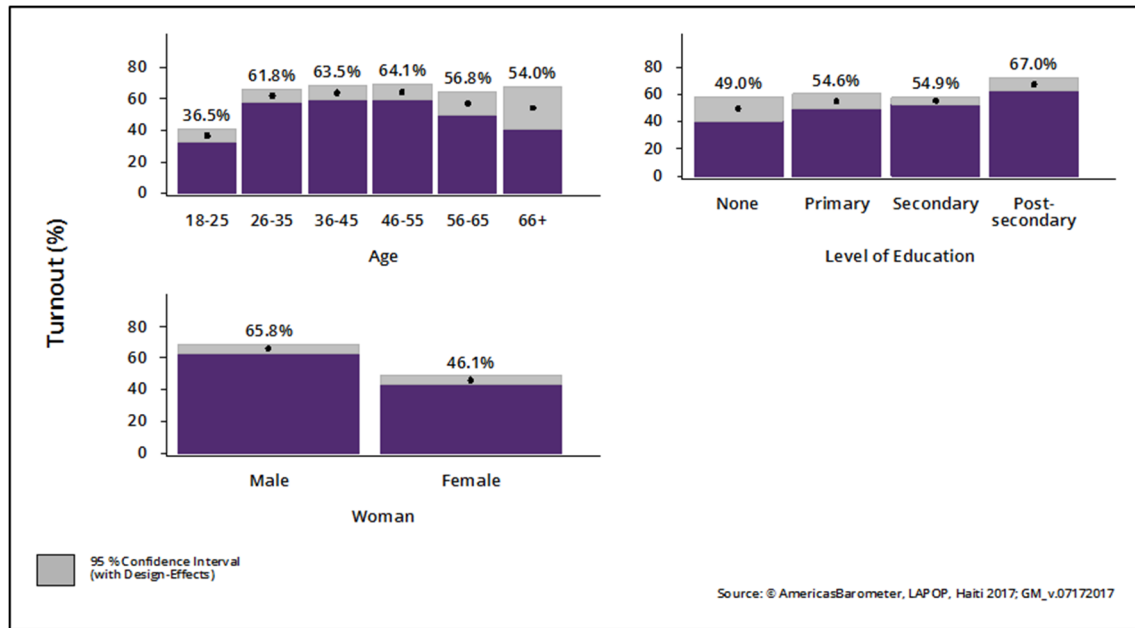


Figure 1.14. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Turnout in Haiti

Only one sixth of Haitians report trusting elections, which have been the status quo system for selecting leaders for well over 30 years on average across the region. This figure is somewhat disconcerting given elections' central role in democratic governance. Yet, despite the widespread mistrust, citizens still participate in elections at high rates across the region. While turnout has decreased almost 10% from 2014, somewhat over time, more than 56% of voting-age individuals in Haiti still report participating in recent presidential elections.

Trust in Political Parties

Citizens' preferences about policy are filtered not only through elections, but also through elected representatives and the political parties into which they are organized. The founders of the United States viewed the presence of "factions" as undesirable but inevitable in a republic (see Federalist No. 10). While parties are not mentioned explicitly in most countries' constitutions (Stokes 2002), scholars agree that party organizations are important for both politicians and voters. By organizing legislators into groups with similar policy preferences, parties are able to overcome coordination problems and enact legislation efficiently rather than building new coalitions for each piece of proposed legislation (Aldrich 1995). This has led some (see, e.g., Schattschneider 1967) to argue that representative democracy needs political parties, especially institutionalized parties (see Mainwaring and Scully 1995), to work.

Parties also serve an important role for citizens. By organizing politics on policy lines, parties enable voters to identify a "team" that aligns with their preferences. At their best, then, parties facilitate citizen participation in the democratic process and ensure high quality representation.

However, political parties are not always associated with positive outcomes. At their worst, strong parties divide politicians and citizens into fiercely oppositional groups, resulting in legislative gridlock. On the other hand, parties are not able to effectively organize the political space when



they lack leadership and staying power. High turnover (or ‘volatility’) in the partisan options competing over time is especially relevant in some of Latin America’s weak party systems, where levels of partisan replacement over time are notably high (see, e.g., Cohen, Salles, and Zechmeister 2017; Roberts 2014). Further, the perception that politics is a dirty business and parties protect their members who engage in corruption might lead to relatively low trust in parties in an age of high salience corruption scandals (Canache and Allison 2005).

This section examines citizen interactions with political parties, specifically trust and participation in political parties in the Americas. Since 2004, the AmericasBarometer study has asked participants the following question:

B21. To what extent do you trust the political parties?

Response categories ranged from one to seven, with one signifying no trust and seven indicating high trust in political parties. Figure 1.15 shows the percentage of respondents that reported trusting parties (values of five and higher). The percentage of participants reporting trust in political parties ranges from 7.5% in Peru to 35% in Nicaragua. In Haiti, the percentage in 2017 is 13.5%.

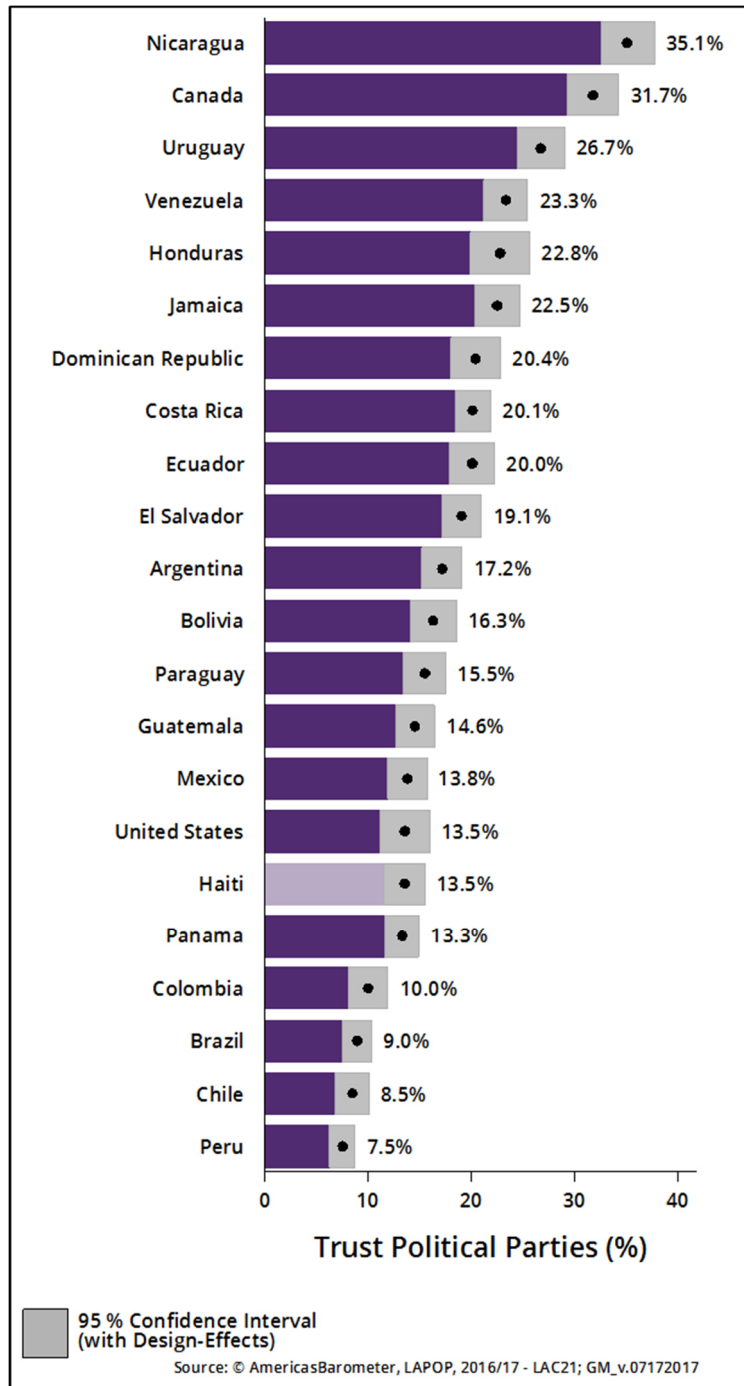


Figure 1.15. Percentage that Trusts Political Parties across Countries

Figure 1.16 shows that trust in political parties has been constantly changing in Haiti. While the highest level of trust was reported in 2008 (22.9%), the lowest level was obtained in 2010 (12.9%). In 2017, this indicator dropped to 13.5% from 18.8% in 2014.

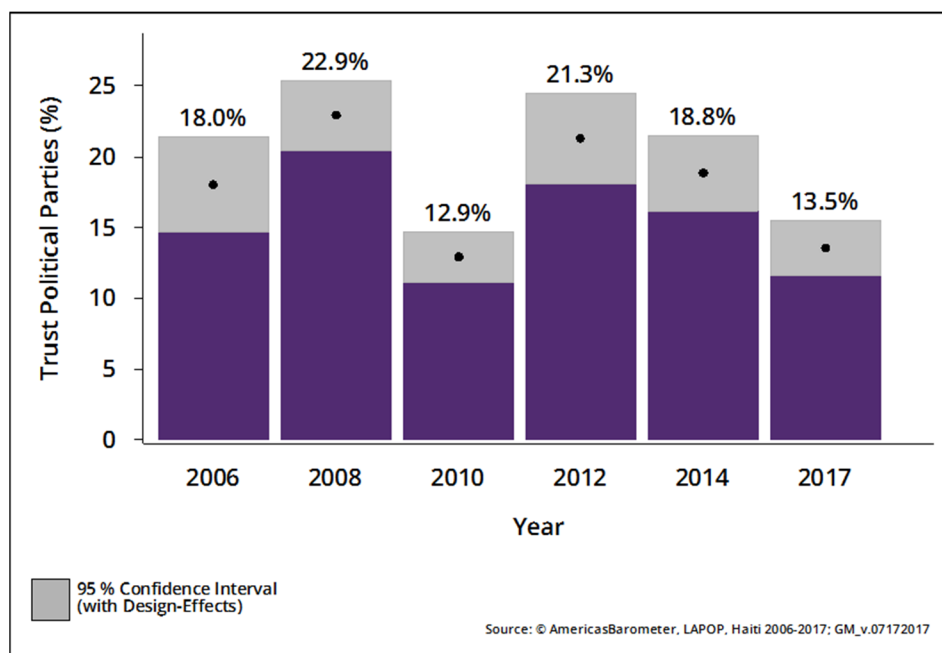


Figure 1.16. Trust in Political Parties over Time in Haiti

With respect to who is more or less likely to trust political parties, Figure 1.17 shows that almost twice as many people with primary or no education trust political parties than people with secondary or post-secondary education. In addition, fewer younger individuals trust political parties than older Haitians do. The highest percentage of trust is manifested among individuals 56 years of age and older.

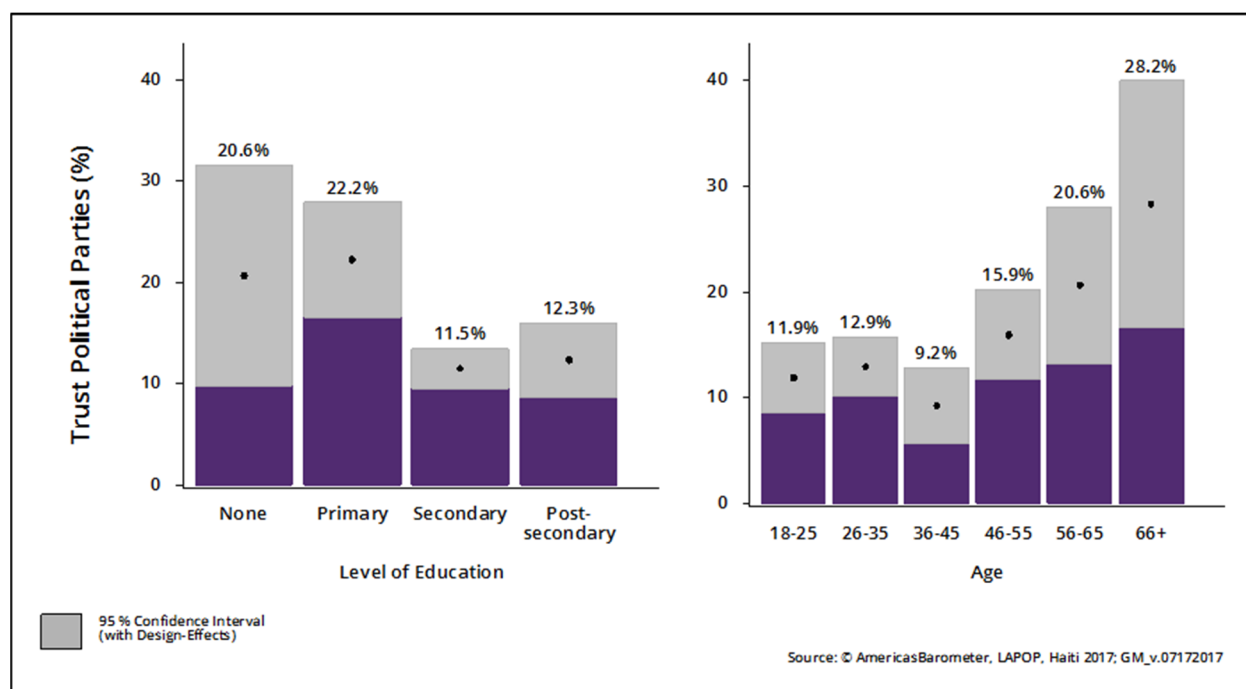


Figure 1.17. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Trust in Political Parties in Haiti

The low levels of trust in political parties are consistent with the low rates of voter turnout in Haiti. People seem to be generally apathetic about the basic tenants of electoral democracy. In general, this apathy is even larger among younger individuals. In the reminder of this chapter, we study party ID in Haiti across time and in comparative perspective.

Partisanship

Trust in parties is a relatively low cost expression of an individual's commitment to the party system. It is substantially easier to express support for parties in general than it is to express an identification with a partisan organization. The following section examines this higher-cost variable, attachment to a partisan organization. Since 2004, the AmericasBarometer surveys have asked respondents the following question:

VB10. Do you currently identify with a political party?

(1) Yes (2) No

Figure 1.18 shows that levels of partisanship in the Americas vary widely, from 5.9% of Guatemalans reporting partisanship to 44.4% of Uruguayans. As one might expect, levels of partisanship are highest in some of the countries where party systems are quite stable, with the same parties and coalitions competing over time (e.g., Uruguay, the Dominican Republic) and are lowest in some countries where parties change substantially across elections (e.g., Guatemala, Peru). However, there are some notable exceptions to this rule: for example, both Chile and Mexico, two of the region's most stable party systems, have some of the lowest rates of partisanship in the region. This may be due to citizens' feelings of alienation from the party options and specifically the belief that the parties are too stable and do not represent the relevant spectrum of voter preferences (see, e.g., Siavelis 2009). In Haiti, 30.4% of individuals reported partisanship, which is above the regional average.

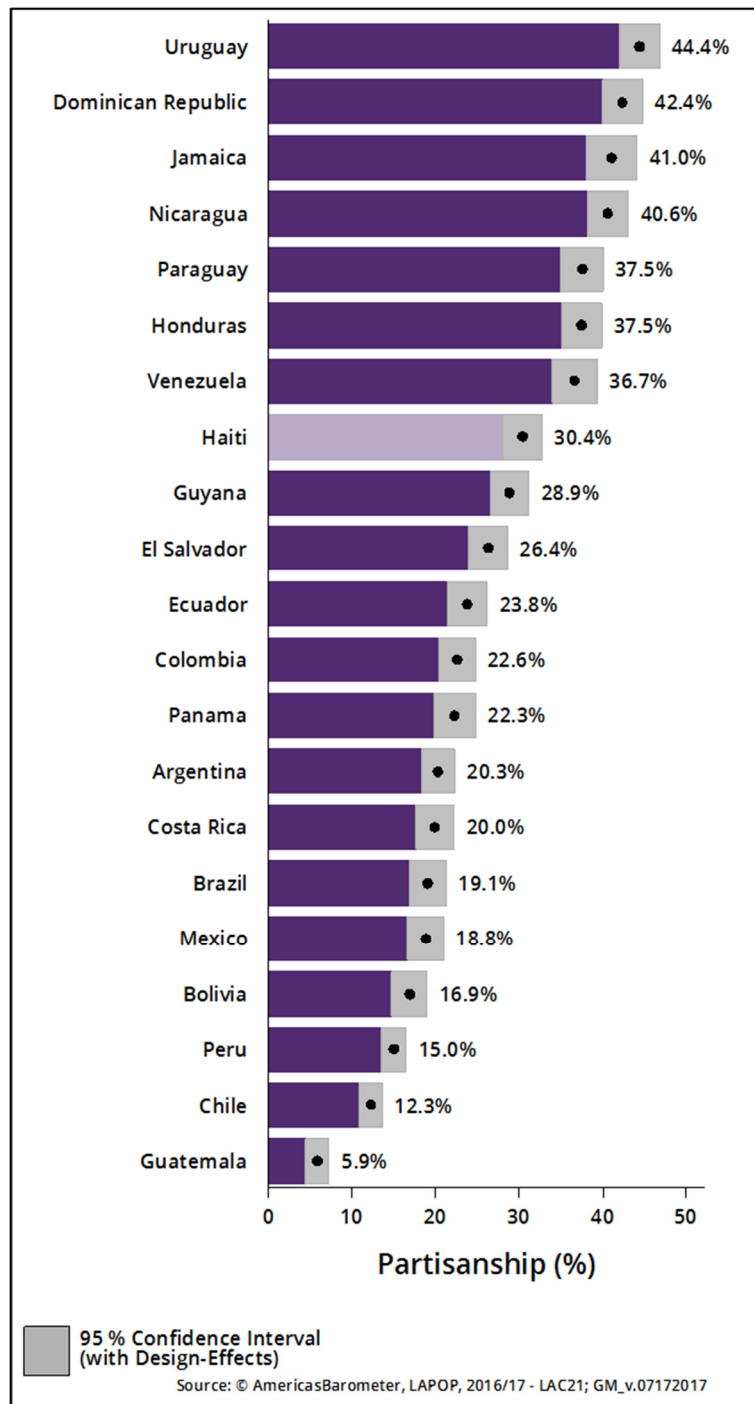


Figure 1.18. Partisanship across Countries

Figure 1.19 shows rates of partisan identification in Haiti over time. On average, political partisanship has remained relatively stable in Haiti across time. One in every three Haitians reported identifying with a political party, with the peak of self-identification reached in 2006 (37.9%). The lowest degree of party ID was recorded in 2010, with 27.8%.

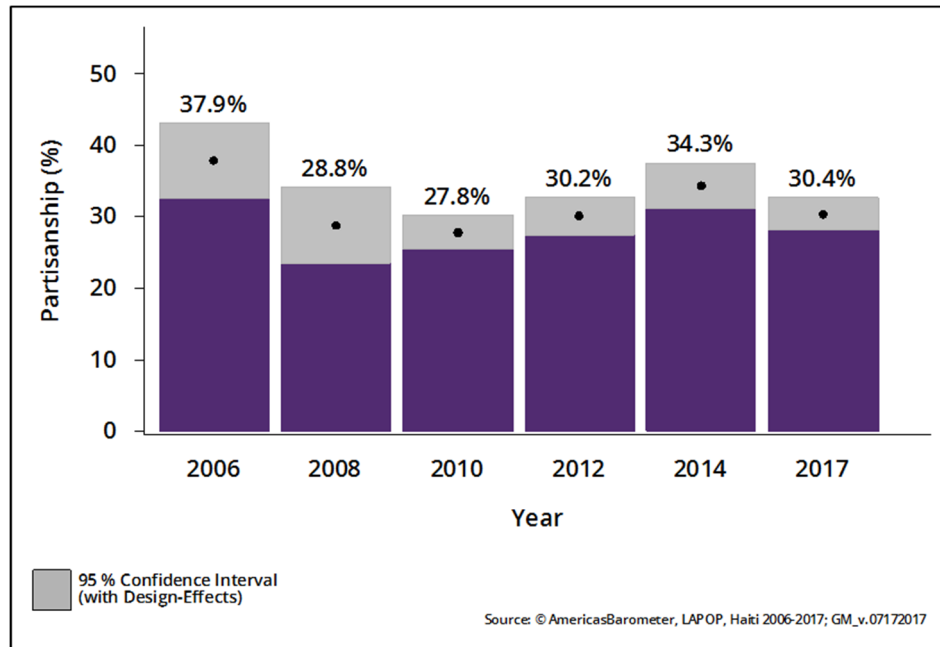


Figure 1.19. Partisanship across Time in Haiti

Given these average levels of partisanship, who reports belonging to political parties? Figure 1.20 shows the demographic and socio-economic features associated with partisanship in Haiti. Less than 1 in 5 Haitians with no education report identifying with a political party, as opposed to 41.7% of those with post-secondary education. On third of the people who reside in rural areas reported having a party ID, as opposed to 26.8% of those who live in urban areas. Finally, while 1 of every 5 women identify with a political party, 39.1% of men do so in Haiti.

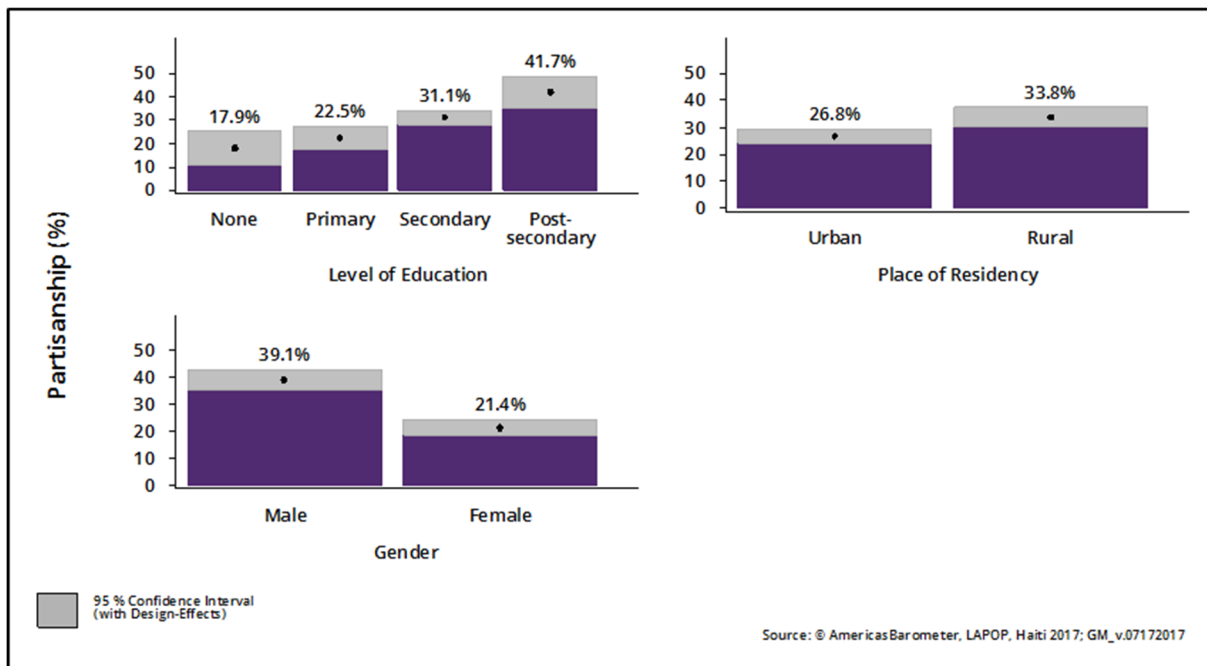


Figure 1.20. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Political Partisanship in Haiti



V. Conclusion

How robust is support for electoral democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean in 2017? The analyses in this chapter provide some reasons to be concerned about the depth of citizens' commitment to democracy as a system for the selection of political leaders. On average across the region, support for democracy in the abstract declined precipitously in the last two years, while support for executive coups increased substantially. Haiti is no exception. These downward trends in support for basic democratic values suggest that the public has become more cynical in their views of electoral democracy as an ideal.

When it comes to attitudes toward institutions that are central to representative democracy, public confidence and engagement, they also have declined in Haiti. Looking at the data from an optimistic perspective, we note that trust in elections and party ID remained relatively stable across time, even though they also decreased from 2014. In recent years, less than 1 out of 5 individuals in Haiti expressed confidence in elections. Clearly, there is room for improvement.

In Haiti, age and education levels seem to have a significant role to play in explaining the downward trend. Younger and less educated Haitians display lower levels of support for democracy. They are also less likely to identify with political parties.

It is worth noting that low support for core democratic institutions is not the only way to measure citizen commitment to democratic values and practices. While public opinion on the indicators explored in this chapter is low and/or has declined, Chapter 6 shows that one measure of commitment to democratic values, tolerance of the rights of minority groups and viewpoints, increased in the Latin America and Caribbean region in 2016/17. This may, in fact, be a silver lining to citizen frustration with elections and the menu of options they offer: when individuals find their confidence in democracy, elections, and parties degraded, they may become more supportive of political participation by a broad swath of the public.



Chapter 2.

The Supply of Basic Liberties in the Americas

Elizabeth J. Zechmeister and LAPOP

I. Introduction

Access to a diversity of information, freedom of expression, and the right to participate are critical to democracy. These basic liberties are fundamental to citizens' ability to form, express, and insert their preferences into government (Dahl 1971, pp. 2-3; see also Beetham 2005, Bollen 1991, Bollen and Paxton 2000, Diamond and Morlino 2004, among others).¹ In other words, the supply and protection of civil liberties are foundational to the functioning of responsive representative democracy.

Public space for the open exchange of socio-political information has been eroding in a number of countries in the Latin American region, among other places around the world (Cooley 2015). The reasons are varied and, further, reports suggest significant differences across countries and over time. One source of information on the state of basic liberties is the Freedom House organization. Freedom House asks experts to assess the extent to which countries provide a range of civil liberties, including freedoms to voice opinions, to participate in social and political life, and to access fair treatment by public institutions.

Freedom House aggregates these basic liberties assessments into a Civil Liberties rating. Since 2004, the year LAPOP's AmericasBarometer was launched, Freedom House has downgraded the Civil Liberties ratings of seven out of 32 Latin America and Caribbean (LAC) countries.² In other words, just over one-fifth of the LAC region has witnessed a decrease in the supply of basic liberties over the last 14 years. And yet other countries in the region have not experienced this same negative trajectory with respect to their Civil Liberties score. Importantly, expert ratings are not based on the experiences of the average citizen. In fact, we know little about how the average citizen experiences and perceives the supply of basic liberties in the Americas.

The question at the core of this chapter is the following: To what extent do citizens of the region feel that their political systems fail to supply a sufficient degree of freedom of the media, of expression, of political expression, and of human rights? While this question focuses our attention on deficiencies in basic liberties, it is also possible for individuals to perceive there to be too much of a freedom, and the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer anticipated this by allowing individuals to

¹ There are many other positive externalities of a free media and freedom of expression; see discussion in Färdrigh (2013).

² Source: Freedom House. Analysis is based on subtracting the average Civil Liberties rating for each country across 2004–2005 from the average rating across 2016–2017. The countries whose Civil Liberties ratings were downgraded in 2016–17 related to 2004–05 are the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guyana, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Venezuela. Eight countries' ratings improved across this time span: Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Haiti, St. Kitts & Nevis, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent & the Grenadines.

respond in this way. These data are presented in some figures in the chapter, but the principal focus here is on the extent to which the public finds there to be a deficit in the supply of basic freedoms. As an additional analysis at the end of the chapter, we examine the extent to which perceiving deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties (negatively) predicts presidential approval, electoral support for the incumbent, and individuals' inclination to participate in elections.

II. Main Findings

Analyses in this chapter reveal that many in the mass public in the Americas perceive significant deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties, from freedom of the press to the right to express opinions without fear to the protection of human rights. The chapter also documents significant variation across countries, individuals, and time. The chapter documents a robust negative relationship between perceptions of deficits in the supply of basic liberties and support for the incumbent administration. Not only are democracies stronger to the extent that governments oversee more open political spaces and more extensive liberties, but so too are the governments themselves. The main findings from the analyses in this chapter can be summarized as follows:

- In Haiti, 34% of individuals report that there is very little freedom of the press. On average, 44% of individuals in the Americas believe there is very little freedom of the press.
- The extent to which citizens perceive there to be a deficit with respect to freedom of the press varies significantly across countries; these country results correlate strongly with expert ratings regarding lack of freedom of the press.
- In Haiti, 39.5% report trusting the media. Trust in the media has stayed more or less the same in Haiti across rounds of the AmericasBarometer.
- Nearly half the public in the Americas believes there is very little freedom of expression in their country; just over half believes there is very little freedom of political expression. In Haiti, 36% reports very little freedom of (general) expression and 48% reports very little freedom of political expression.
- In Haiti, 79% of individuals report that there is very little protection of human rights. On average across the region, nearly two-thirds of the public feels there is very little protection of human rights.

III. The Media

Freedom of the press has declined around the world over the last ten years. By 2016 only 31% of the world's countries were characterized by the Freedom House organization as having a "free" press (Freedom House 2017).³ The Americas are faring better than the global average: of 35 countries ranked by the Freedom House, 16 (46%) have "free" media environments.

³ The Freedom House categorizes countries' freedom of the press levels as "free", "partly free", or "not free" based on input provided by analysts who score countries on 23 questions that fall into three categories that

However, freedom of the press is restricted (rated by the Freedom House as only “partly free”) in 14 LAC countries (Antigua & Barbuda, Guyana, El Salvador, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Colombia, Guatemala, Paraguay and also Haiti), while in five countries – Mexico, Ecuador, Honduras, Venezuela, and Cuba – the press is categorized as “not free” (Freedom House 2017). Moreover, across the Americas, concerns about the concentration of media ownership have become salient (see, e.g., Mendel, Castillejo, and Gómez 2017). In addition, in March 2017, the Inter American Press Association denounced a spectrum of hostilities, ranging from harassment to murder, toward those working to generate and distribute media in the region.⁴ Journalists have experienced alarming levels of violence, including homicide, especially in Brazil, Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, and Mexico.⁵ Populist leaders have threatened and targeted critical members of the press in countries such as Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua, and Venezuela.⁶

Supply of Freedom of the Press

The 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer included several questions about citizens’ perceptions of the media. One question asked about the extent to which there is very little, enough (sufficient), or too much freedom of the press.⁷ The wording was as follows:

	Very little	Enough	Too much
LIB1. Do you believe that nowadays in the country we have very little, enough or too much freedom of press?	1	2	3

On average across the Americas, 44% of the public reports that there is very little freedom of the press, 24% believes there is too much, and 32% of the public is content with the amount of freedom accorded to the press.⁸ These proportions vary significantly across countries, as shown in Figure 2.1. In Canada, only 11% report that there is very little freedom of the press; nearly three out of every four individuals (74%) feel there is a sufficient amount of freedom of the press. At the other end of the figure are nine countries in which one out of every two individuals, or more, reports very little freedom of the press: El Salvador, Bolivia, Panama, Guatemala, Colombia, Mexico, Ecuador, Honduras, and Venezuela. In the latter case, Venezuela, 67% of the mass public perceives there to be very little freedom of the press.

capture the legal, political, and economic environment (see freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press-2017-methodology).

⁴www.clarin.com/mundo/sip-denuncio-amenazas-hostigamiento-prensa-america-latina_0_B1akCElpg.html

⁵ cpj.org/killed/

⁶www.washingtonpost.com/world/americas/in-tiny-ecuador-populist-president-restrains-press/2012/01/23/gIQAHBmQNN_story.html?utm_term=.70b0c54a5d8e; cpj.org/2017/04/journalists-covering-venezuela-protests-harassed-a.php; freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2016/nicaragua; see also Freedom House (2017).

⁷ The question was not asked in the six OECS countries included in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer or in Guyana.

⁸ Excluding the U.S. and Canada, across only those Latin American and Caribbean countries in which the question was asked, the mean proportion that reports there is very little, sufficient, or too much freedom of the press is 47%, 29%, and 25% (numbers do not add to 100 due to rounding).

Haiti falls near the middle of the ranking of countries in Figure 2.1. Thirty four percent of Haitians report that there is very little, 32% report that there is too much, and another 34% report that there is a sufficient level of freedom of the press in their country.

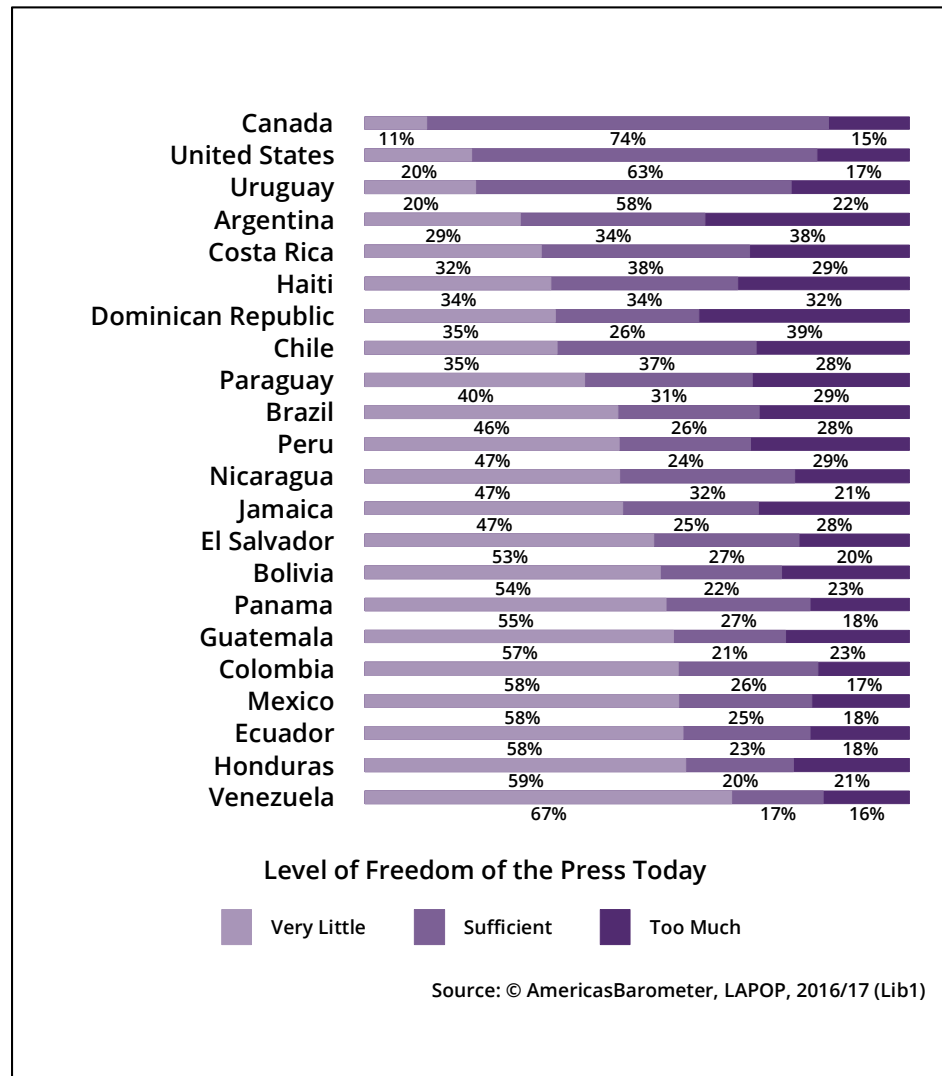


Figure 2.1. Assessments of Freedom of the Press, 2016/17

To what extent do the mass public's perceptions correspond to expert ratings of the objective media environment in each country? This question is important to ask, because it is not a given that assessments made by scholars or other practitioners will match citizens' perceptions of the quality of democracy (Pinto, Magalhaes, and Sousa, 2012). To test for expert-citizen correspondence, we examine the relationship between the percentage of citizens who indicate there is a deficit with respect to freedom of the press (reported in Figure 2.1) and the Freedom House freedom of the press rating for each country (data from Freedom House 2017; higher values indicate lower levels of freedom of the press). As Figure 2.2 shows, public perceptions concerning limits on the supply of freedom of the press tend to correspond fairly well to expert assessments of the extent to which freedom of the press is limited. The correlation between the two measures is moderately high: 0.76.

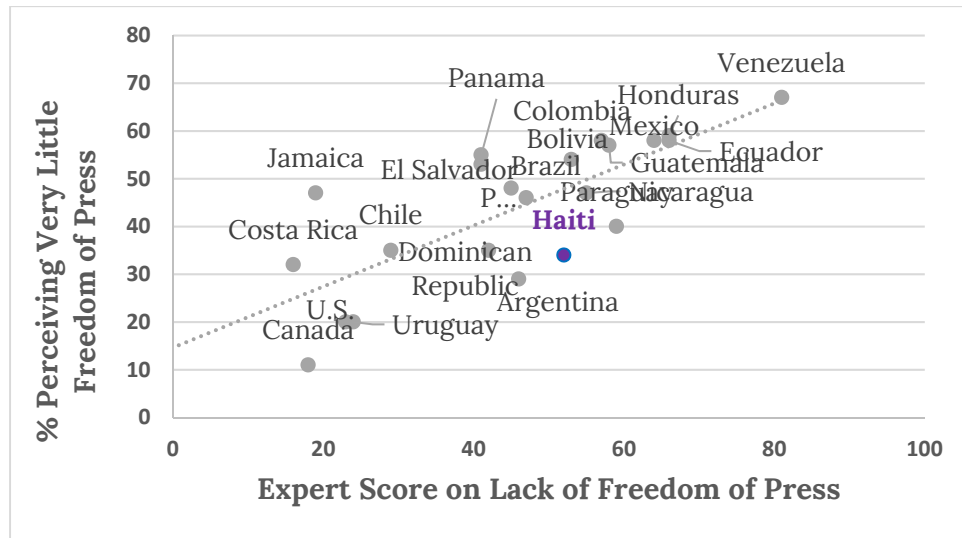


Figure 2.2. Correspondence between Expert Ratings and Proportion of Individuals Reporting Very Little Freedom of the Press in the Americas

In Haiti, who is more likely to perceive there to be an insufficient degree of freedom of the press? To answer this question, we analyze the extent to which there are differences in the proportion of Haitians who report “very little” supply of freedom of the media, by core demographic and socio-economic subgroups: gender (female versus male), urban (vs. rural) residency, age, education, and wealth. As is the case throughout this chapter, only statistically significant differences are depicted in graphs; if one of these five demographic and socio-economic factors is not shown in a graph, it is not a statistically significant predictor.

In the particular case of Haiti, we did not find any statistically significant differences among the predictors described above. In other words, the empirical evidence suggests that around 32% of Haitians report very little supply of freedom of the media, and there is no difference based on gender, place of residency, age, education or wealth. In the following lines, we turn to the study of trust in the media.⁹

Trust in the Media

From 2004 to present day, AmericasBarometer surveys have asked about trust in the media using the question reproduced below. Respondents answered on a 1-7 scale where one indicates “not at all” and seven indicates “a lot” of trust. For the sake of the analyses here, those who responded with a five, six, or seven are coded as trusting, and those who give a response at the mid-point of four or lower are coded as not trusting the mass media.

B37. To what extent do you trust the mass media?

⁹ The complete regression results can be found in the online appendix.

Figure 2.3 shows the percentage of individuals in each country who trust in the media, according to data from the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer. Trust in the media is highest in Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, Paraguay, and Costa Rica, and lowest in Haiti, Jamaica, Colombia, and the United States. At the individual level across the Americas as a whole, there is only a weak connection between trust in the media and belief that there is very little freedom of the press (Pearson's correlation=-0.04). In Haiti, the relationship between those two variables even appear to be in contradiction. While press freedom is comparatively high in Haiti, trust in the media is among the lowest in the region. This suggests that low levels of supply of freedom of the press do not necessarily erode or otherwise correspond to public confidence in the media. It may be that, in many cases, citizens do not see the press as complicit in closing media space.

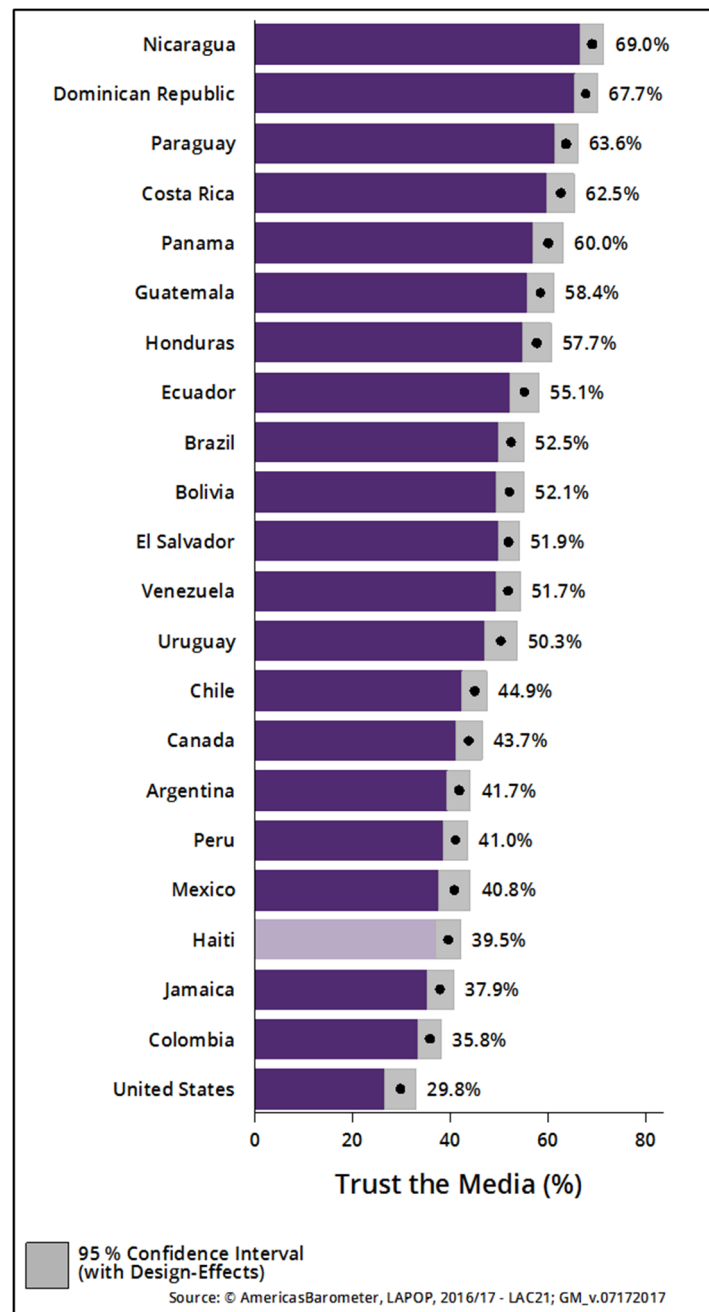


Figure 2.3. Trust in the Media by Country, 2016/17

According to the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer regional report by LAPOP, trust in the media on average in Latin America and the Caribbean has declined over time since 2004. What has happened to trust in the media over time in Haiti? To answer this question, Figure 2.4 displays the average proportion of Haitians who trust in the media across all rounds of the AmericasBarometer since 2006. Because the question was not asked as part of the core questionnaire in 2014/15, that round is not included. Whereas in 2006, 40.2% expressed trust in the media in Haiti, today 39.5% do so. The current level of trust declined over 5 percentage points since 2012.

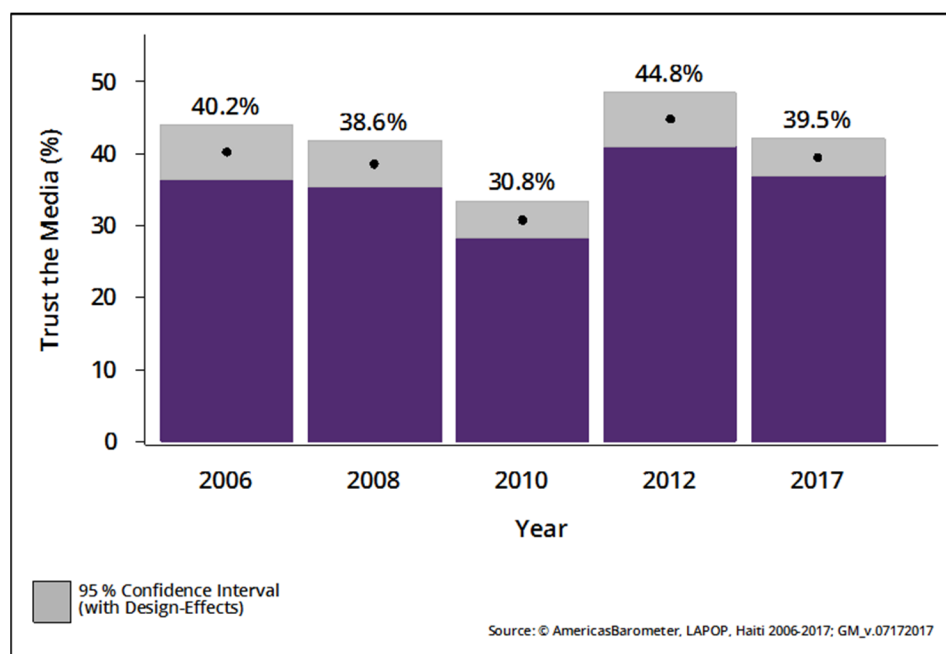


Figure 2.4. Trust in the Media over Time in Haiti

IV. Freedom to Express Opinions

Another fundamental freedom is that of individual expression. In the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer, respondents were asked to evaluate whether there is very little, enough, or too much freedom of expression in the country.¹⁰ The question was asked about both freedom of expression in general and about freedom of political expression, as follows:

	Very little	Enough	Too much
LIB2B. And freedom of expression. Do we have very little, enough or too much?	1	2	3
LIB2C. And freedom to express political views without fear. Do we have very little, enough or too much?	1	2	3

¹⁰ As with all questions in the LIB series, the question was not asked in the six OECS countries or in Guyana.

The next two sub-sections present results on these two measures. Once again, the discussion is focused around understanding to what degree and among whom are there perceptions of a deficit of liberty.

Perceptions of Freedom to Express Opinions in General

Nearly half the public in the Americas (49%) believes there is very little freedom of expression in their country. On the other hand, 34% report that there is a sufficient degree of freedom of expression, and 17% say there is too much.¹¹ Of course, these averages mask significant cross-national variation.

Figure 2.5 shows the proportion of individuals who give each assessment – very little, sufficient, or too much – for each country in which the question was asked in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer. As with freedom of the media, the least amount of concern regarding “very little” freedom is found in Canada, where just 14% report that there is a deficit with respect to freedom of expression in the country. Once again, perceptions of deficits in liberty are also comparatively low in the United States and Uruguay: 19% and 23%, respectively, feel that there is very little freedom of expression. In contrast, in 12 countries, more than 50% of people report that there is very little freedom of expression: Panama, Peru, Brazil, Colombia, Jamaica, Ecuador, Mexico, El Salvador, Bolivia, Guatemala, Venezuela, and Honduras. In Haiti, only about a third (36%) of the people think there is very little freedom of expression, placing the country in the top-tier.

¹¹ These values are calculated including the U.S. and Canada; for the LAC region (the LAC-21, minus Guyana), 52% of individuals report very little, 31% report sufficient, and 17% report too much freedom of expression.

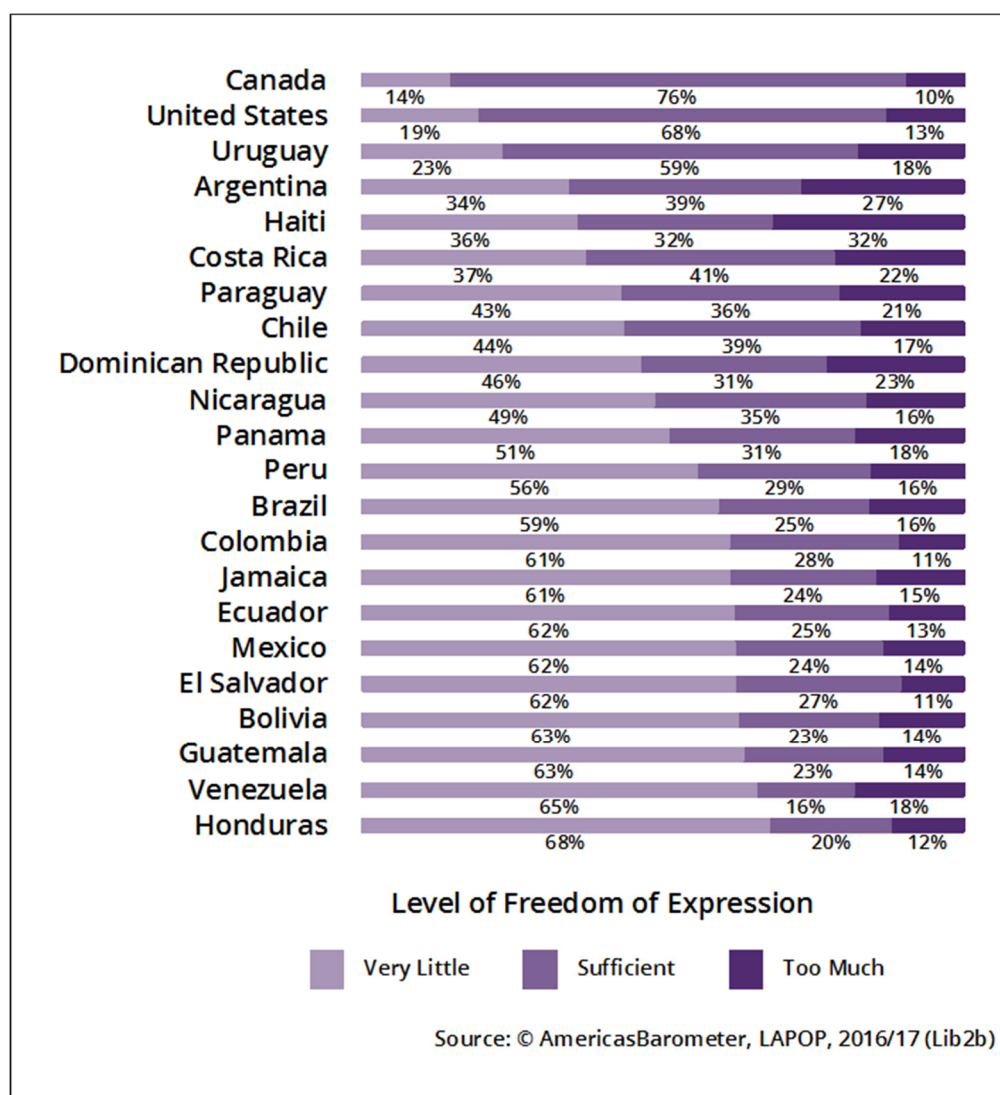


Figure 2.5. Assessments of Freedom of Expression, 2016/17

Perceptions of Freedom to Express Political Opinions

Freedom to express political opinions is particularly important in a democracy. The 2016/17 AmericasBarometer therefore asked a second question about whether citizens feel free to express political opinions without fear.¹² On average across all of the Americas, 54% believe that there is very little freedom of political expression in the Americas, while 32% believe there is sufficient and 14% believe there is too much of this type of liberty.¹³

Figure 2.6 presents a side-by-side comparison of the Haitian public's assessment of the amount of freedom of general expression and freedom of political expression. As the figure shows, Haitians report, on average, a bigger deficit of freedom to express their political opinions than of freedom

¹² The question was not asked in the six OECS countries or in Guyana.

¹³ If the U.S. and Canada are excluded, the figures for the LAC-21 region (minus Guyana) for very little, sufficient, and too much freedom of political expression are 57%, 28%, and 15%, respectively.

of expression in general. While 35.7% see there is “too little” freedom of expression in general, 47.7% report there is “too little” freedom to express their political views. The same pattern can be observed in the region as a whole, however.

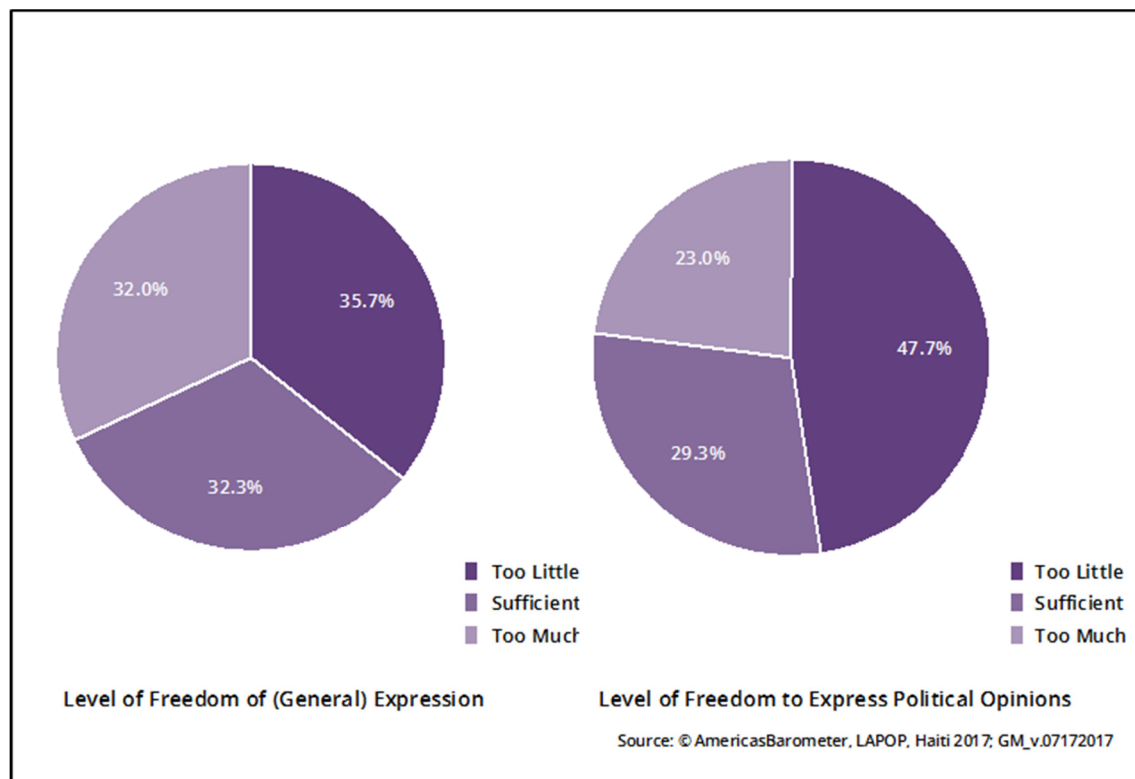


Figure 2.6. The Supply of Freedoms of Expression in Haiti, 2016/17

Figure 2.7 shows the proportion of individuals in each country who report that there is very little, sufficient, or too much freedom to express political opinions. Not surprisingly, there is some similarity to what we found in analyzing the general expression measure. For example, once again, reports of very little freedom are lowest in Canada, the United States, and Uruguay. In 13 countries, more than 1 out of 2 (that is, more than 50%) of individuals report that there is a deficit of freedom to express political opinions without fear: Panama, Nicaragua, Peru, Brazil, Venezuela, Jamaica, Honduras, Ecuador, Bolivia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, and Colombia. It is noteworthy that Mexico, Colombia, and Guatemala are three of the countries that have experienced extraordinarily high levels of threats and violence (including homicide) targeted at individuals associated with the media.¹⁴ As stated above, in Haiti, 48% of the people expressed very little freedom to express political opinions without fear.

¹⁴ See, e.g., freedomhouse.org/article/persecution-and-prosecution-journalists-under-threat-latin-america

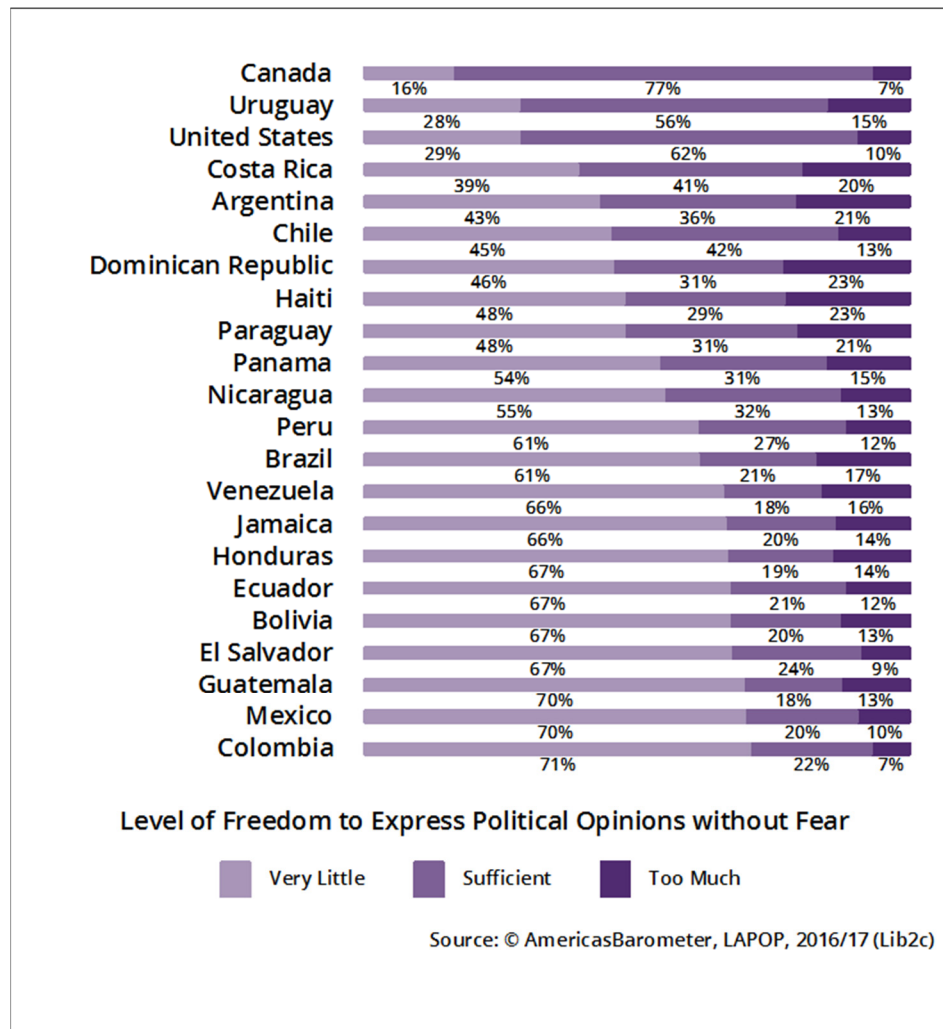


Figure 2.7. Assessments of Freedom of Political Expression, 2016/17

Considering public opinion in Haiti, are some individuals more likely than others to express that there is an insufficient degree of freedom to express political views without fear? Analysis of the data reveals that like in the case of freedom of the media, there are no significant differences by gender, level of education, age, wealth, or place of residency.

V. Human Rights

While concerns about deficiencies in levels of freedom of the press and of expression are elevated in the Americas, data from the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer reveal that concerns about human rights are even more pronounced. To gauge the public's assessment of the supply of human rights protection, individuals were asked the following question:

	Very little	Enough	Too much
LIB4. Human rights protection. Do we have very little, enough or too much?	1	2	3

Across the Americas, on average, 64% of the mass public reports that there is very little protection of human rights in their country. Put differently, nearly two out of every three individuals in the Americas believes that general human rights are insufficiently protected in their country. Only 27% report that there is a sufficient level of protection of human rights, and just 9% report that there is too much protection of human rights.¹⁵

Figure 2.8 shows the results for each country on this measure. In Canada, only 19% of individuals report that there is very little protection of human rights in the country. The United States and Uruguay are next, with 37% and 45% respectively reporting very little in terms of protection of human rights. While these three countries have clustered in the lower end in similar graphs presented earlier in this chapter, these values nonetheless underscore the fact that far fewer individuals – in general – report that there is a sufficient amount of protection of human rights. In the vast majority of cases (all but four countries), more than 50% of the population reports that there is a deficit in human rights protection in their country. In Haiti, 79% of the people report very little protection of human rights, making it the country with the largest number of individuals in this category in the entire hemisphere.

¹⁵ If the U.S. and Canada are excluded, the values in the LAC-21 region (minus Guyana) for the percent believing there is very little, sufficient, or too much protection of human rights are 67%, 23%, and 9% (values do not add to 100 due to rounding).

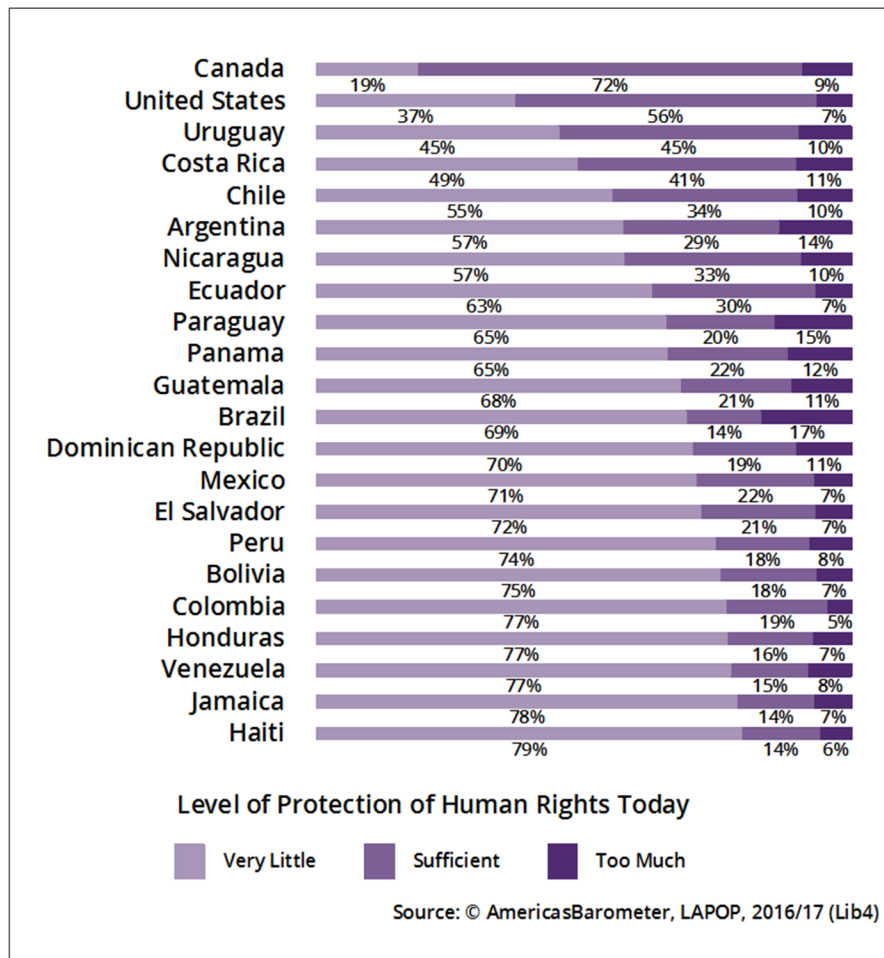


Figure 2.8. Assessments of Protection of Human Rights, 2016/17

Figure 2.9 presents statistically significant differences by level of education in Haiti. On average, as education increases, more people are likely to state that there is very little protection of human rights. Eighty five percent of Haitians with post-secondary education reported very little protection of human rights, as opposed to 64.5% of people with no education.

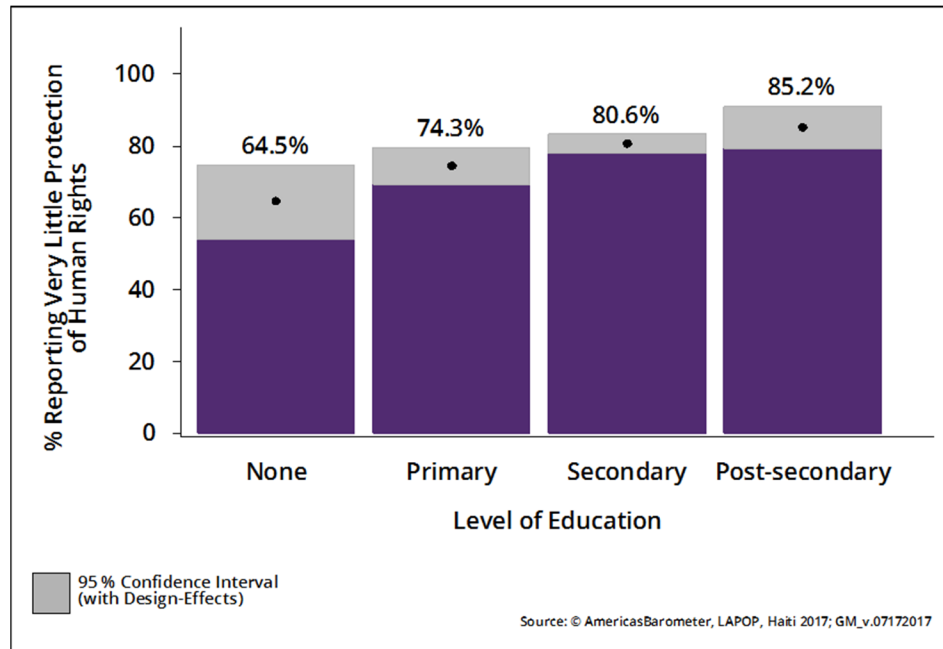


Figure 2.9. Demographic and Socio-Economic Predictors of Reporting Very Little Protection of Human Rights in Haiti

VI. Deficit of Basic Liberties Index

Large numbers of individuals across the Americas express concern that there is very little supply of basic liberties, from freedom of the press to freedoms of expression to the protection of human rights. At the same time, there is significant variation across countries. In some countries, a minority expresses concern that there is a deficit of a given freedom, while in others it is an overwhelming majority. In this section, the public's assessments regarding the supply of liberties are condensed into a summary "basic liberties deficit" index. Continuing the focus on those who report that there is an undersupply of liberty, this index is generated by adding together – at the individual level – reports that there is "very little" (versus any other response) for each of the four basic liberties measures.¹⁶ Those additive scores are then scaled on the index to run from 0 to 100, where 100 indicates that an individual responded that there is "very little" in the supply of all 4 basic liberties examined in this chapter – media, general expression, political expression, and human rights protection. At the other end of the index, a score of zero indicates that an individual did not report that there is very little of any of these basic liberties. Figure 2.10 shows the mean scores for each country on this summary index.

¹⁶ The construction of this index is justified by the fact that the measures "hang" together well; the alpha statistic is 0.69 for the four dichotomous measures for the pooled data including the U.S. and Canada.

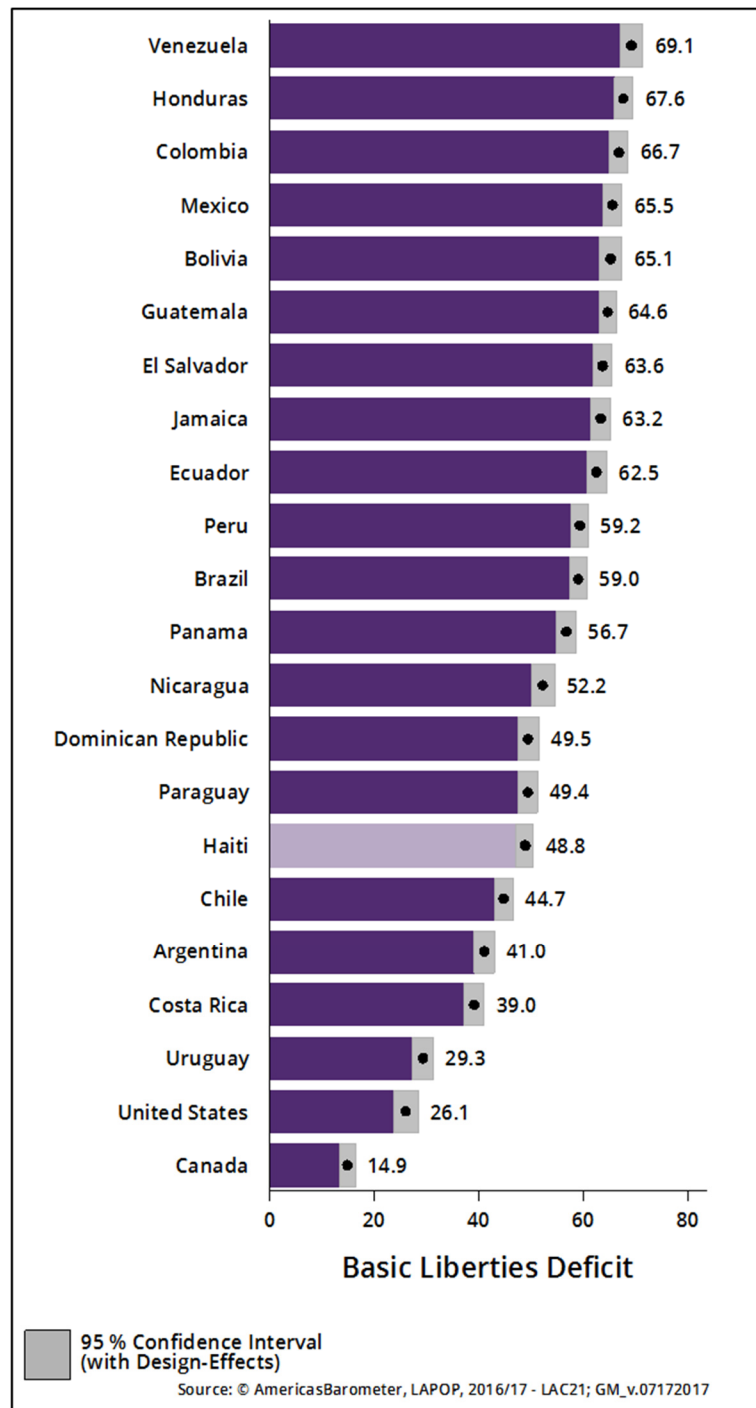


Figure 2.10. Basic Liberties Deficit Score, 2016/17

The “Basic Liberties Deficit” Index captures the degree to which a country’s populace is discontent (perceives very little) with respect to the supply of basic liberties. The scores in Figure 2.10 range from a low of 14.9 degrees in Canada to a high 69.1 degrees in Venezuela. In the majority of countries – Nicaragua, Panama, Brazil, Peru, Ecuador, Jamaica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Bolivia, Mexico, Colombia, Honduras, and Venezuela – the mean degree of perceived inadequacy in the supply of basic liberties is above the mid-point (>50) on the 0 to 100 scale. Haiti scores 48.8, and ranks among the seven countries with the least basic liberties deficit.

Does a deficiency in the supply of basic liberties have consequences for individuals' assessments of the government and their engagement in politics? Mishler and Rose (2001) argue and find evidence that the supply of liberties is related to regime support, so there is reason to expect such a connection here. The creation of the Basic Liberties Deficit index permits individual-level analysis of the extent to which deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties are, in this case, related to presidential approval and voting intentions. In this section, we conduct analyses focused on the data from the Haiti 2017 AmericasBarometer survey. In LAPOP's regional report for the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer, the analyses are conducted for the region as a whole; the results there show that, across the region on average, deficits in basic liberties predict lower support for the executive.

In Haiti, deficits in basic liberties are strongly (and negatively) related to executive approval. Figure 2.11 shows, for Haiti, a line graph of the relationship between the Basic Liberties Deficit Index and executive approval. The figure documents that perceptions of deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties are strongly and negatively related to presidential approval. Moving from perceiving there to be no deficiencies (a minimum score on the summary index) to deficiencies across all four types of liberties predicts a decrease of around 7 units of executive approval.¹⁷

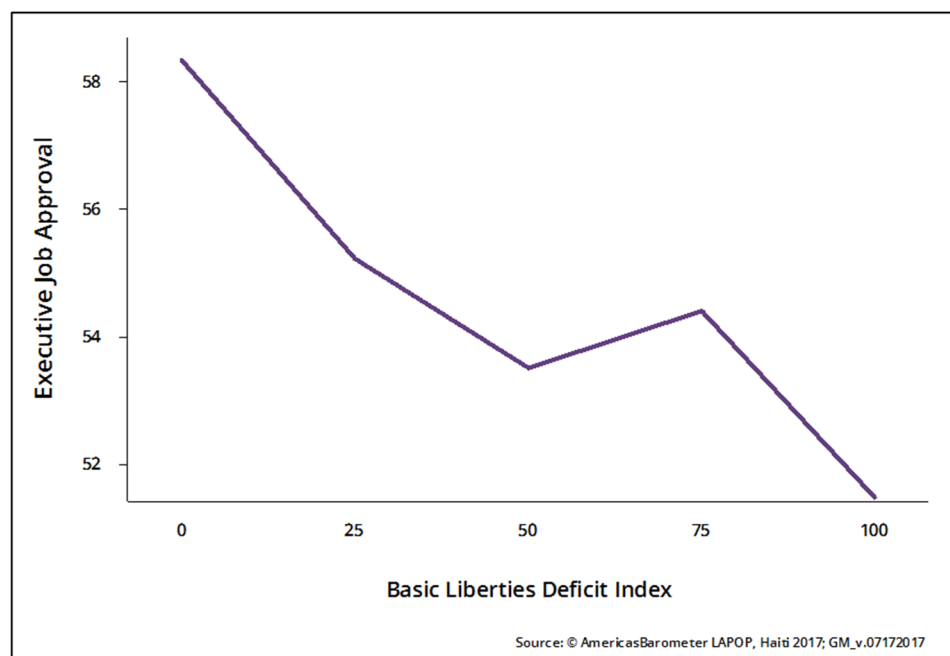


Figure 2.11. Basic Liberties Deficit and Executive Approval in Haiti

If perceiving widespread deficits in basic liberties affects executive approval, we might also expect this to predict vote intentions (see Power and Garand 2007). The AmericasBarometer asks respondents for their vote intention, if an election were held that week. The principal options, which are analyzed here, are to not vote (i.e., abstain), to vote for a candidate associated with the incumbent, to vote for an opposition candidate, or to nullify/invalidate the vote. Because this

¹⁷ These results, and those for vote intention, hold in regression analysis that controls for individual characteristics (gender, place of residence, education, age, and wealth).

variable has four outcome categories, it is appropriate to analyze it using a multinomial logistic regression. Figure 2.12 assesses the data from the Haiti 2017 AmericasBarometer study and presents the change in predicted probabilities for the independent variables included in this analysis – the five demographic and socio-economic variables assessed throughout this chapter and the basic liberties deficit measure – from the regression analysis. For each variable on the y-axis, the figure shows the predicted change in the probability of observing each outcome – abstain, vote incumbent, vote opposition, nullify vote.¹⁸

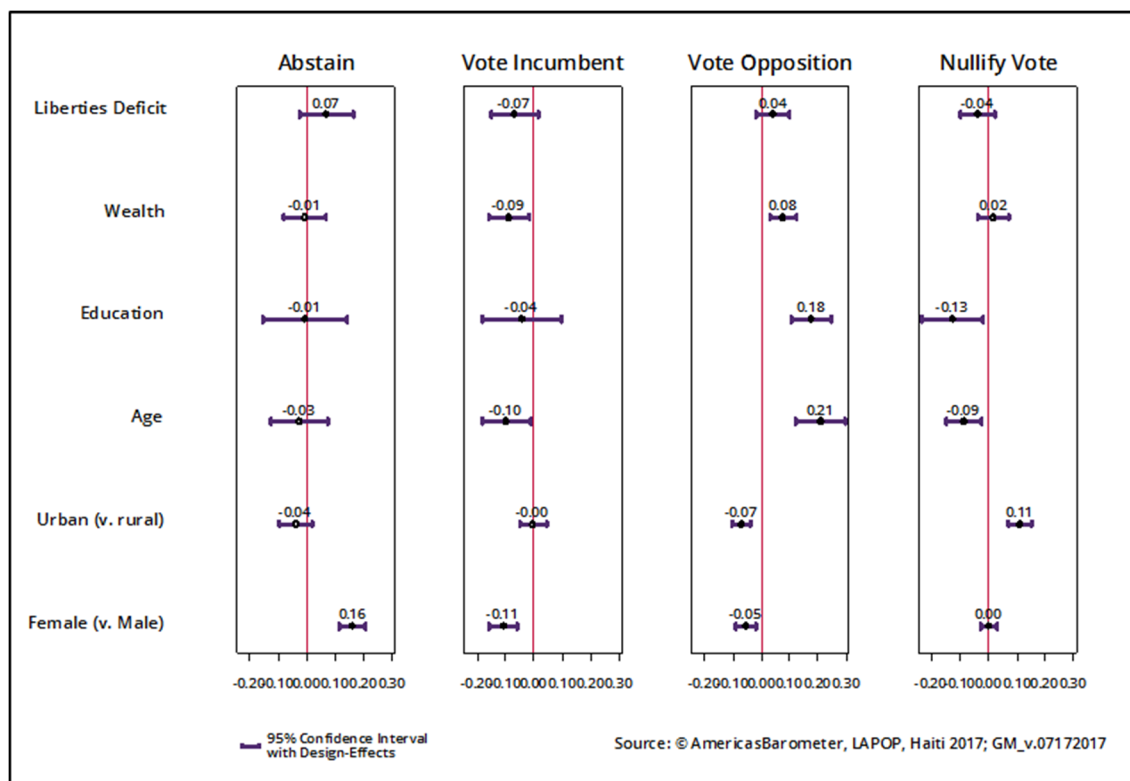


Figure 2.12. Basic Liberties Deficit and Vote Intention in Haiti

Figure 2.12 documents that in Haiti, those who perceive a deficit of liberties are no different in terms of their vote intention compared to those who perceive no deficit. In other words, those who perceive there to be very little freedom of the press, freedom of expression, freedom of political experience, and human rights protection are no different in terms of their vote intentions than those who perceive there to be sufficient or too much liberty.

VII. Conclusion

The public perceives significant deficits in the supply of basic liberties across the Americas in general and in Haiti, specifically. The citizens' perspective mirrors expert ratings: reality on the ground is much as it is described by those who are tracking the extent to which basic liberties – freedom of the media, of expression, and general human rights – are respected in the Americas.

¹⁸ All other variables are held constant at their means as each probability is predicted.

This was noted within the chapter, when comparing the public's assessments of deficiencies in the supply of freedom of the press and the Freedom House's scores on the same topic (see Figure 2.2). This conclusion also holds when considering the broader Basic Liberties Deficit Index (a 0-100 measure of the mass public's assessment of the extent to which basic liberties are under-supplied). The Basic Liberties Deficit Index and the Freedom House's Civil Liberty Rating (where higher scores reflect lower amounts of liberty) for the countries analyzed in this chapter are robustly connected; the Pearson's correlation between the two is 0.73.

As this chapter has documented, there is significant variation in citizens' experiences with the supply of basic liberties across countries and across sub-groups. With respect to countries, there are some countries in which the mean on the Basic Liberties Deficit Index is quite low; among these countries are Canada, the United States, Uruguay, and Costa Rica (see Figure 2.10). On the other hand, the public reports widespread deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties in a number of countries, including Bolivia, Mexico, Colombia, Honduras, and Venezuela. When considering subgroups, the youngest cohort is substantially more likely to feel there is an insufficient supply of freedom of the press and of expression. Haiti is located towards the bottom of the ranking in terms of the basic liberties deficit, meaning that Haitians are generally less likely than their peers from the region to highlight the lack of basic liberties.

Deficiencies in the supply of basic liberties matter. An adequate supply of basic liberties is necessary for citizens to deliberate and engage in politics. As citizen engagement in politics is fundamental to modern representative democracy (see the discussion in Chapter 1 of this report), so too are civil liberties critical to democracy. Deficits in the supply of basic liberties matter because they affect individuals' evaluations of the political system and their willingness to engage in it (see, e.g., Mishler and Rose 2001). As this chapter has demonstrated, those who perceive higher deficits in the supply of basic liberties report more negative evaluations of the executive. The more a government succeeds in maintaining open political spaces, the more positive are citizens' orientations toward it.

It may also be that perceptions of *too much* liberty matter. As noted at the start of this chapter, a detailed analysis of those who report that an over-supply of any particular type of freedom is not within the scope of this chapter's core objectives. However, it is important to keep in mind that, in a number of cases, there are non-trivial minorities in the public who express concern that there is too much of a particular liberty. In Haiti, for example, 32% of individuals report too much freedom of the press, 23% report too much freedom of political expression, but only 6% report too much human rights protection. One might wonder whether these perspectives represent a threat to the full exercise of democratic rights by others in the country. To address this question, we examined – for the Latin America and Caribbean region – the extent to which the tendency to report that there is “too much” of a particular freedom is associated with lower degrees of tolerance for the rights of regime critics to participate in politics.¹⁹ In brief, in three of the four

¹⁹ The political tolerance measure is an additive index based on the degree to which individuals disapprove or approve of the right of regime critics to exercise the right to vote, the right to participate in peaceful demonstrations, the right to run for office, and the right to make speeches. This index served as the dependent variable in four regression analyses. In each, we predicted political tolerance with the gender, urban (vs. rural) place of residence, education, age, wealth, country dummy variables, and dummies variables for those who said there was “too little” and those who said there was “too much” of a given freedom (the



cases (freedom of the press, freedom of expression, and freedom of political expression), the analyses reveal that those who perceive too much freedom are distinctly less tolerant than those who perceive there to be a sufficient amount of that freedom.²⁰ In short, there is reason to be concerned not only about the degree to which the public perceives deficits in the supply of basic liberties, but also with respect to the proportion of the public that believes there is too much freedom.

comparison category is those who responded “sufficient”). The analyses are available in the online appendix to LAPOP’s 2016/17 AmericasBarometer regional report.

²⁰ Interestingly, those who perceive there to be too little freedom of expression (general or political) are also less tolerant as well, but only at the slimmest of margins, compared to those who report that there is a sufficient supply of that liberty. In short, while statistically significant, there is not a substantial difference between those who report very little and those who report sufficient freedom of expression in these analyses.



Chapter 3.

Quality of Life in Haiti

Claire Q. Evans

I. Introduction

Since the 2010 earthquake, there has been a focus on the quality of life in Haiti. The unbelievable amount of destruction meant that many basic goods and services were non-existent. Rebuilding efforts began immediately, but the country ranks low on basic human development indicators.

Persistently low levels of quality of life standards can work to undermine democracy. Economic development indicators, like quality of life, have been directly linked to decreased quality and sustainability of democracy (Burkhart and Lewis-Beck 1994; Przeworski and Limongi 1997). Similarly, dictatorships are more likely to take root in countries with high levels of poverty (Przeworski, et al. 2000) Further, when individuals are focused on fulfilling basic needs, little time is left for being an informed and engaged citizen (Lipset 1959).

Development and poverty indicators are important to consider as other social, economic, and political outcomes are assessed. This chapter aims to move forward analyses of Haiti by reexamining the quality of life in the country, now seven years after the 2010 earthquake. The 2014 Haiti Country Report showed that quality of life in Haiti was improving, but are the improvements still on track?

The rest of this chapter looks at basic indicators of quality of life, like electricity and drinking water, as well as how Haitians are evaluating their changes in economic well-being. Overall, the outlook does not look positive for the country.

II. Main Findings

- While electricity connections have increased, the overwhelming majority of Haitians (79%) are still living with limited to no electricity from the public grid.
- Fewer than half of respondents in Haiti report having refrigerators, indoor bathrooms, and indoor water compared to more than 80% of respondents in the rest of the Americas.
- Many Haitians rely on economic assistance from abroad (48.1%), while government assistance lags (4.1%) considerably behind the rest of the Americas.
- The percentage of Haitians reporting decreases in incomes has grown from 41% in 2010 to 73% in 2016, and more than 80% of respondents say that their income is “not enough”..

III. Goods and Services

One of the most basic indicators of quality of life is whether an individual has access to electricity. The AmericasBarometer asked Haitians if their households were connected to the electric grid:

PS3. Is this house/apartment connected to the public electric power supply?
(1) Yes (2) No

Since the earthquake in 2010, the percentage of people connected to public electricity has increased considerably from 47% to 72% (Figure 3.1). This would indicate an undeniable positive trend in quality of life in post-earthquake Haiti. It still suggests that there is more to do, as three out of ten Haitians do not have access to electricity in their homes.

It is important to note that the question does not distinguish between legal and illegal connections, so there is no way to determine whether respondents with illegal connections are fully accounted for in these figures.

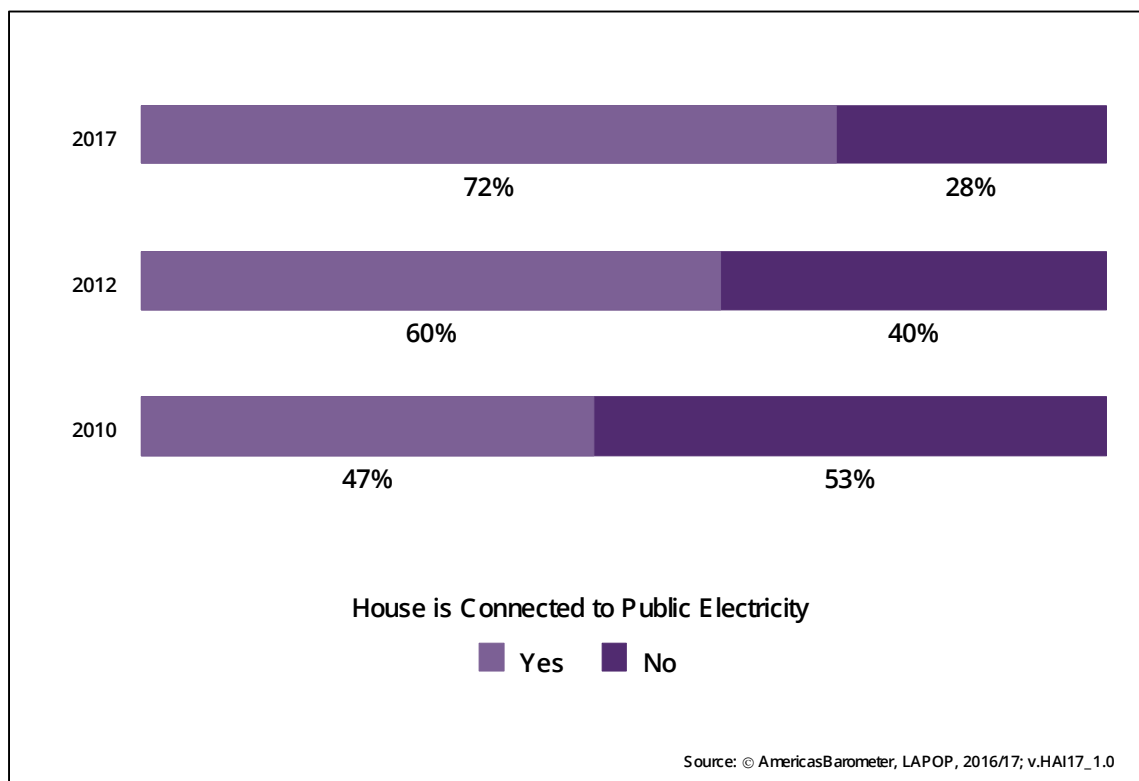


Figure 3.1. Connection to Public Electric Grid over Time

What Figure 3.1 does not show, however, is the quality of those electric connections. To further explore the matter, we asked respondents how many hours per day they had actually been supplied with electricity:

PS4. Approximately how many hours per day have you been supplied with electricity within the 3 past months?

Hours of electricity per day (00-24) _____

In 2012, Haitian households had an average of nearly nine hours per day of electricity. In 2017, the average time is half that of 2012 (Figure 3.2). Haitians now only receive about four hours per day of electricity. The right panel in Figure 3.2 displays the same information for 2017, but now broken-down into ranges: a striking quarter of people (25.1%) report that they never have electricity in their homes. Almost six out of ten (58.8%) have six or less hours of electricity per day. Paradoxically, despite the growth in connections to the electric grid, an increasing percentage of Haitians are living without electricity.

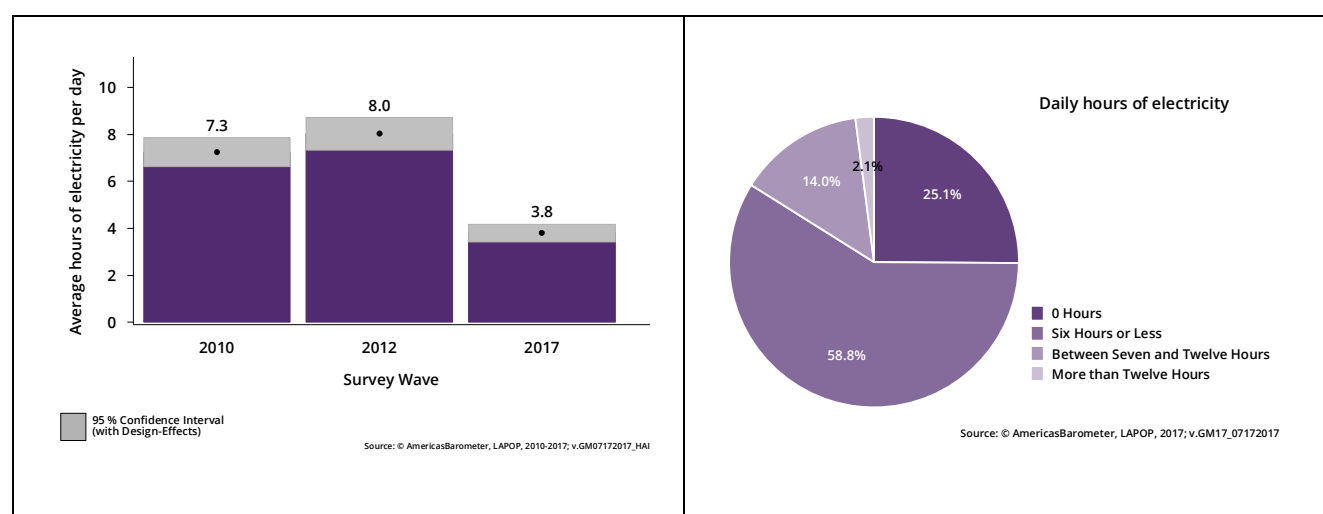


Figure 3.2. Hours of Electricity per Day

Other key indicators of quality of life include material wealth, or the goods that a household or individual possesses. These objective measures can often prove to be more useful in determining quality of life, as it is both easier to report accurately on possessions and less susceptible to temporary changes in income. It also allows for easier comparisons across the region.

In the 2016/17 wave of the AmericasBarometer, respondents in all countries were asked about whether their house had a variety of household characteristics and goods:

R3. Refrigerator	(0) No		(1) Yes	
R4. Landline/residential telephone (not cellular)	(0) No		(1) Yes	
R4A. Cellular telephone. (Accept smartphone)	(0) No		(1) Yes	
R5. Vehicle/car. How many? [If the interviewee does not say how many, mark "one."]	(0) No	(1) One	(2) Two	(3) Three or more
R6. Washing machine	(0) No		(1) Yes	
R7. Microwave oven	(0) No		(1) Yes	
R8. Motorcycle	(0) No		(1) Yes	
R12. Drinking water line/pipe to the house	(0) No		(1) Yes	
R14. Indoor bathroom/toilet/WC	(0) No		(1) Yes	
R15. Computer (Accept tablet, iPad)	(0) No		(1) Yes	
R18. Internet from your home (included phone or tablet)	(0) No		(1) Yes	
R1. Television	(0) No [Skip to FORMATQ]		(1) Yes [Continue]	
R16. Flat panel TV	(0) No		(1) Yes	

Based on these questions, material wealth is rather limited in Haiti in 2017, although there are tremendous differences in the access to the different types of goods and services. Only phones (87.2%) and televisions (72.5%) are within reach of at least half the population. Other goods and services shown in the left panel of Figure 3.3 are accessible to at least one third of Haitians; those include flat panel TV's (40.6%), indoor bathroom (38.5%), internet service (38.4%), and refrigerator (36.1%). In the right panel of Figure 3.3, the household goods and services to which less than one fifth of Haitians declare to have access to are listed. Only 17.6% have access to drinking water at home, ownership of computers (17.4%), motorcycles (14.9%) and cars (11.5%) is a privilege for less than one of every six Haitians. Having a microwave (8.0%) or a washing machine (2.8%) is an even rarer event.

Relative to the rest of the Americas, Haiti lags in these indicators. On average in the region, nearly 80% of people have indoor bathrooms and 84.3% and of people have refrigerators. A similarly large portion of the population (83.9%) have access to drinking water in their homes.

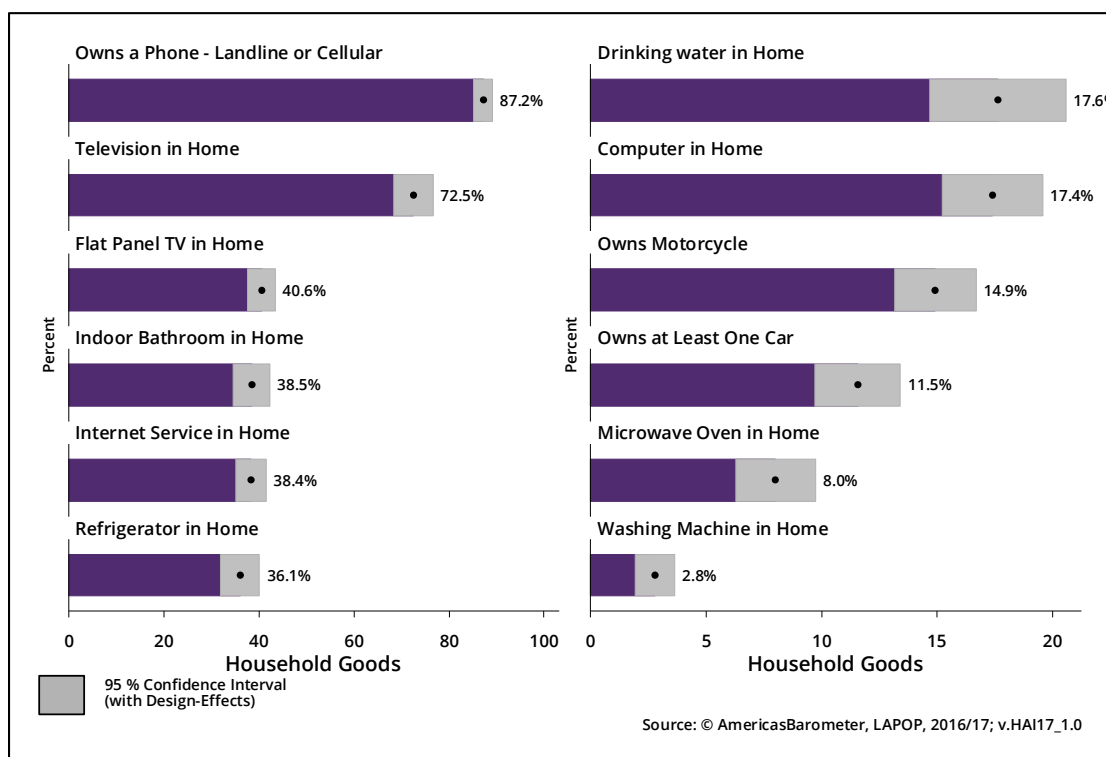


Figure 3.3. Material Wealth and Household Characteristics, Haiti 2017

IV. Financial Assistance from Government and Abroad

Given the lower levels of material wealth, it is possible that Haitians are looking to supplement their financial well-being with government assistance and/or remittances from people abroad. These sources of income are important for many across the Americas. Since 2006, the survey has included a question about receiving economic assistance from abroad, and in 2014 and 2016/17 individuals were asked whether they receive any type of assistance from the government.

WF1. Do you or someone in your household receive regular assistance in the form of money, food, or products from the government, not including pensions/social security?

(1) Yes (2) No

Q10A. Do you or someone else living in your household receive remittances (financial support), that is, economic assistance from abroad?

(1) Yes (2) No

From Figure 3.4, it is clear that individuals in Haiti are more reliant on remittances than on government assistance. In 2014, nearly 1 in 10 (9.0%) of individuals reported receiving aid from the government, but in 2017 this percentage is cut in half to only 4.1%.

Remittances, on the other hand, are much more common sources of financial assistance. Since 2008, nearly half or more individuals have received some sort of financial assistance from outside

the country. Besides the 2012 uptick which was likely due to the earthquake, there has not been any significant change across the survey waves since 2008.

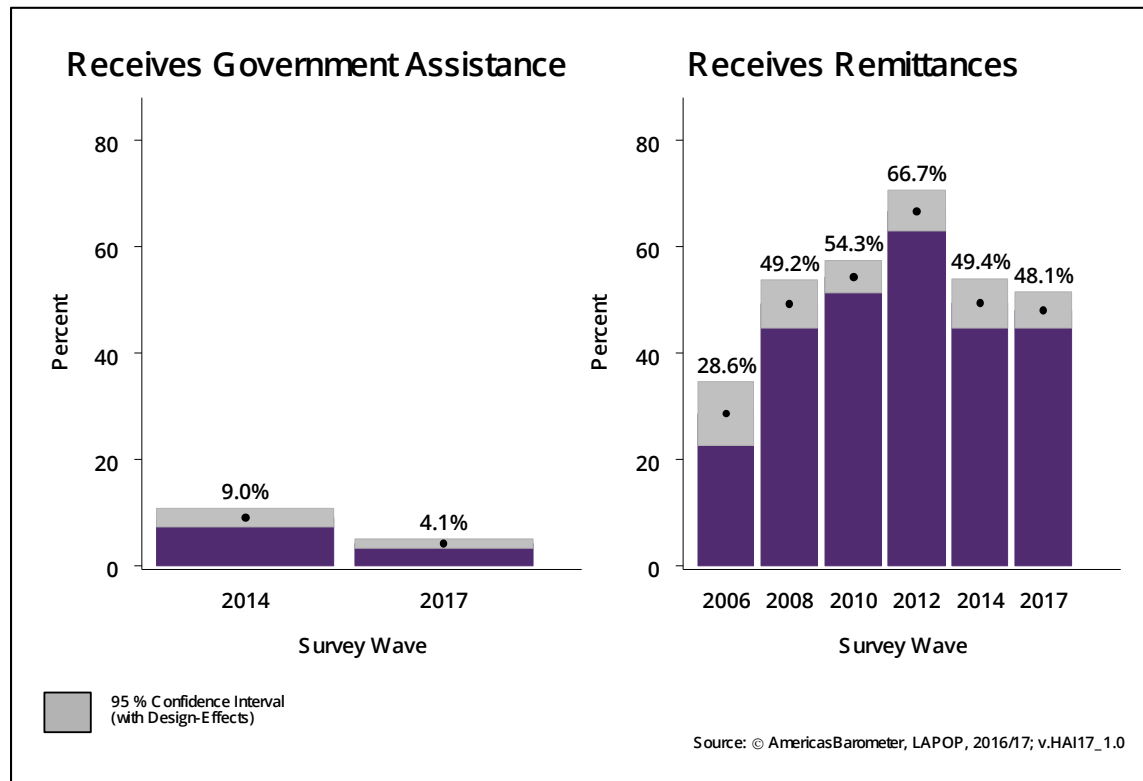


Figure 3.4. Percent of People Receiving Government Assistance and Remittances over Time

Relative to the Americas, Haiti is an outlier on both types of financial assistance. In the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer, Haiti is second only to Guyana in having the lowest percentage of direct government assistance. It leads the region in remittance assistance, however. Nearly 50% of people in Haiti receive financial assistance from abroad, which is nearly 10 percentage points higher than the next highest country (Jamaica).

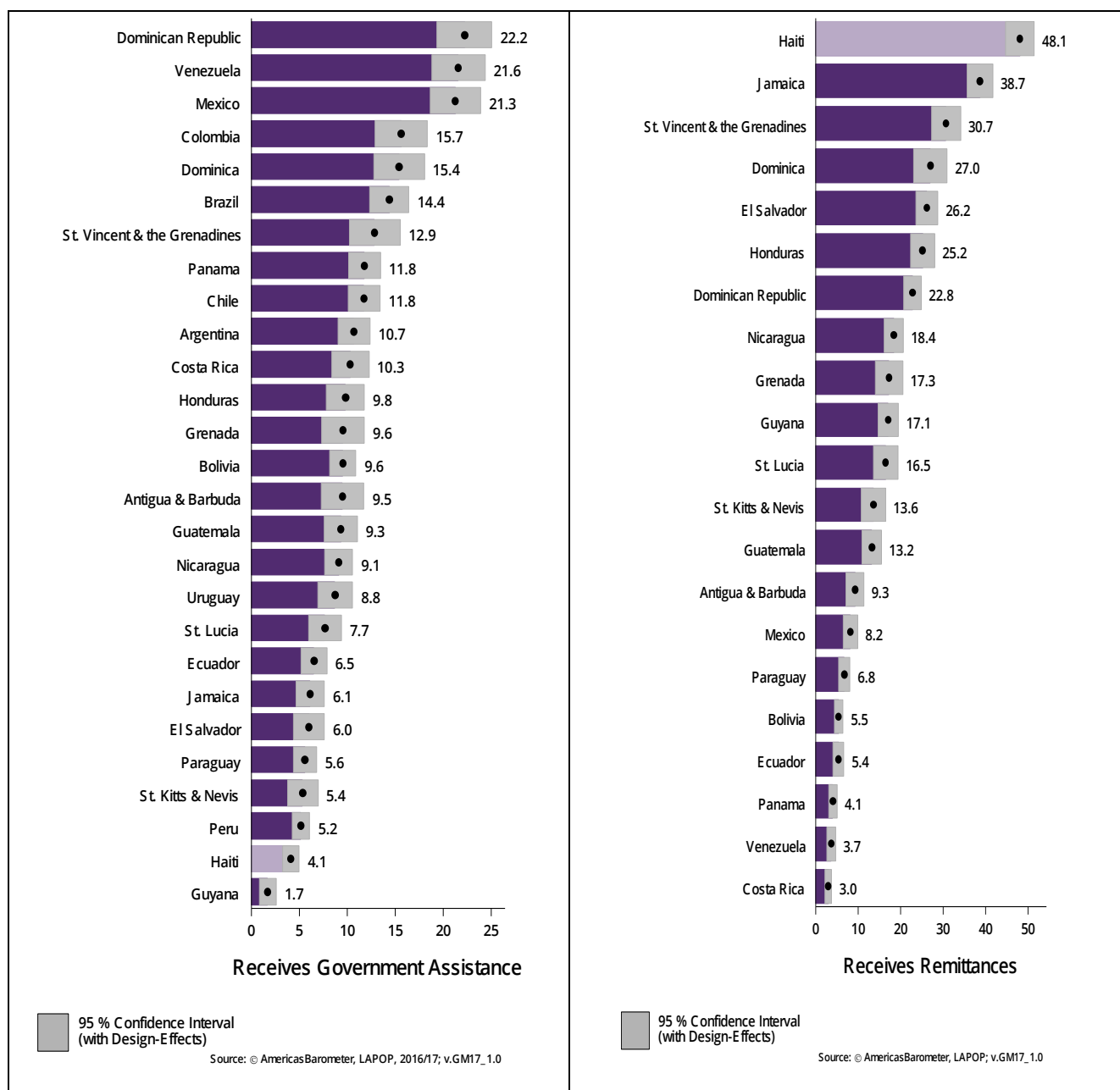


Figure 3.5. Government Assistances and Remittances across the Americas, 2017

V. Evaluations of Personal Economic Situation

The survey items about remittances and government assistance do not provide any information about the extent to which Haitians rely on them. Given the material wealth and reliance on assistance, it is reasonable to suspect that many report financial hardships. The AmericasBarometer asks respondents about the comfort of their current incomes.

Q10D. The salary that you receive and total household income:

- (1) Is good enough for you and you can save from it
- (2) Is just enough for you, so that you do not have major problems
- (3) Is not enough for you and you are stretched
- (4) Is not enough for you and you are having a hard time

In 2017, an overwhelming majority of individuals (85.7%) report that their families have insufficient amounts of income. This consists both of individuals whose incomes are stretched and those who report having a hard time. Less than 15% of Haitians report having enough income so that they do not have major problems, with hardly any reporting being able to save.

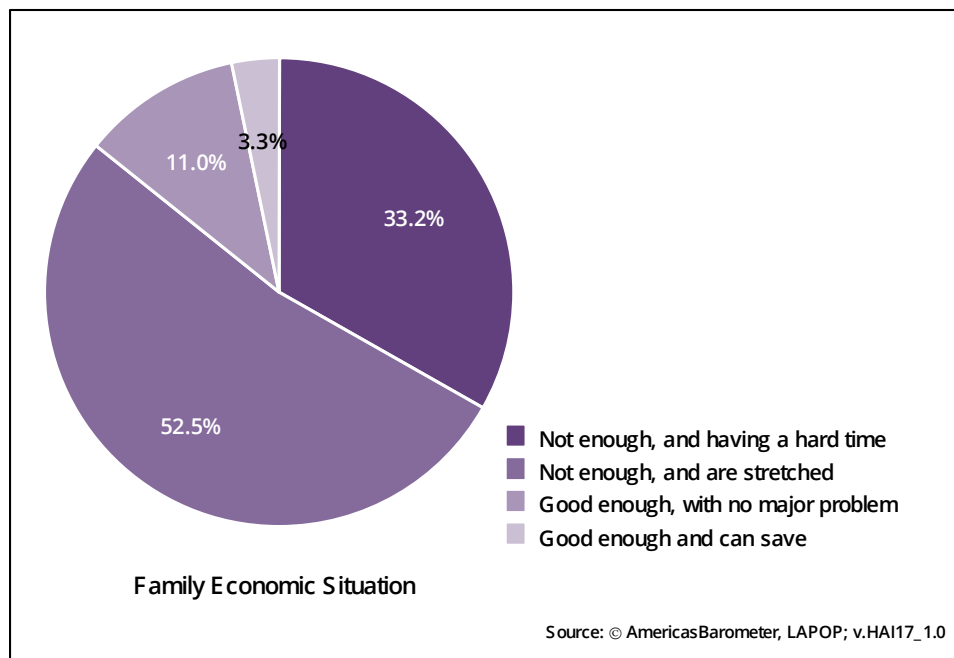


Figure 3.6. Sufficient Family Income in Haiti, 2017

By collapsing the four categories of this variable into two – insufficient versus sufficient incomes, it is easier to examine which people are having hard times. In 2017, a majority of individuals at all levels of education and wealth reported insufficient incomes, but those at highest levels of wealth and education are reporting them at lower rates than those in other four quintiles and three education levels. About 60% of people at the highest wealth and education levels are reporting economic hardships, but nearly everyone at the other socioeconomic levels are reporting difficult times.

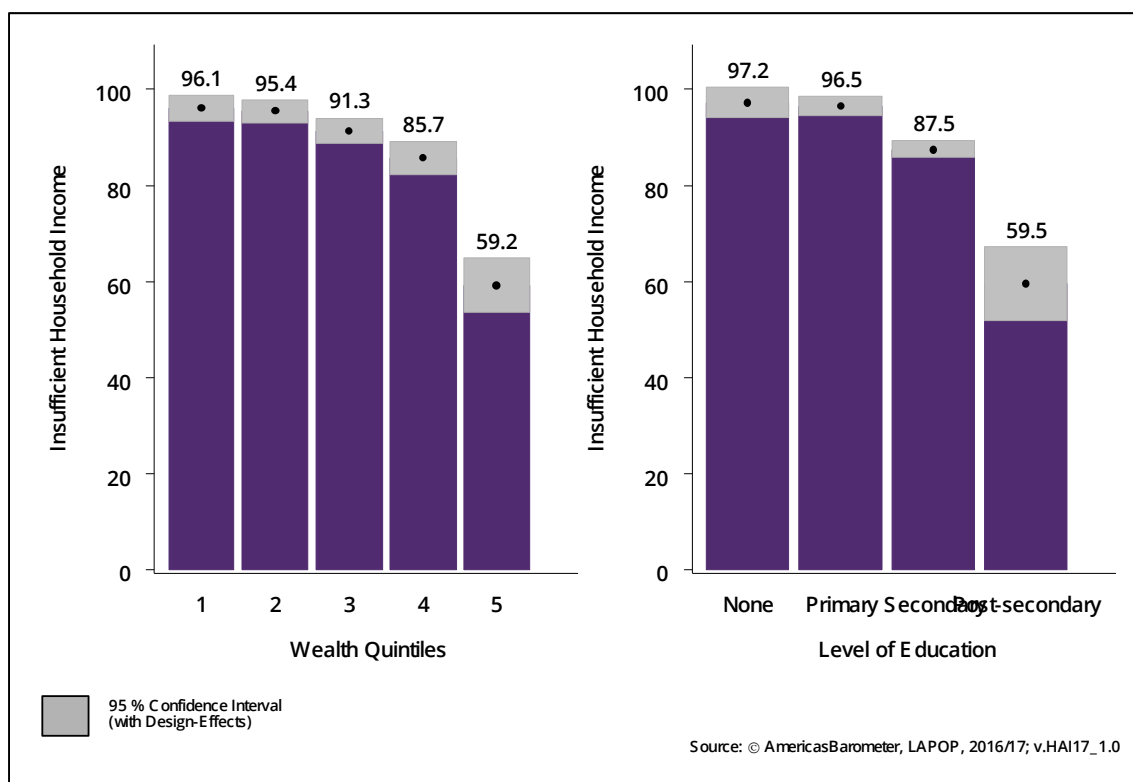


Figure 3.7. Insufficient Incomes across Wealth and Education, 2017

The economic situation looks even worse when the country is compared to the rest of the Americas. As Figure 3.8 shows, more Haitians are reporting insufficient incomes than people anywhere else in the region. Venezuela is the only country that joins Haiti in having more than 80% of people reporting that they do not have enough money to make ends meet.

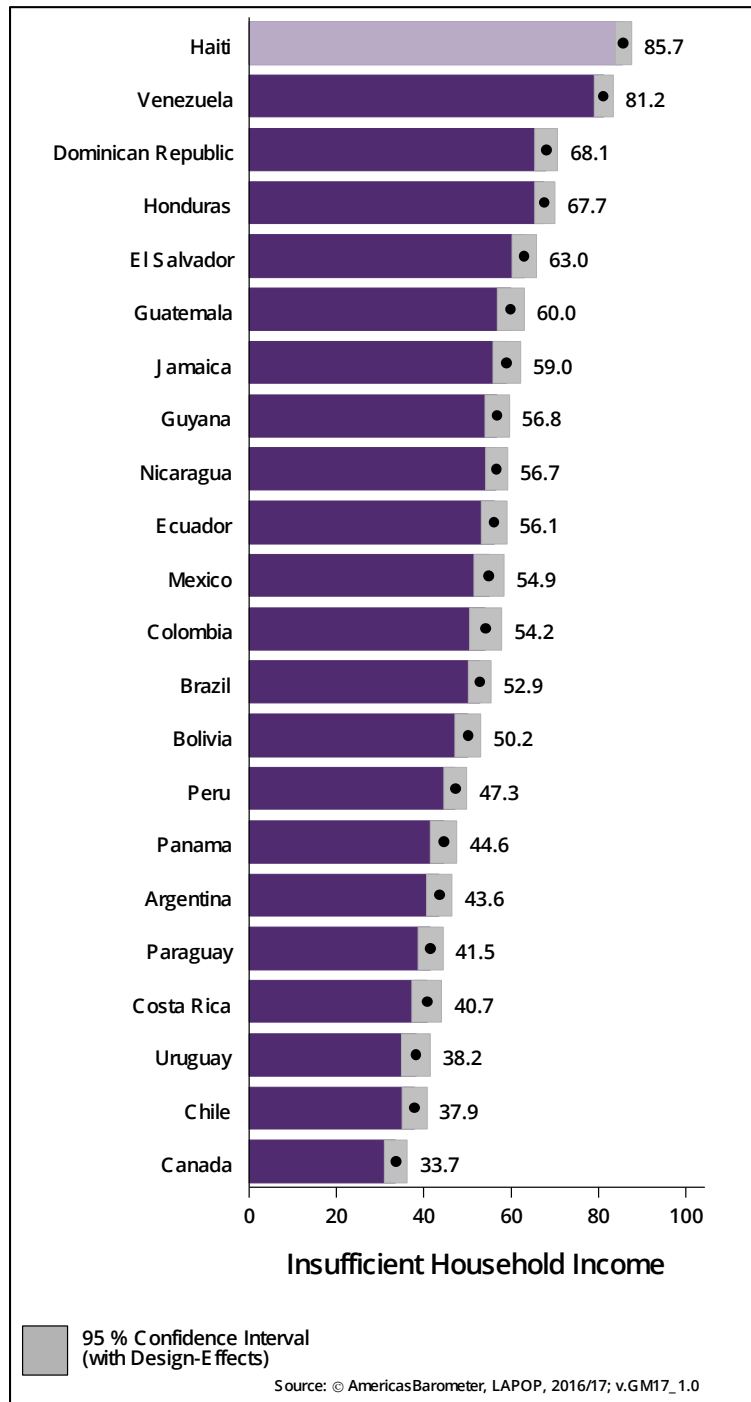


Figure 3.8. Insufficient Incomes across the Americas, 2017

These negative economic circumstances appear to be worsening. In addition to reporting that their household income is insufficient, an increasing percentage of Haitians are reporting that their incomes have decreased in the two years prior to being surveyed.

Q10E. Over the past two years, has the income of your household:

(1) Increased (2) Remained the same (3) Decreased

The AmericasBarometer first asked Haitians in 2010 about how their income had changed in the last two years. Figure 3.9 shows that nearly half of Haitians (49%) reported then that their household incomes were relatively similar to their incomes in 2008. A large proportion (41%) of people did report that their incomes had decreased, but a majority of people had similar or higher incomes than they did in 2008.

In 2017, a clear majority are reporting decreases in income. Almost three-quarters of the country is reporting declines in household income. Up by nearly 17 percentage points from 2014 and more than 30 percentage points from 2010, 73% of Haitians are reporting decreases in their household income. Similarly, the already meager percentage of Haitians reporting increases in income in 2014 (10%) drop to only 5% in the 2017 wave.

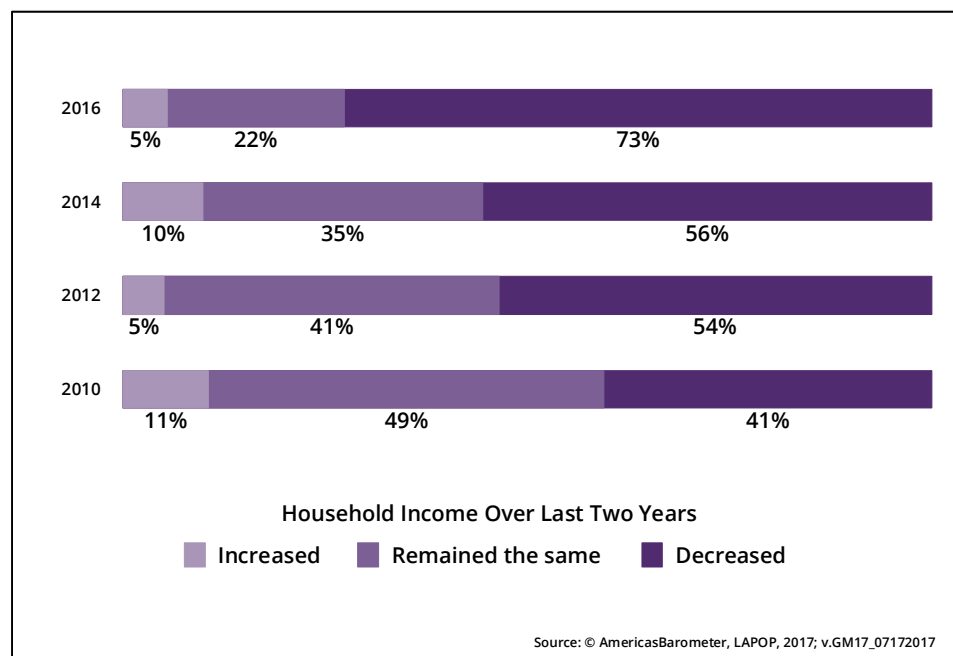


Figure 3.9. Percentage Reporting Income Decreases, 2010-2017

Figure 3.10 compares Haiti to the Americas, showing the percentage of respondent that declared their household income had decreased in the last two years. Again, the country leads in a negative way. In no other country in the Americas there is a majority of people reporting decreases in income in the last two years. Venezuela and Ecuador both have a plurality of people who are reporting income decreases, but Haiti is the only country where income decreases are considerably more common than increases or no changes to income.

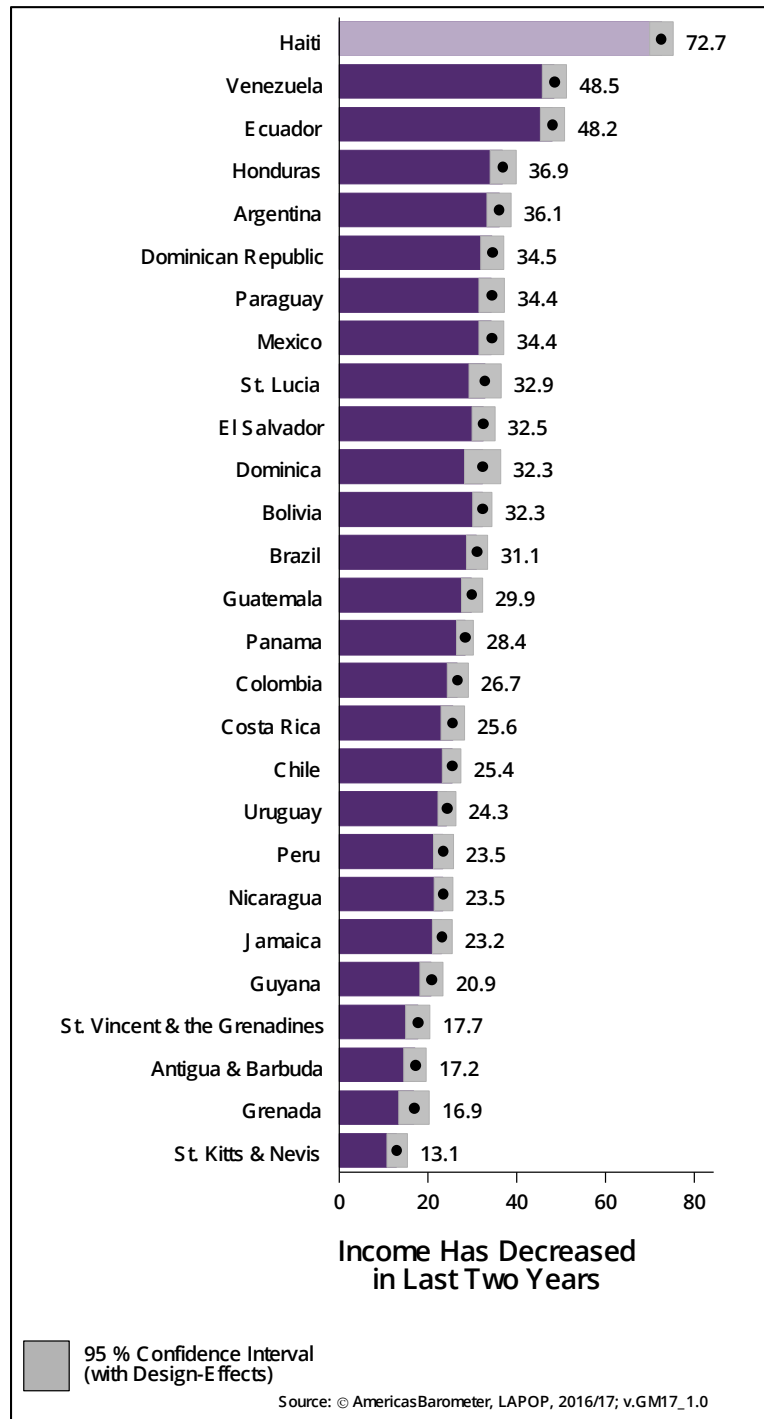


Figure 3.10. Decreases in Income across the Americas, 2017

Again, Haitians with the least amount of wealth and education are reporting income decreases at a higher rate than the wealthiest and more educated. Figure 3.11 shows the percentage of people who reported decreases in incomes for each wealth quintile in 2017. From this, it is clear that those with the least amount of material wealth (87.6%), are reporting higher rates of decreased income than those in the highest quintile (47.2%). In all but the highest wealth quintile, a clear majority of people are reporting decreases in income. Similarly, Haitians with post-secondary education are

reporting income decreases (42.6%) at half the rate that those with no education are reporting them (90.0%).

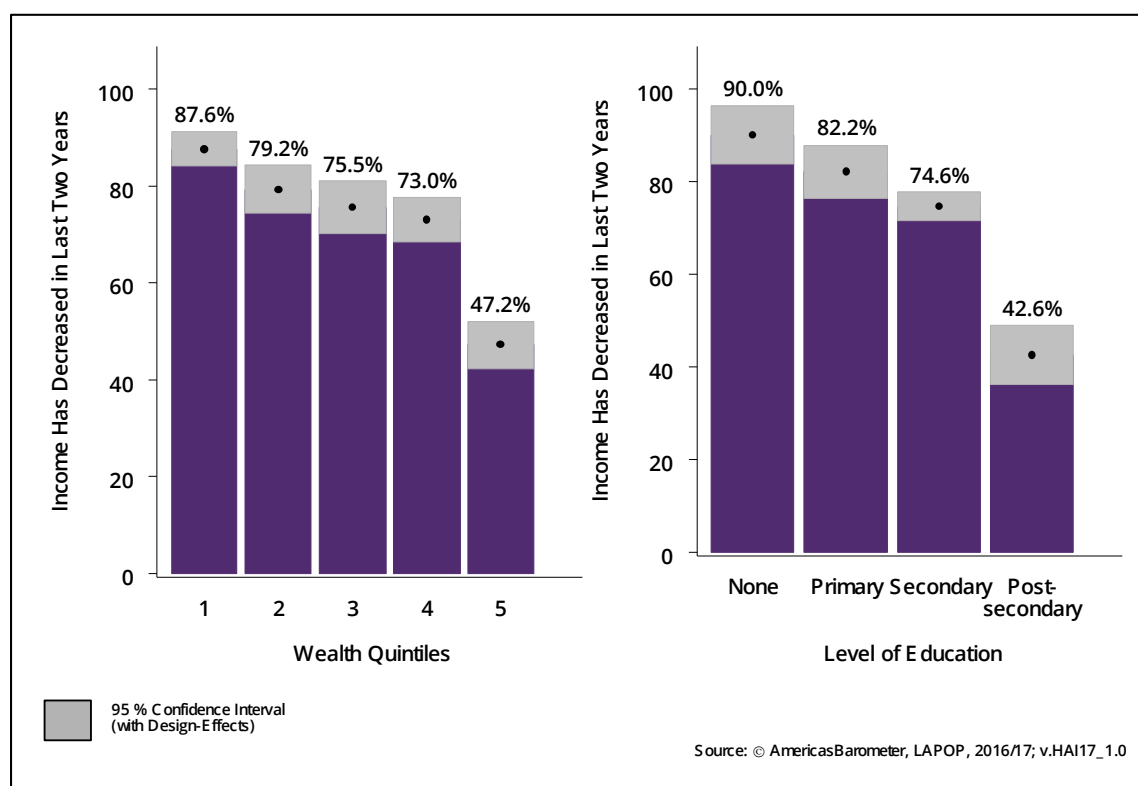


Figure 3.11. Decreased Income across Wealth and Education, 2017

These decreases in material wealth and income are being reflected in overall evaluations of economic security. When asked about their personal economic situation relative to year before, Haitians are again reporting negative trends.

IDIO2. Do you think that your economic situation is better than, the same as, or worse than it was 12 months ago?
 (1) Better (2) Same (3) Worse

Seven in ten people in the country are reporting that their economic situation is worse than it was a year ago (69.6%). And, only 6.7% of people say their economic situation is better than it was a year ago.

Evaluations of personal economic situations have varied considerably across the AmericasBarometer waves. In 2012, only a third (31.2%) of Haitians said they were worse off than the year before, which might be a reflection of how things were improving post-earthquake. Then, starting in 2014, evaluations of personal economic situations have worsened. Half (50.2%) of the public said that they were worse off economically the year before in 2014, and nearly 70% are reporting worsening situations now.

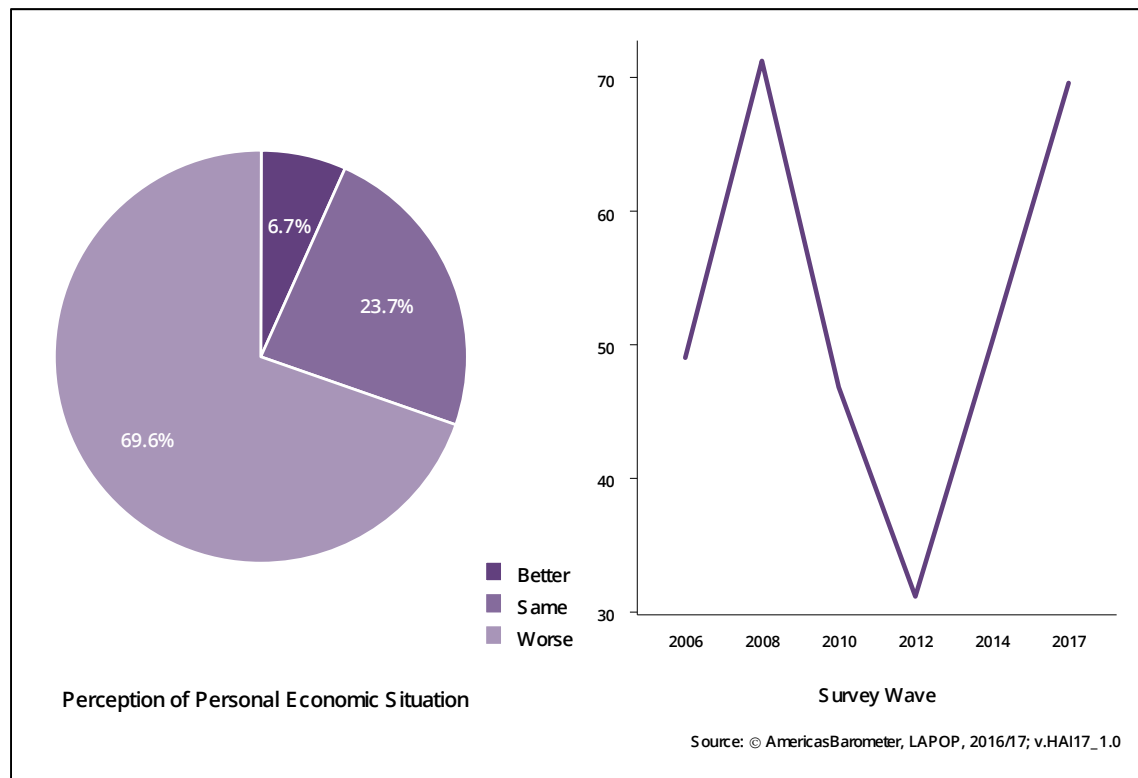


Figure 3.12. Personal Economic Evaluations, 2017 and across Time

These trends are felt most by the lowest socioeconomic groups. Figure 3.13 shows the percentage of people across wealth, education, and age categories who report that their economic situation is worse than the year before.

For the wealthiest quintile of people, a majority (54.9%) report that their economic situation is worse than the year before. For the poorest quintile, though, 79.6% are reporting that they are in worse circumstances than they were in a year ago. This negative trend also occurs across education levels. Individuals with no education and only primary education are more likely to report worse economic situations (82.1% and 80.0%, respectively) than those with secondary and post-secondary educations.

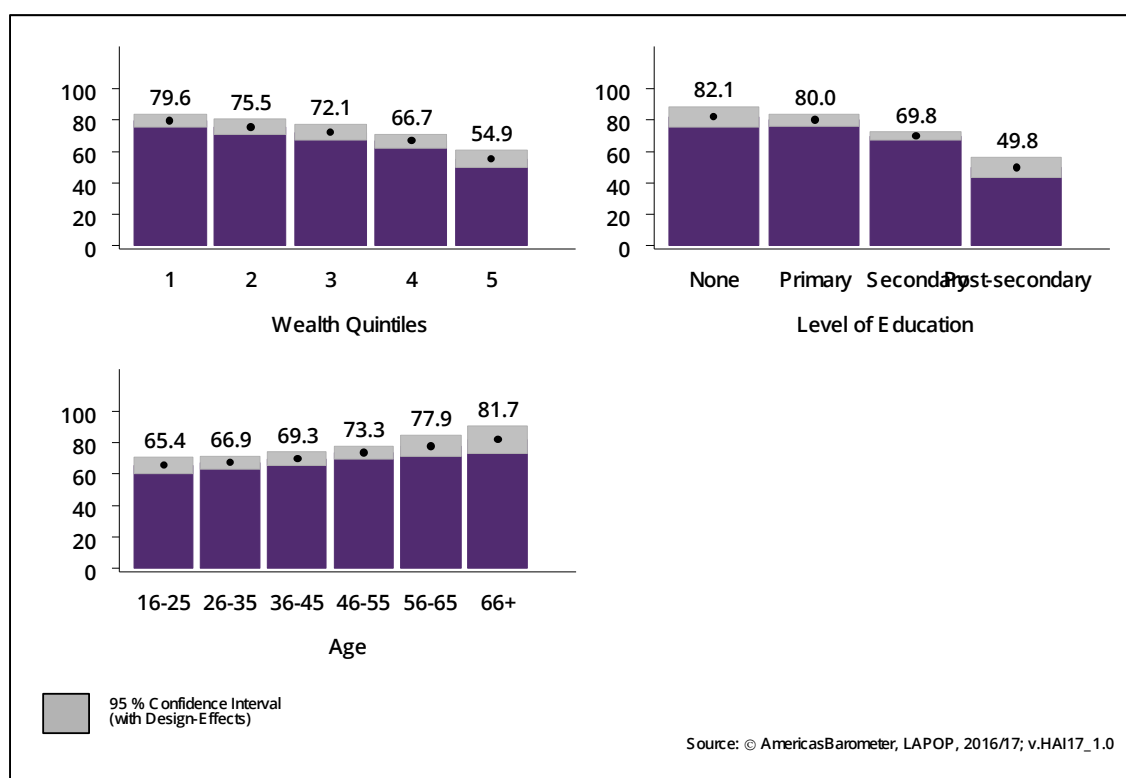


Figure 3.13. Evaluation that Personal Economic Situation is Worse than a Year Ago

The older an individual is in Haiti, the more likely they are to report that things are worse than a year ago. The majority of the youngest cohort of Haitians are still reporting that they are worse off than they were a year ago, but this percentage increases as the cohort age increases. Those who are 66 years or older have particularly negative evaluation of their economic situations, with 81.7% reporting worse economic situations.

VI. Conclusions

The 2017 AmericasBarometer survey of Haiti shows that quality of life is low in the country. A large majority of the country still struggles with having basic services, like electricity and indoor plumbing. This lack of services has only worsened in recent years. Low levels of material wealth also mean that individuals are looking to outside sources for help – namely remittances from relatives abroad. Approximately half of Haitians look to financial assistance from other countries to supplement their income. Significantly less people look to assistance directly from the government.

Further, most Haitians are reporting difficult and worsening economic situation. More than half report that their income is insufficient and that they are having a hard time financially. Insufficient incomes are particularly prevalent among those in lower socioeconomic classes. Almost all people in the lowest wealth quintiles and with the lowest levels of education say their income is insufficient. Similarly, a majority of Haitians are reporting that their income has decreased in the

last two years. Nearly three quarters of the country has seen decreases in income, which is the highest rate of decreased income in the Americas.

Finally, Haitians' perceive their overall economic situation as worsening relative to the year previous. These poor evaluations have become more common since 2012, increasing over 30 percentage points from evaluations made in 2012. Again, those in lower socioeconomic classes have the worst perceptions, with perceptions only decreasing as education and wealth decrease. Older individuals in the country are more likely to have negative evaluations of their situation than younger cohorts.

Overall, the quality of life and economic situation in Haiti is not positive. Low levels of material wealth coupled with downward trends in economic indicators could further threaten a country with low levels of system support and satisfaction with democracy.



Chapter 4.

Crime, Corruption, and the Rule of Law in Haiti

Carole J. Wilson and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister, with François Gélneau

I. Introduction

A robust rule of law is fundamental to a strong democracy.¹ Security, lack of corruption, and the enforcement of rules and codes are core components of the rule of law.² Strengthening public institutions and implementing strategic programming can mitigate against crime, corruption, and lax oversight. The development and evaluation of such efforts requires accurate diagnoses of the nature of these problems. Thus, data and analyses regarding the public's experiences in general, across time, and across sub-groups are critical. To meet this need, this chapter presents a core set of findings on crime, corruption, and legal enforcement from the AmericasBarometer survey. Crime, violence, and insecurity have reached epidemic levels in a number of places across the Americas. Considering the general Latin American and Caribbean region, although it contains only 9% of the world's population, 33% of the homicides that took place worldwide in 2015 were committed in this part of the world (Jaitman 2017, 1; see also data by Igarapé³). Other types of crimes, such as robberies, assaults, and kidnappings, also have become prevalent in many countries (UNDP 2013).⁴

In addition to the obvious human toll, failure to control crime has severe economic costs. For example, a recent study estimated that the direct and indirect costs⁵ of crime in Latin America total nearly 3% of GDP in the average country, with those costs exceeding 6% of GDP in the most violent Central American countries (Jaitman 2017).⁶ Crime also has political costs. Leaders who fail to prevent crime or address insecurity lose support in the polls (Ley 2017; Romero et al. 2016) and at the ballot box (Pérez 2015). Rising crime can undermine public support for police forces and courts (Malone 2010), reduce satisfaction with democratic institutions (Ceobanu et al. 2011), and undermine support for democracy itself (Fernandez and Kuenzi 2010; Pérez 2003; Salinas and Booth 2011). High levels of violence can also lead voters to support centralizing power in authoritarian leaders who promise to fight criminal elements, even at the expense of civil liberties and liberal democracy (Merolla and Zechmeister 2009).

¹ See Tommasoli (2012) for a discussion of the strong connection between rule of law and democracy.

² <https://worldjusticeproject.org/about-us/overview/what-rule-law>

³ <https://homicide.igarape.org.br/>

⁴ Sections of this chapter are taken from chapters in LAPOP's 2016/17 AmericasBarometer regional report (Cohen, Lupu, and Zechmeister 2017); see, specifically, Lupu (2017) and Singer (2017).

⁵ These costs include the direct losses of property and wages, as well as the indirect costs of private expenditures on security, and government expenditures on police and incarceration efforts. See also work by (e.g. Cullen and Levitt 1999; Di Tella et al. 2010; Gaviria 2002; Islam 2014; Londoño and Guerrero 1999; Pearlman 2014; Robles et al. 2013; Soares 2006).

⁶ This Jaitman study estimates that combined government spending on fighting crime and prosecuting and punishing criminals across the region totaled between 44 and 70 billion dollars in 2014.

Like crime, the issue of corruption is closely linked to concerns about lawfulness and justice in the region. A number of countries in the Americas consistently rank among the most corrupt in the world, according to Transparency International's well-known Corruption Perceptions Index. According to 2016 figures, the Americas as a region lags behind the more developed economies of the European Union and Western Europe, ranks comparably to the Asia Pacific region, and ranks only slightly better than Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East and North Africa.⁷ Within the region, there is a great deal of variation: for example, countries like Chile and Uruguay receive positive rankings, roughly on par with the rankings achieved by countries such as the U.S. and France. In contrast, Haiti (along with Venezuela) ranks at the bottom of the countries in the Americas on this measure from Transparency International.

Corruption has negative political, economic, and even social consequences. When public officials misuse public resources for personal gain, they take those resources away from public programs. Corruption can damage public perceptions about democracy and governing institutions. Studies have shown that both personal experiences with corruption – being asked by a public official to pay a bribe – and general perceptions of political corruption undermine trust in political institutions, reduce political engagement, and drive down satisfaction with democracy (Bohn 2012; Chong et al. 2015; Hakhverdian and Mayne 2012; Salzman and Ramsey 2013; Seligson 2002, 2006). Of course, corruption also undermines the rule of law and egalitarian principles (Fried, Lagunes, and Venkataramani 2010; Rose-Ackerman 1999).

In light of the economic, social, and political costs associated with crime and corruption, this chapter explores how citizens of Haiti perceive the situation on these issues in their country using data from the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer. Along the way we also account for citizens' evaluations of how effectively legal codes are enforced. The contention is that a strong rule of law requires not only that the state tamp down on crime and corruption, but also that it have the capacity and commitment to ensure that criminals are punished and that ordinary citizens are unable to circumvent mundane regulations due to lax oversight.

II. Main Findings

Key findings reported on in this chapter are as follows:

- More than one-in-five Haitians (22%) reported being victims of crime in the 2017 AmericasBarometer survey of Haiti.
- Crime victimization in Haiti was higher in 2017 compared to 2014.
- Haitians expressed feeling significantly less safe in their neighborhoods in 2017 than they did in any year after 2006. Insecurity increased from about 40% reporting feeling unsafe or somewhat unsafe in 2014 to nearly 55% in 2017.
- Most adult Haitians express low levels of confidence that the justice system will punish the guilty. This confidence declined in 2017 compared to levels in 2014.

⁷ https://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/publication/corruption_perceptions_index_2016

- The majority of Haitians believe that more than half or all of politicians are corrupt.
- In Haiti, 6.8% of respondents say they were solicited for a bribe by a police officer, and 8.7% say they were solicited for a bribe by a government employee. These numbers mark a significant decline in bribe solicitations from 2012.
- Haitians are more likely than citizens of any other country to express tolerance of corruption. Nearly 40% of Haitians say that they believe that paying a bribe is justified.
- In Haiti, nearly one-in-four adults believes that engaging in building or renovation would require a bribe to obtain a permit or to have officials ignore the laws.

III. Crime, Insecurity, and Confidence in the Judicial System

This section reviews key findings from the AmericasBarometer with respect to crime, insecurity, and confidence in the judicial system. The survey results document an increase in crime victimization rates, increased insecurity, and decreased confidence in the rule of law, with respect to the capacity of the justice system to punish the guilty, in Haiti in 2017, compared to prior years.

Crime Victimization

The AmericasBarometer asks respondents whether they have been the victim of any type of crime over the prior year. The question is as follows:

VIC1EXT. Now, changing the subject, have you been a victim of any type of crime in the past 12 months? That is, have you been a victim of robbery, burglary, assault, fraud, blackmail, extortion, violent threats or **any other type** of crime in the past 12 months?
 (1) Yes (2) No

Considering all 29 countries in the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer, roughly 20% of respondents in an average country report that they were the victim of a crime in a 12 month period.⁸ That regional average masks substantial differences in crime victimization rates across countries. Figure 4.1 presents the crime victimization rate calculated using the AmericasBarometer for the 2016/17 round, for each country. Six of the nine countries with the lowest crime victimization levels in 2016/17 are in the English-speaking Eastern Caribbean. In contrast, Venezuela, Peru, Mexico, and Ecuador are the only countries where more than 30% of individuals reported having been a recent crime victim. Venezuela stands out as having significantly more individuals reporting being a recent crime victim than in any other country in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer.

Haiti ranks near the middle of countries in the survey. At 22%, Haiti's crime victimization rate is higher than the English speaking countries of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS), Jamaica, Canada, and the United States, as well as the Latin American countries of

⁸ As in all LAPOP reports, regional averages are calculated by weighting all countries equally, so that regional estimates reflect rates for an average country in the sample of countries surveyed.

Nicaragua, and Panama. At the same time, Haiti's victimization rate is not statistically different from that found for Brazil, Guatemala, Paraguay, Uruguay, El Salvador, Chile, Costa Rica and Honduras.

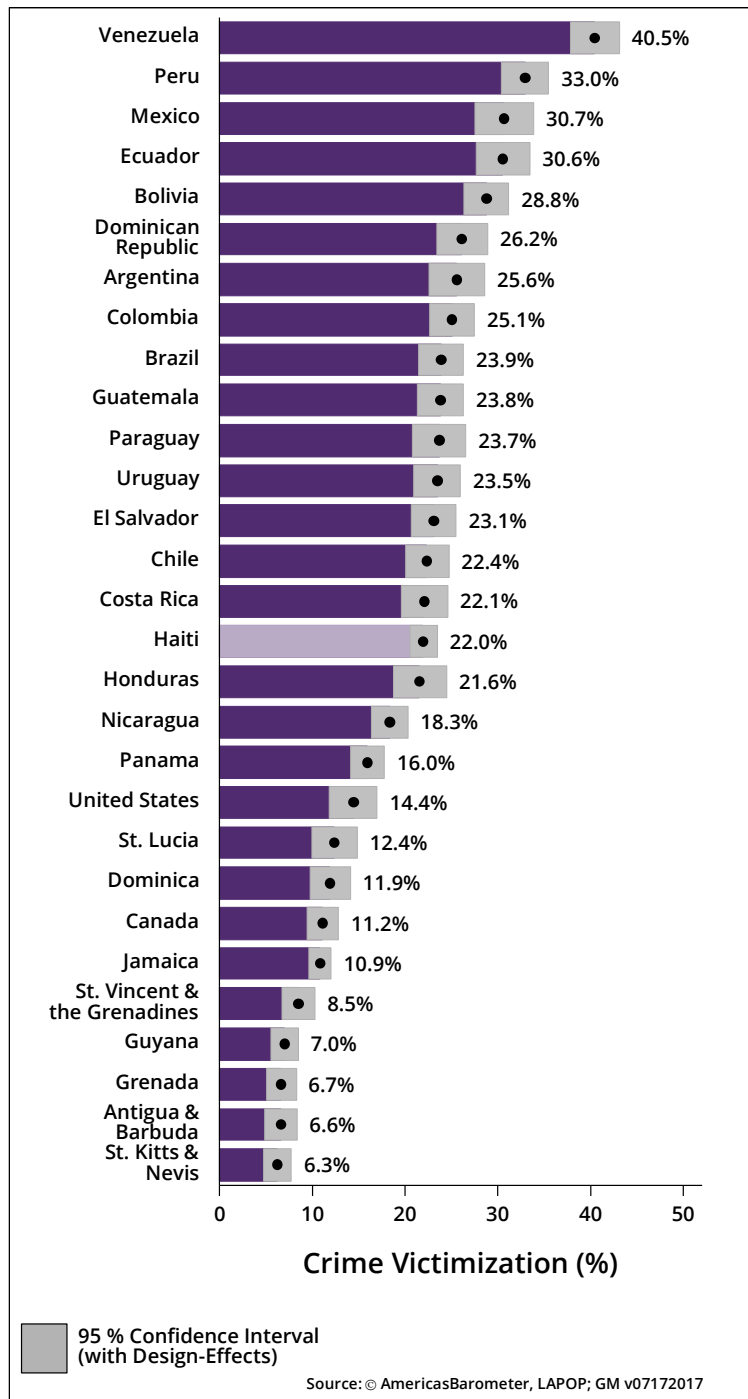


Figure 4.1. Crime Victimization Rates by Country, 2016/17

The 2016/17 AmericasBarometer detected an increase in crime victimization in a number of countries in the Americas.⁹ In fact, no country in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer registered a significant drop in crime victimization relative to its recent average (Singer 2017).¹⁰ Consequently, the average crime victimization rate across all countries in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer is significantly and substantially higher than in any previous wave.

Unfortunately, Haiti is not an exception to the uptick in crime victimization experienced by the region in recent years. As Figure 4.2 shows, crime victimization in Haiti saw a statistically significant decline from 2012 to 2014 (from 20% to 15.7%); yet, the current survey shows an increase that returns victimization rates to a level on par with those levels seen in 2010 and 2012.

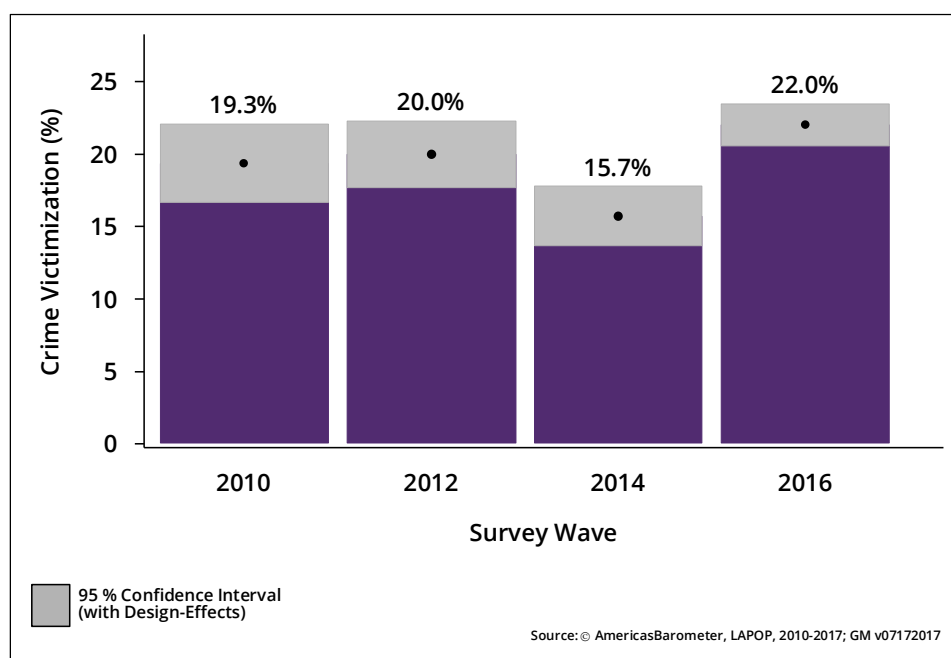


Figure 4.2. Crime Victimization Rates over Time, Haiti

While the survey data show that crime victimization rates are high and increasing in much of the region and in Haiti, groups differ in their likelihood of being victimized. Crime victims tend to be male and are more likely to be educated (see Figure 4.3). Haitians who report being crime victims are also more likely to be in the wealthiest quintile than in the bottom quintile, although the differences by wealth group are small compared to the differences across education levels. Haitians between the ages 26 and 45 are the most likely to be targets of crime. The youngest age cohort and the two oldest cohorts are not statistically different from each other.

⁹ The data on crime victimization are compared with reference only to the survey rounds since 2010, across which the question wording has been constant.

¹⁰ Reported crime rates have skyrocketed in Venezuela: Crime victimization in the 2016/17 round increased by 17 percentage points compared to the average crime victimization rate in the 2010-2014 rounds of the survey.

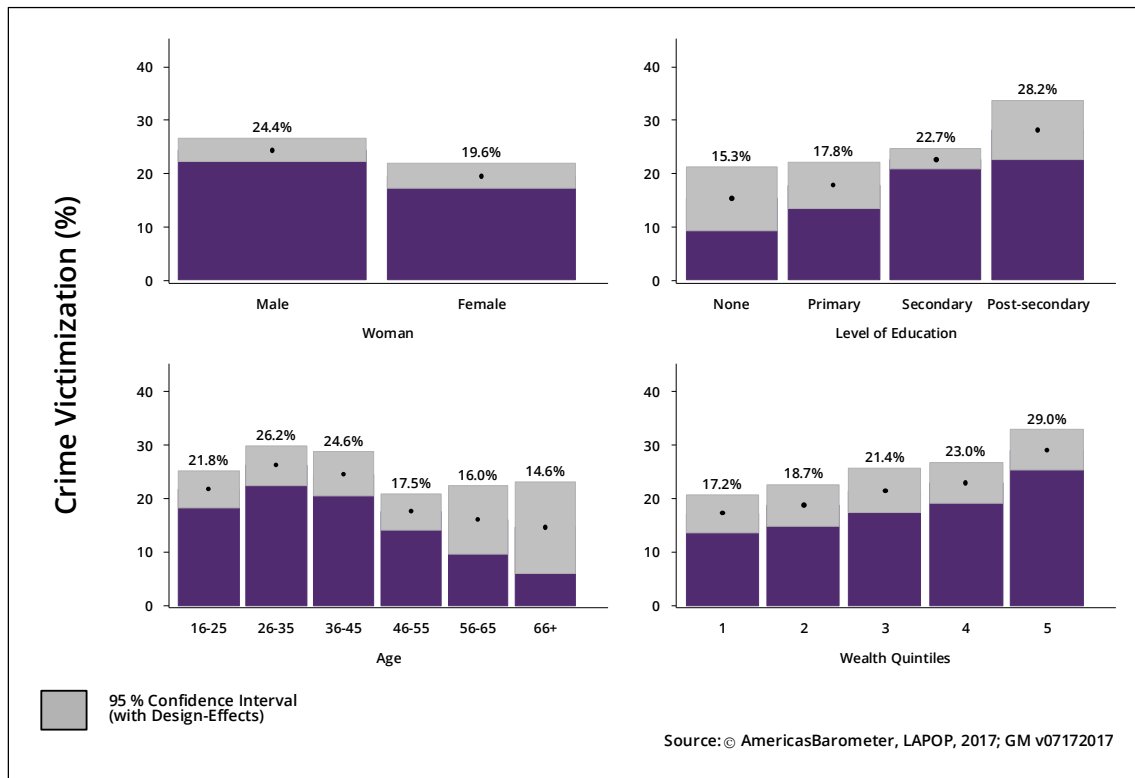


Figure 4.3. Crime Victimization by Demographic and Socio-Economic Subgroups in Haiti, 2017

These patterns suggest that education and wealth are not sufficient to insulate individuals from being crime victims. Instead, they place individuals in positions in which they are more likely to be targeted as crime victims. While anti-crime programs necessarily differ across the types of crimes and populations that they target, the findings documented here point to a broad need for interventions to improve citizen security in Haiti.

Neighborhood Insecurity

Because of its consequences for citizens' behaviors and their overall evaluations of the system, insecurity is as relevant as crime when it comes to examining the rule of law. Rising crime victimization raises the possibility that respondents will report feeling increasingly unsafe as they go about their daily lives. The AmericasBarometer has a question designed to measure general feelings of insecurity:

AOJ11. Speaking of the neighborhood where you live and thinking of the possibility of being assaulted or robbed, do you feel very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe or very unsafe?
 (1) Very safe (2) Somewhat safe (3) Somewhat unsafe (4) Very unsafe

Despite the prevalence of crime, most individuals in the Americas are not victims in an average year, even in the countries where crime is most common (see Figure x.1). Thus, it is not surprising that on average the proportion of people in the Americas who report feeling very or somewhat safe

is larger than is the number who feel very or somewhat unsafe (Singer 2017). However, in Haiti even among those who have not been recent crime victims, insecurity is pervasive.

Figure 4.4 shows that more Haitians feel very unsafe or somewhat unsafe than feel very safe or somewhat safe. When we sum the proportion of those who feel somewhat unsafe (23.3%) or very unsafe (31.5%) in Haiti, we find that 54.8% of the population (more than one-in-two Haitians) feels moderately to highly insecure. This level of insecurity in Haiti is greater than what the AmericasBarometer finds for the region as a whole: in general across the Americas, 35% of respondents report feeling somewhat or very unsafe.¹¹

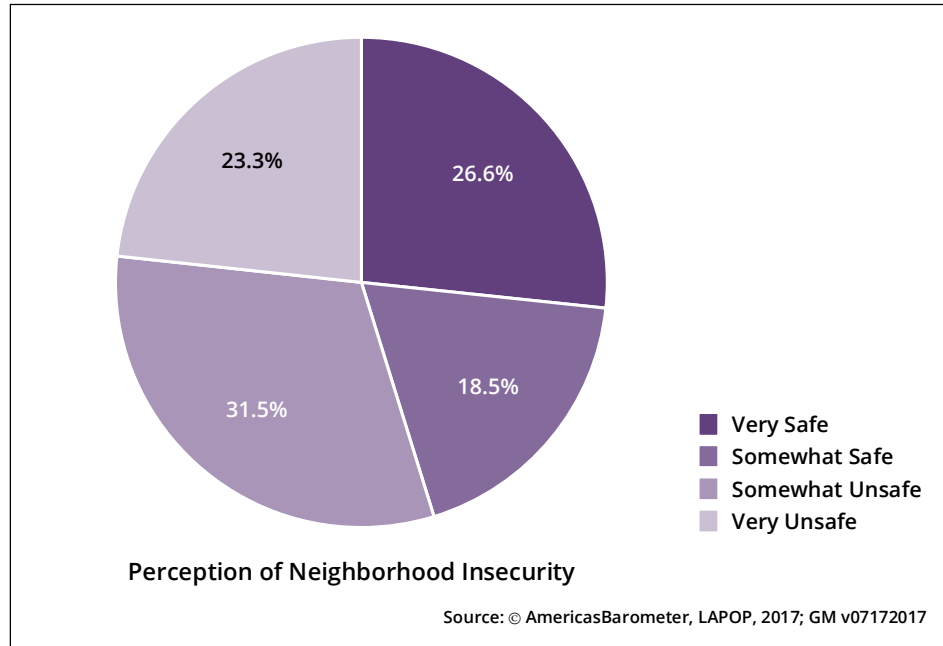


Figure 4.4. Insecurity in Haiti, 2017

Figure 4.5 shows the percentage of Haitians who say they feel either very unsafe or somewhat unsafe across the 2006 to 2017 rounds of the AmericasBarometer. The highest percentage of those who felt unsafe was in 2006, and that number then declined considerably in 2008 and 2010, leveling off in 2012 and 2014 at about 40%. The nearly 15 percentage point increase in 2017 has brought insecurity levels back to near the 2006 high mark.

¹¹ Data for the Americas not shown for sake of parsimony; throughout this chapter, comparisons to the rest of the region are to the pool of all countries included in the AmericasBarometer in which the selected question was asked. The mean for the region should be interpreted as the value estimated for the average country in that pool.

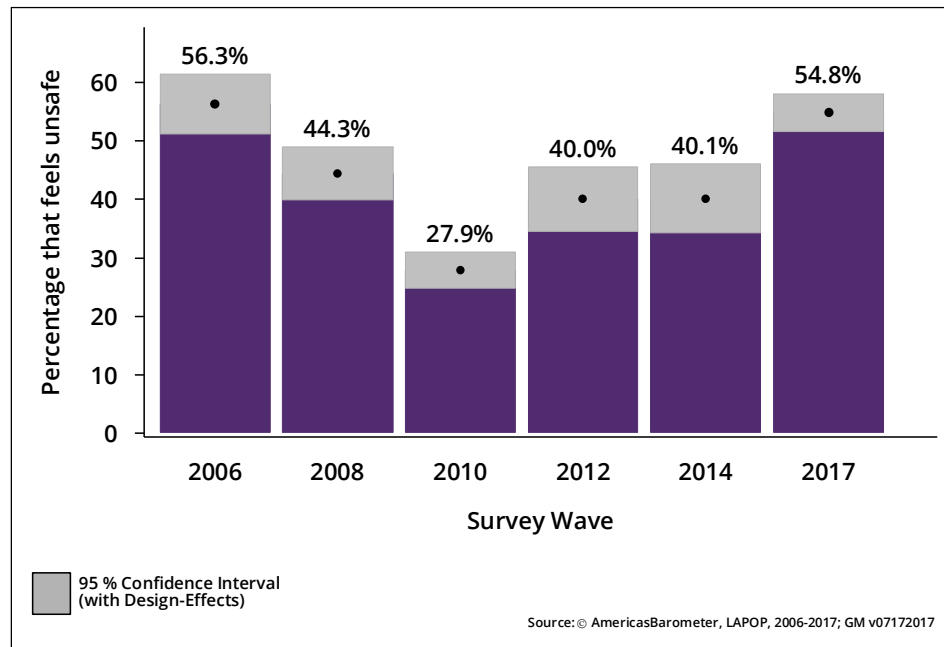


Figure 4.5. Percentage Feeling Somewhat or Very Unsafe in Haiti, 2006-2017

The problem of insecurity is widespread in Haiti, as evidenced by the fact that levels of insecurity differ very little across subgroups in Haiti. For example, we do not find any pattern of significant differences across age groups, education levels or wealth quintiles. In contrast to what we observe in the region as a whole, women in Haiti are not significantly more likely to feel insecure than men. The upper panels of Figure 4.6 show the gender difference in insecurity in the Americas and the (lack of) difference in Haiti. The lower panel of Figure 4.6 shows the contrast between insecurity in urban and rural areas for the Americas and Haiti. In the region as a whole, those in urban areas are more likely to say that they feel unsafe, whereas those in rural areas of Haiti are more likely to express insecurity.

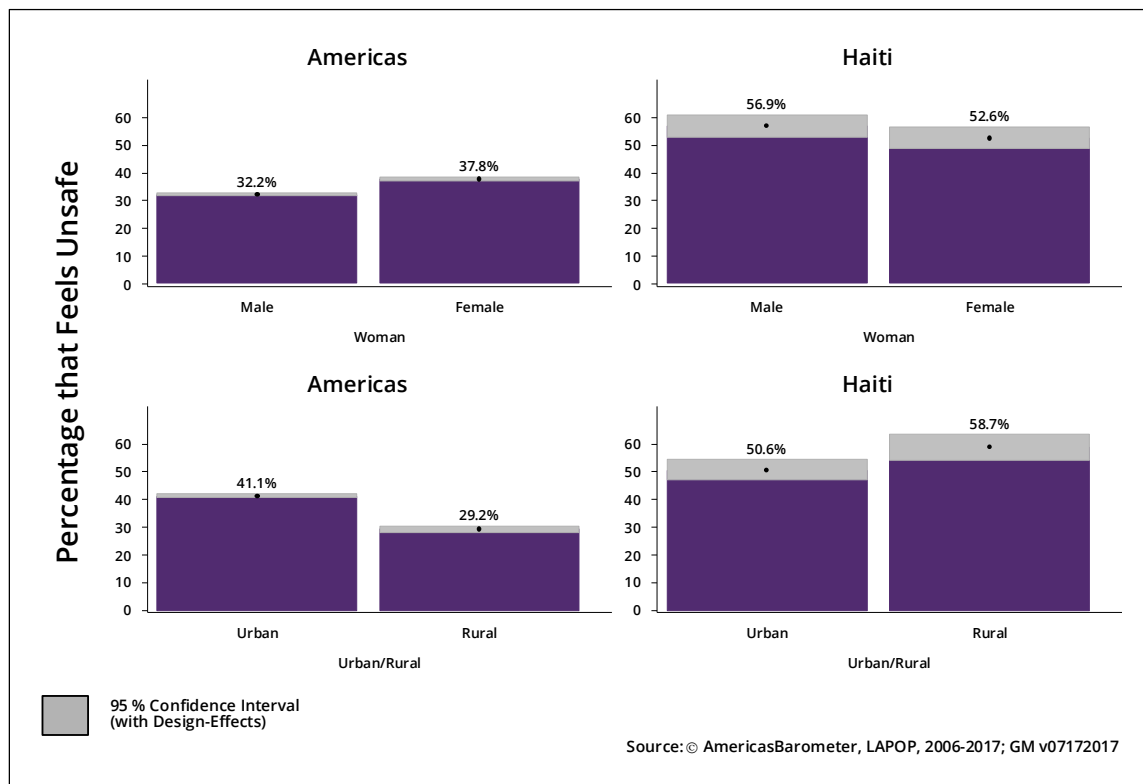


Figure 4.6. Percentage Feeling Somewhat or Very Unsafe by Gender and Urban/Rural Subgroups in the Americas (2016/17) and Haiti (2017)

We explore the geographical differences in insecurity in Haiti in Figure 4.7, by presenting the percentage of individuals who report feeling unsafe by region. There is some small variation in feelings of insecurity across regions, but the only statistically significant difference is between those in the Southern region and those in the Metropolitan Area: those in the Metropolitan Area are less likely to express feeling of insecurity than in the Southern region.

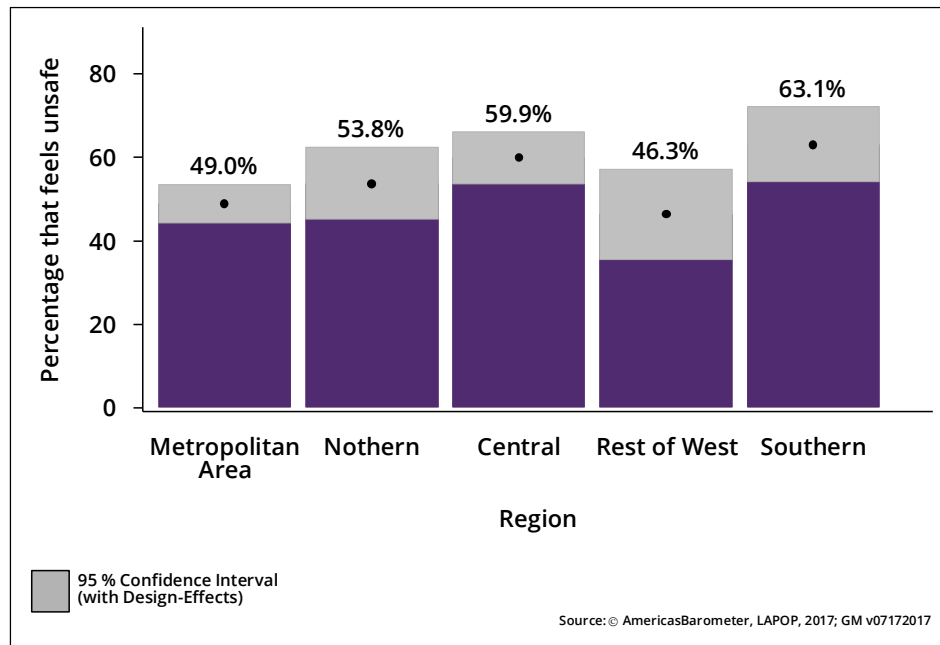


Figure 4.7. Percentage Feeling Somewhat or Very Unsafe by Regions in Haiti, 2017

Confidence that Criminals will be Caught and Punished

The 2016/17 AmericasBarometer provides evidence that in Haiti, as for much of the hemisphere, crime and insecurity are growing as threats. As more people fear being crime victims, how confident are they that their attackers would be punished? The survey directly asked individuals to assess the capacity of the criminal justice system to apprehend and punish criminals, by way of the following question:

AQJ12. If you were a victim of a robbery or assault how much faith do you have that the judicial system would punish the guilty? [Read alternatives]
 (1) A lot (2) Some (3) Little (4) None

A minority of Haitians is confident that the justice system would be able to punish their assailant. As the left-side panel of Figure 4.8 shows, 32.4% of Haitians say they have little confidence and 29% say they have no confidence. In other words, a sum total of six-in-ten Haitians have little-to-no confidence in the capacity of the justice system to punish those who are guilty of crimes. The right-side panel to Figure 4.8 shows the distribution of responses for the Americas as a whole. In the average country in the the region, only 18% of adults are very confident that the justice system would work as designed, compared to 15% in Haiti. Overall, the pattern of results for Haiti reveals slightly less confidence in the justice system in Haiti, but generally speaking the results are comparable to those for the region as a whole.

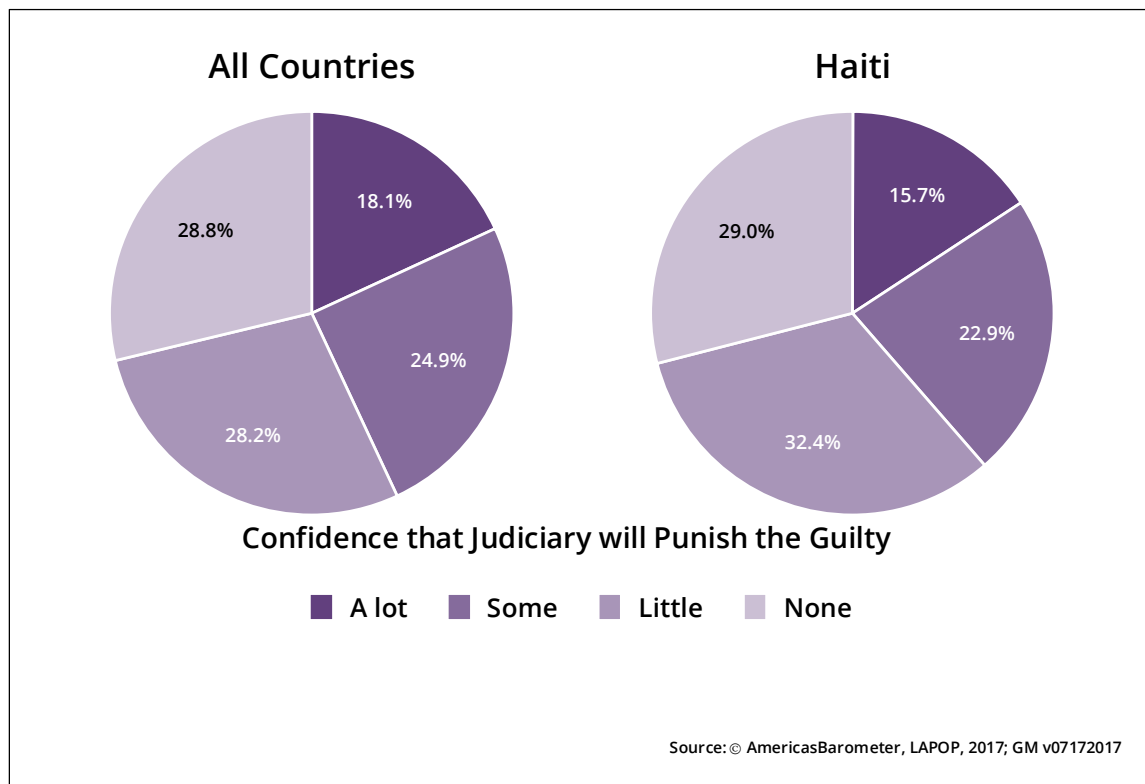


Figure 4.8. Confidence that the Judiciary Would Punish the Guilty, 2016/17

The distribution of responses to this question has changed over time in Haiti (Figure 4.9). The percentage of respondents expressing “no confidence” is at its highest in 2017. However, in 2010 and 2012, the combined proportion of those responding “Little” or “None” exceeded two-thirds. Confidence was highest in 2014—the only year where more than half of respondents responded “A lot” or “Some” confidence in the judiciary. In short, confidence in the justice system in Haiti decreased in 2017, yet Haiti’s overall levels are not all that dissimilar from the regional mean.

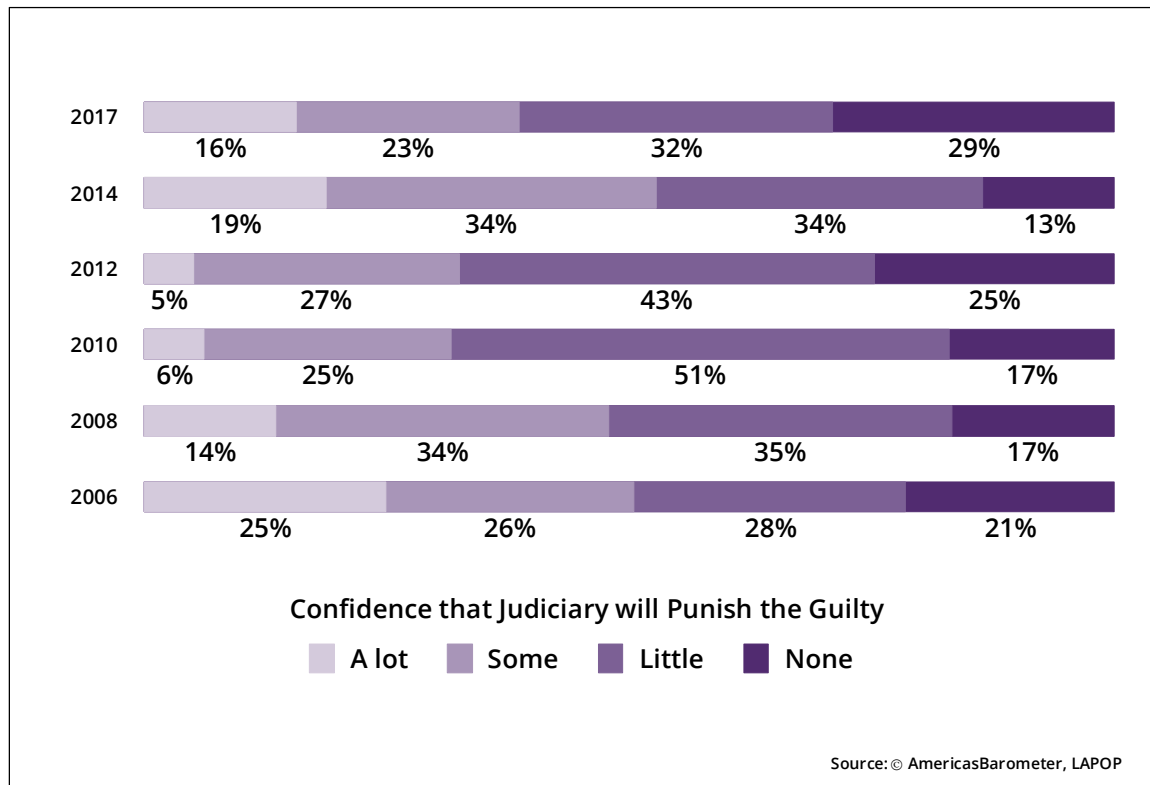


Figure 4.9. Confidence that the Judiciary Would Punish the Guilty over Time in Haiti

In Haiti, the average level of confidence that the judiciary would not punish criminals (coded so that the most confident response is 100 and the least is 0) does not differ across levels of wealth, education, or gender (see Figure 4.10). Only across age groups are there statistical differences. The youngest cohort is significantly more confident in judiciary than are those in age cohorts 36 or older. The fact that the young are the least cynical is promising when one considers the future, and this result then points to the need to continue to bolster attitudes among the young and within the current younger cohort as they age, in order to prevent the comparatively greater pessimism expressed by the current older cohorts from seeping in.

Finally, we note that confidence that the judicial system will punish the guilty is greater among those living in urban areas (Figure 4.11). This is consistent with the previous finding that those in urban areas feel safer than those in rural areas.

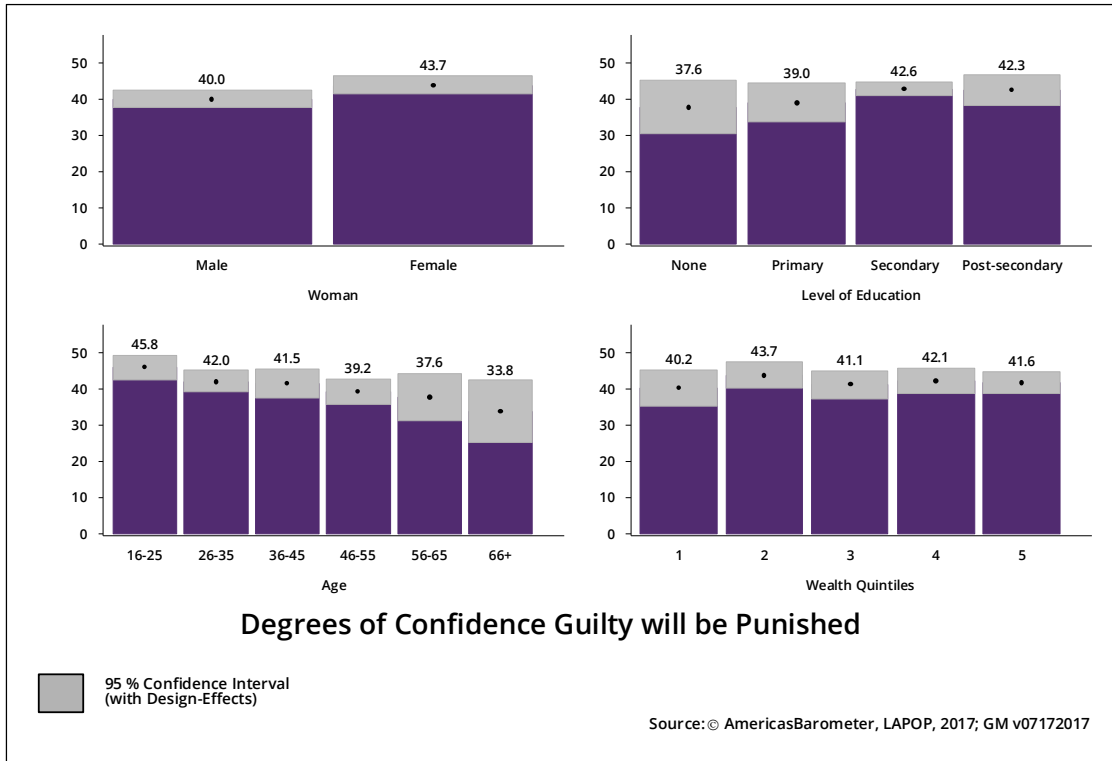


Figure 4.10. Variation by Demographic and Socio-Economic Subgroups in Confidence that the Justice System Would Punish the Guilty in Haiti, 2017

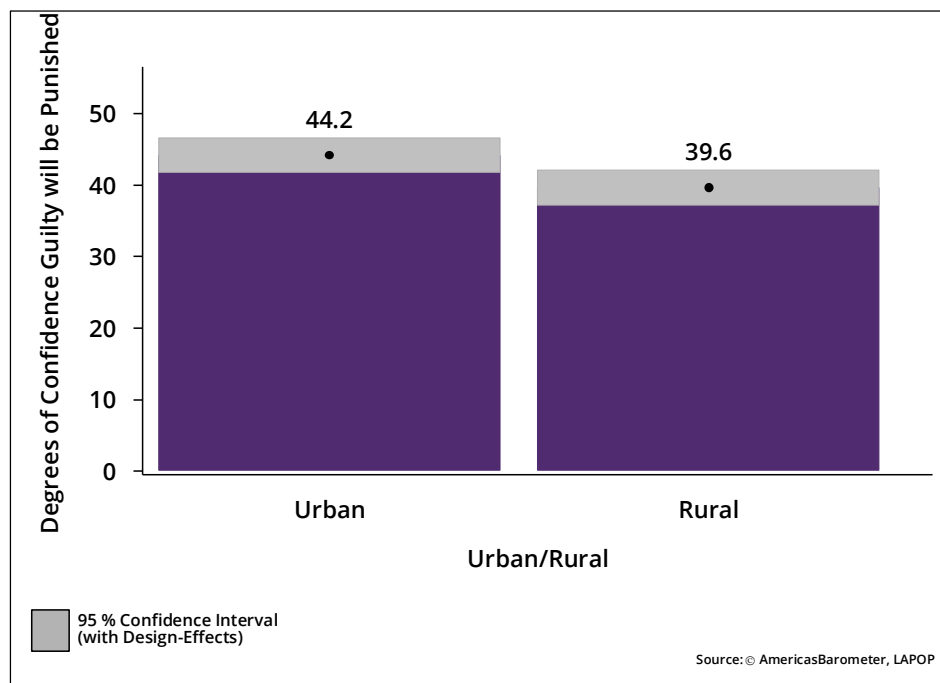


Figure 4.11. Variation by Urban/Rural Subgroups in Confidence that the Justice System Would Punish the Guilty in Haiti, 2017

IV. Corruption

In this section, we examine individuals' perceptions of political corruption, their experiences with bribe solicitation, their tolerance for bribery, their expectations regarding bribe solicitation for permits, and their evaluations of the extent to which building regulations are enforced. Each of these topic areas sheds light on the strength of the rule of law in Haiti, as they collectively reveal how citizens perceive corruption in politics and experience it in their daily lives.

The results in this section contain some good news, in that corruption victimization in encounters with the police and government employees decreased in Haiti after 2012; the new lower rate of corruption victimization in these areas has held steady in recent years.

The results also point to some areas of concern. For example, tolerance for corruption among ordinary Haitian adults is higher, on average, than for citizens in any other country in the region. Corruption tolerance is important because it can feed a corruption trap, whereby a failure of individuals to stigmatize bribery reduces barriers to others engaging in such illicit activity (see discussions in Carlin 2013 and Lupu 2017). Another area of concern lies in the fact that large numbers of Haitians believe that building regulations (i.e., permit requirements) are not enforced (40% report low likelihood of punishment for building without a permit) or are corrupted by bribery (50% report likelihood of bribe solicitation for a permit). Efforts to increase citizens' and government employees' commitment to building code compliance is important, given the role this dynamic can play in reducing the risk that is posed to infrastructure by ordinary events as well as by natural disasters.

Perceptions of Corruption among Politicians

We begin by looking at perceptions of high-level corruption. Understanding how citizens perceive their elected officials matters, not only because it may affect their system support but also because it may influence their own attitudes regarding corruption (Carlin 2013). The AmericasBarometer survey allows us to measure a number of perceptions and experiences with corruption. In the 2016/17 round, the project included a question asking about the degree to which individuals perceive corruption to be prevalent, or not, among politicians in the country. The wording for this new question is as follows:¹²

EXC7NEW. Thinking of the politicians of [country]... how many of them do you believe are involved in corruption?

(1) None (2) Less than half of them (3) Half of them (4) More than half of them (5) All

In general, views on corruption among politicians in Haiti are comparable to those found in the Americas as a whole. To determine this, first, look at how responses to this question are distributed for in the region as a whole. The left panel of Figure **x.12** shows that more than 50% of the public

¹² The survey previously included a similar question that asked about public officials, and was not narrowly focused on politicians *per se*; with this new question, we achieve more precision in the question but at the expense of a broader perspective on public officials at large.

in an average country in the Americas believes “More than Half”, or “All” politicians are corrupt. Less than 3% of respondents believe that “None” are corrupt.

Second, consider the right panel of Figure 4.12, which shows the distribution of responses in Haiti in 2017. The responses in Haiti are similar to the regional averages. In 2017, more than half of Haitians report believing that more than half of or all politicians are corrupt.

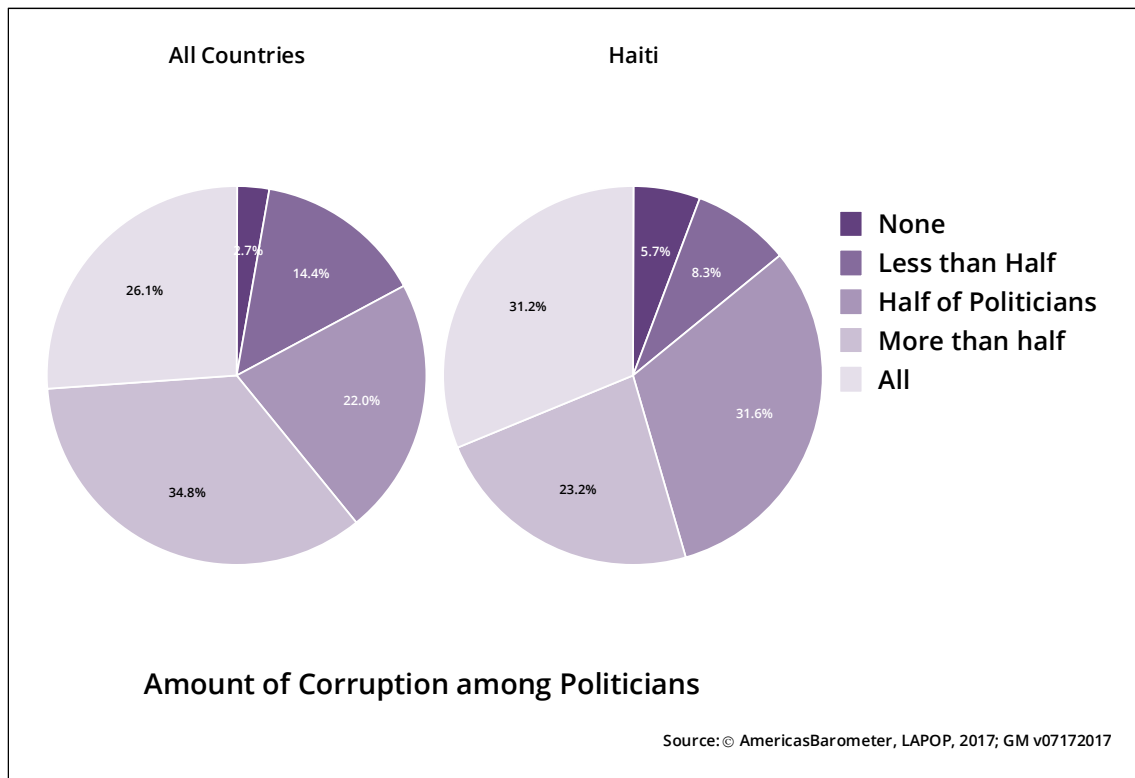


Figure 4.12. Perception of Extent of Corruption among Politicians, 2016/17

The AmericasBarometer documents that there is considerable variation in responses across countries surveyed in 2016/17. Figure 4.13 displays the percentage of those responding “More than Half” or “All” to the question about corruption of politicians. At the extremes are Brazil, where more than 80% of respondents believe there is considerable corruption among politicians, and Canada, where only about 20% feel the same. Haiti ranks in lower half, with scores that are statistically comparable to Honduras, Ecuador, El Salvador, and Jamaica (all countries with scores between 50 and 60%).

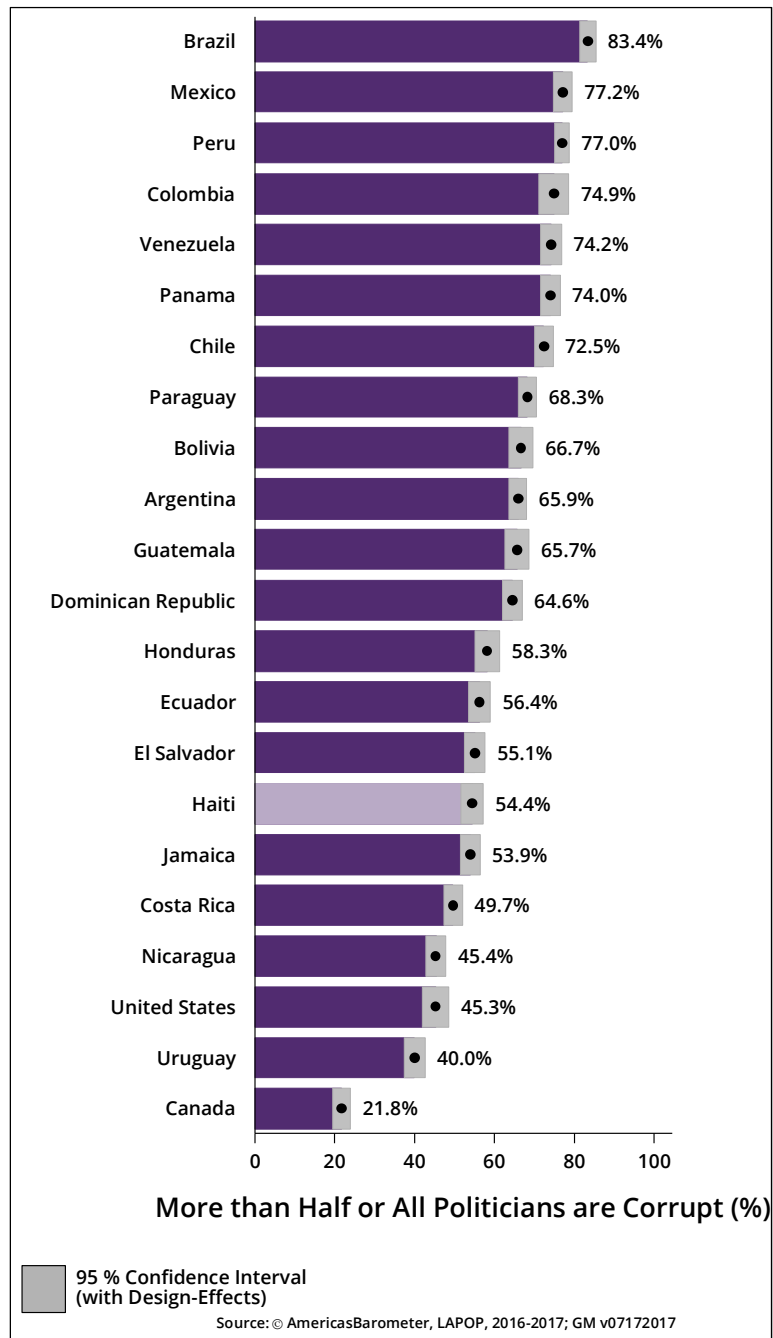


Figure 4.13. Percent Believing More than Half or All Politicians are Corrupt, 2016/17

Corruption Victimization

The AmericasBarometer survey measures individuals' personal experiences with corruption – that is, whether they themselves have been the victims of corruption. The survey focuses on whether the respondent has been asked to pay a bribe in the prior twelve months, a very concrete form of corruption within a specified timeframe. This structure avoids the typical ambiguity of questions

about corruption victimization. The survey also asks this question with regard to different public officials: police officers and government employees. Specifically, those questions were:

	No	Yes
Now we want to talk about your personal experience with things that happen in everyday life...		
EXC2. Has a police officer asked you for a bribe in the last twelve months?	0	1
EXC6. In the last twelve months, did any government employee ask you for a bribe?	0	1

Note that the module asks individuals whether they were asked to pay a bribe and not whether they in fact paid one. This is because respondents are far more likely to lie if asked whether they paid a bribe, since paying bribes is illegal in most contexts. Given how difficult it is to elicit truthful responses to such sensitive questions, especially in face-to-face surveys (Tourangeau and Yan 2007), the AmericasBarometer module focuses on whether respondents were asked to pay a bribe, a far less sensitive issue.

Figure 4.14 shows the percentages of Haitians that responded “yes” to having been asked to pay a bribe to either a police officer or government official. Only a small portion of those interviewed had been asked to pay such a bribe: 6.8% for police and 8.7% for government officials.

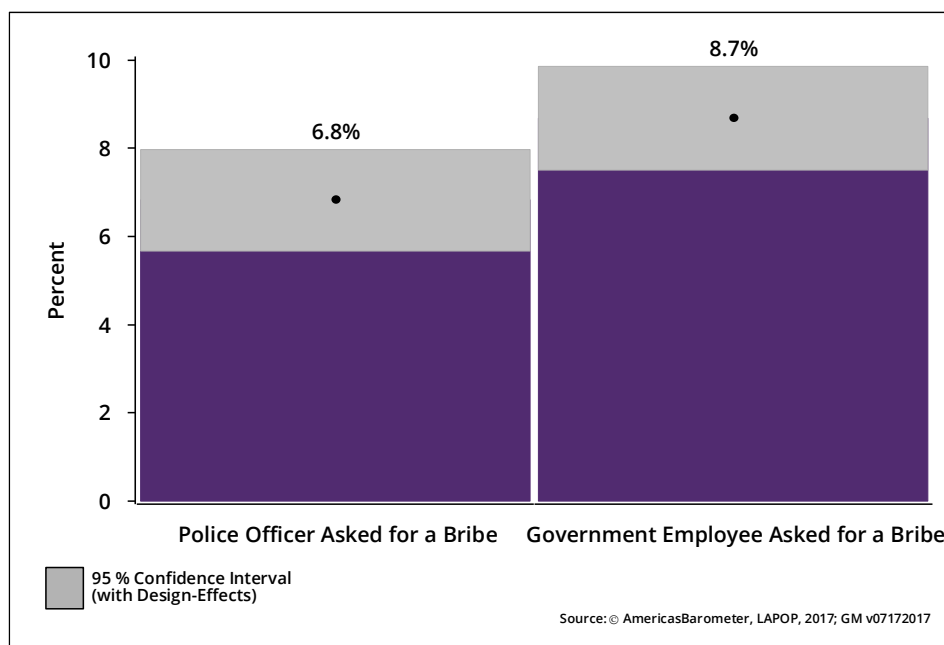


Figure 4.14. Police and Government Office Bribe Victimization, Haiti 2017

The trend in corruption victimization in these two instances (bribe solicitation by police or by a government employee) is shown in Figures 4.15 and 4.16. In both cases, there was a marked increase in 2012 followed by a diminution of experiences of being asked for bribes in the period

captured by the 2014 and 2017 surveys. In brief, citizens' experiences with corruption victimization in encounters with the police and government employees decreased after 2012 and the lower rate of corruption victimization has held steady in recent years.

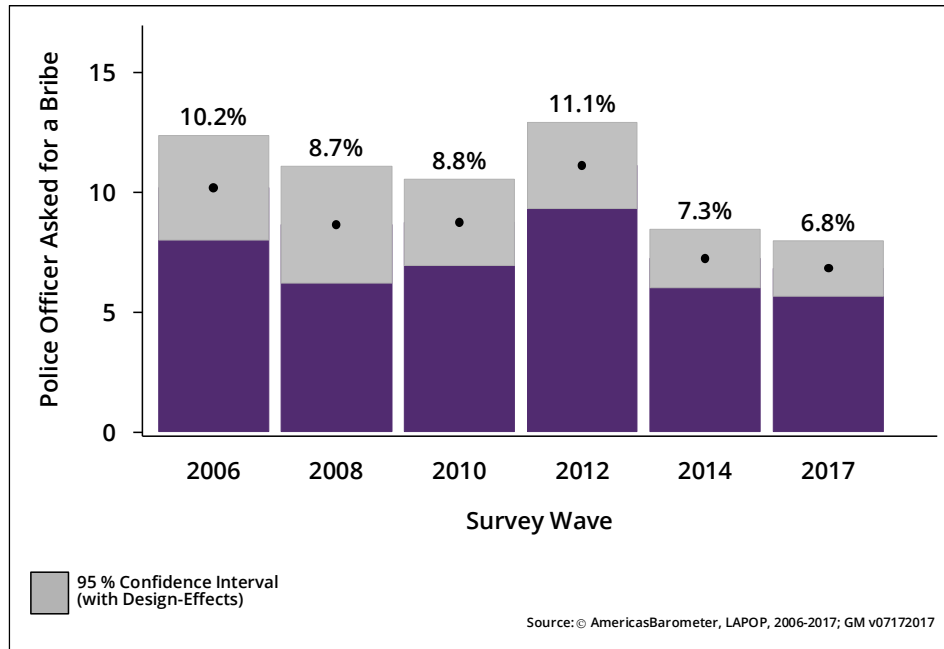


Figure 4.15. Solicited for a Bribe by Police, Haiti 2017

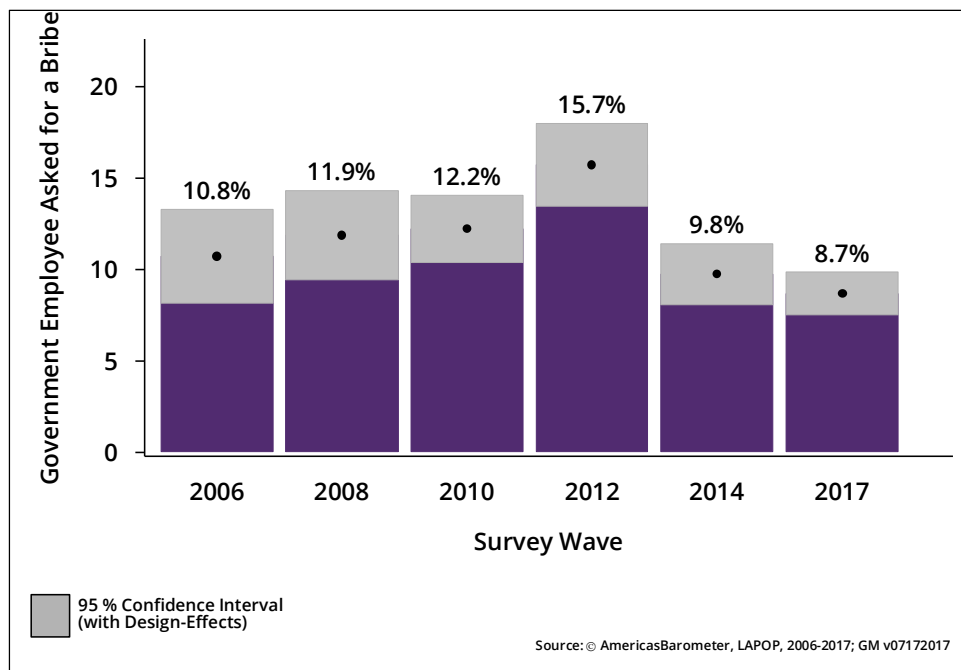


Figure 4.16. Solicited for a Bribe by Government Employee, Haiti 2017

Experiences of being a victim of bribery solicitation by a police office can differ for those belonging to different socio-economic and demographic sub-groups. Figure 4.17 shows that, in Haiti, men, those with post-secondary education, and those in the highest wealth quintile are most likely to encounter requests by police for bribes. Those in the oldest age groups are least likely to be asked for a bribe by a police officer. There is no difference in police corruption victimization between rural and urban respondents.

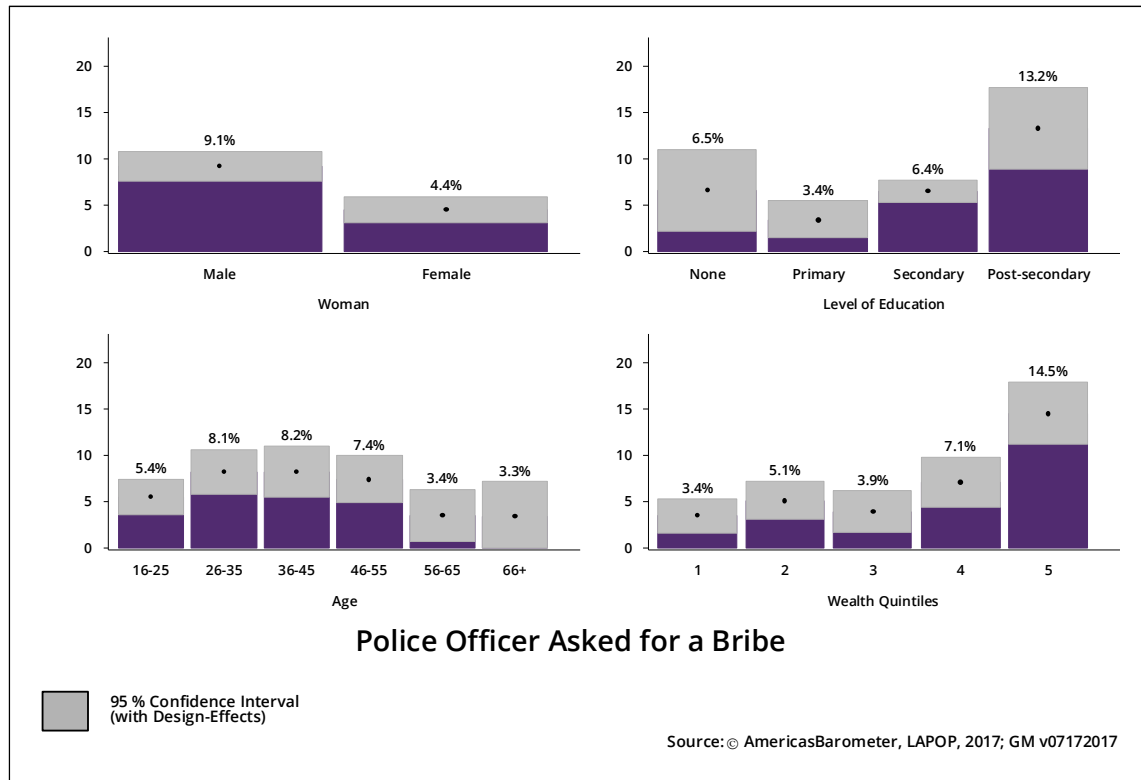


Figure 4.17. Police Corruption Victimization by Demographic and Socio-Economic Subgroups in Haiti, 2017

Figure 4.18 shows that those who have been asked by government officials for a bribe exhibit similar characteristics as those targeted by police officers: men, the most educated, and the wealthiest are more likely to be asked for a bribe by a government official, compared to their counterparts in those subgroup categories. However, older citizens do not show a lesser propensity for being asked for a bribe by government officials; and urban residents are more likely than rural residents to be asked for a bribe.

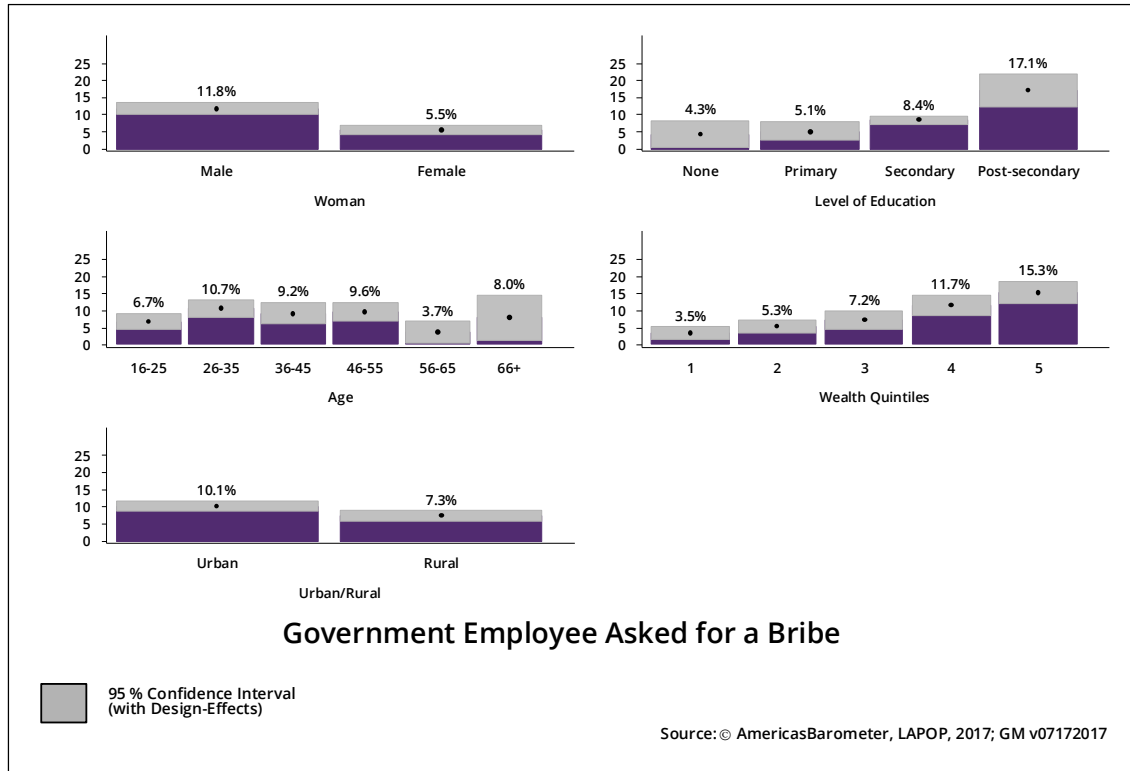


Figure 4.18. Government Employee Corruption Victimization by Demographic and Socio-Economic Subgroups in Haiti, 2017

Corruption Tolerance

The AmericasBarometer survey also asked respondents about their tolerance for corruption, focusing on the issue of bribes:

EXC18. Do you think given the ways things are, sometimes paying a bribe is justified?
(0) No (1) Yes

Figure 4.19 shows the percentage of respondents who responded “Yes” to the question for each country in which the question was asked as part of the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer. Reassuringly, a minority of citizens in the Americas approve of corruption (that is, view it as sometimes justified). However, Haiti shows the highest level of tolerance toward corruption. Nearly two in five Haitians (38.5%) believes that paying a bribe is justified. This is significantly higher than any other country in the survey and almost double the average of all countries in the Americas in the 2016/17 round (20%).

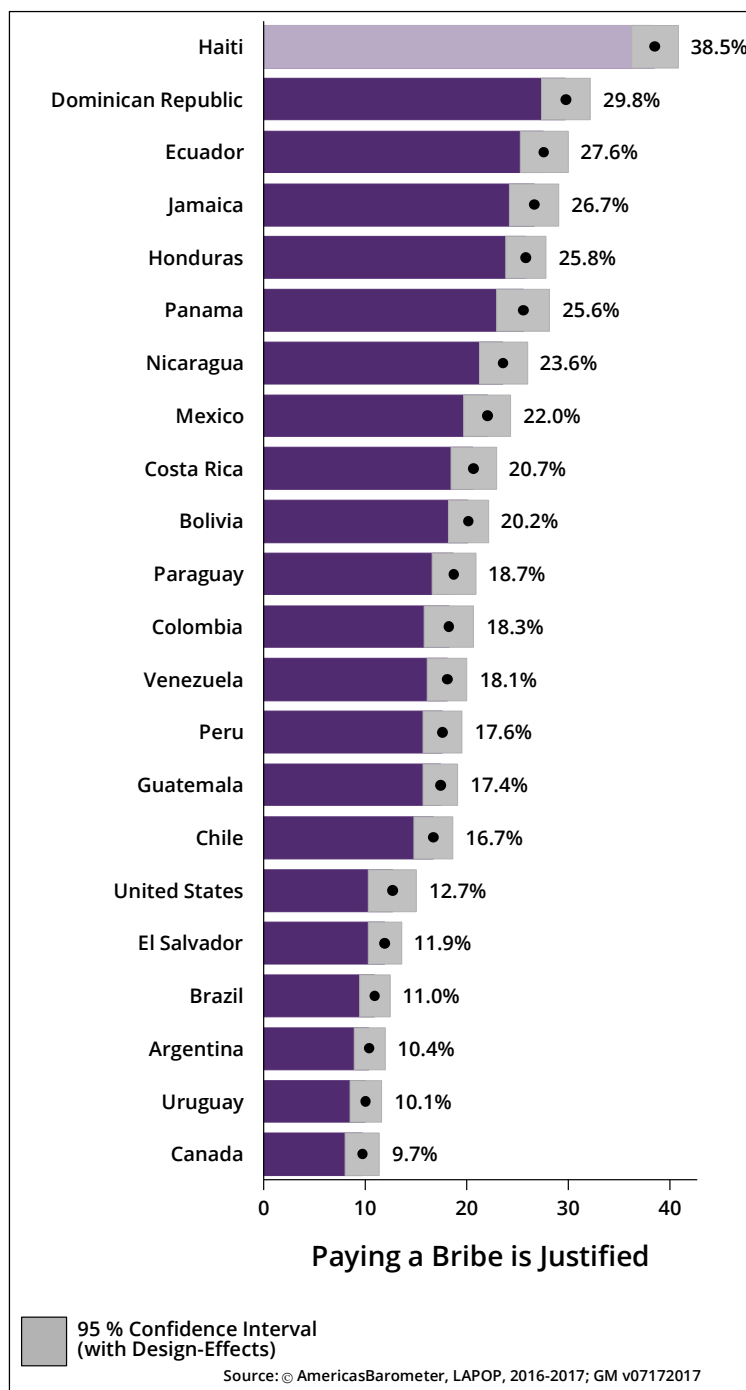


Figure 4.19. Corruption Tolerance, (2016/17)

In exploring the social and economic characteristics of the Haitian respondents, there are small, but statistically significant differences in tolerance for corruption among sub-groups. As Figure 4.20 shows, Haitian men are more tolerant of corruption than are women. Those with post-secondary education are more likely to tolerate corruption than those with no formal education or primary-only education. Those in the wealthiest quintile have higher tolerance for corruption than those in the first two quintiles of wealth. Further, the cohort of Haitians between the ages of 26 and 35 is significantly more tolerant than those in the oldest age cohort. There is no significant difference in tolerance for corruption between urban and rural residents.

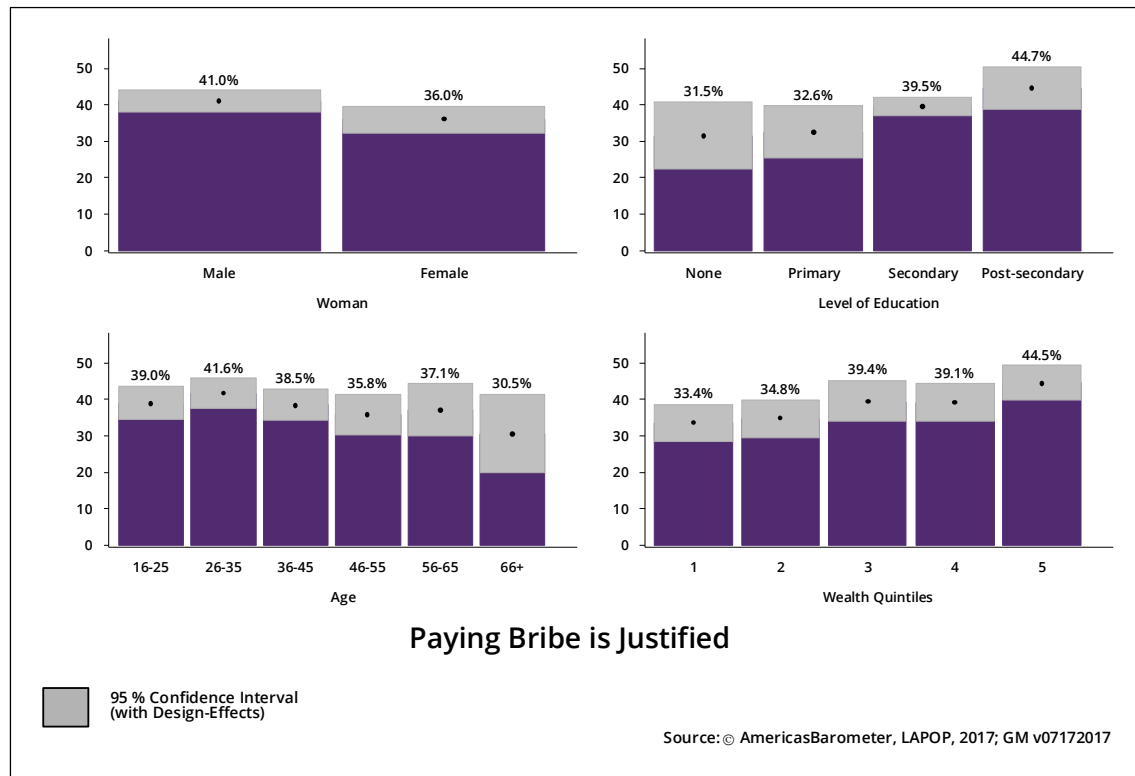


Figure 4.20. Tolerance for Bribe Solicitation by Demographic and Socio-Economic Subgroups in Haiti, 2017

Legal Enforcement of Building Codes

The recent AmericasBarometer survey includes two questions that allows us to explore a specific case pertaining to the enforcement of laws and bribery. The questions pose a hypothetical scenario where a neighbor engages in home renovations without proper permits. Respondents were then asked the likelihood that the neighbor would be punished for such an action and the likelihood that a neighbor would be required to pay a bribe to receive a permit or to have officials ignore the laws. The full wording of the questions are as follows:

Using the same 1 to 7 scale, where 1 is "Not at all" and 7 is "A lot"....	(888888) Don't know (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]
PR3D. If in your neighborhood one of your neighbors decides to build or renovate a house without a license or permit. How likely is it that they would be punished by the authorities?	
PR3E. If someone in your neighborhood decides to build or renovate a house, how likely do you think it is that they would be asked to pay a bribe to get a license or permit, or to ignore the construction altogether?	

Figure 4.21 shows the distribution of responses to the first question about whether building without a permit would result in punishment. Nearly 20% of Haitians chose the category indicating that officials would be very likely to punish those without a license; that is, one-in-five report the probability of punishment is “a lot”. However, a similar number (18.4%) said that the officials were “not at all” likely to punish such an action. Adding together those who give any response lower than the mid-point on the scale (that is, summing those who respond with a 1, 2, or 3), we see that approximately 40% of Haitians believe that officials will tend *not* to punish those who build without permits in Haiti.

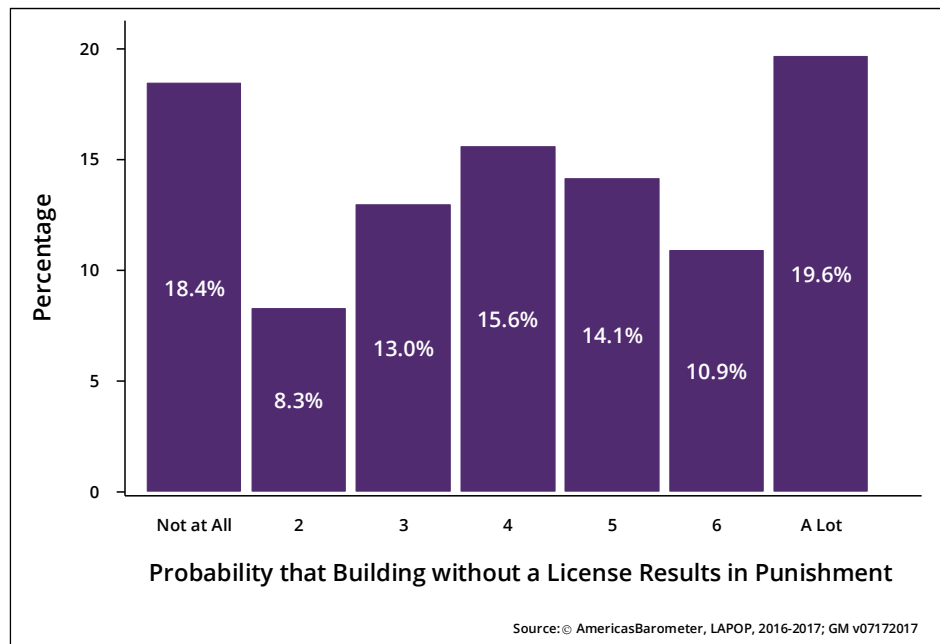


Figure 4.21. Probability that Officials would Punish those Building without Permits, Haiti (2017)

Figure 4.22 shows the responses to the second question, as to whether such an activity would require a bribe. Nearly one quarter of respondents express a very strong believe (“a lot”) that building or renovating a structure would require paying a bribe to either obtain the necessary permits, or have officials ignore the law. Adding together those who give any response greater than the mid-point on the scale (that is, summing those who respond with a 5, 6, or 7), we see that essentially one-in-two Haitians operates with the belief that there is a good probability that obtaining building permits necessitates bribes in Haiti.

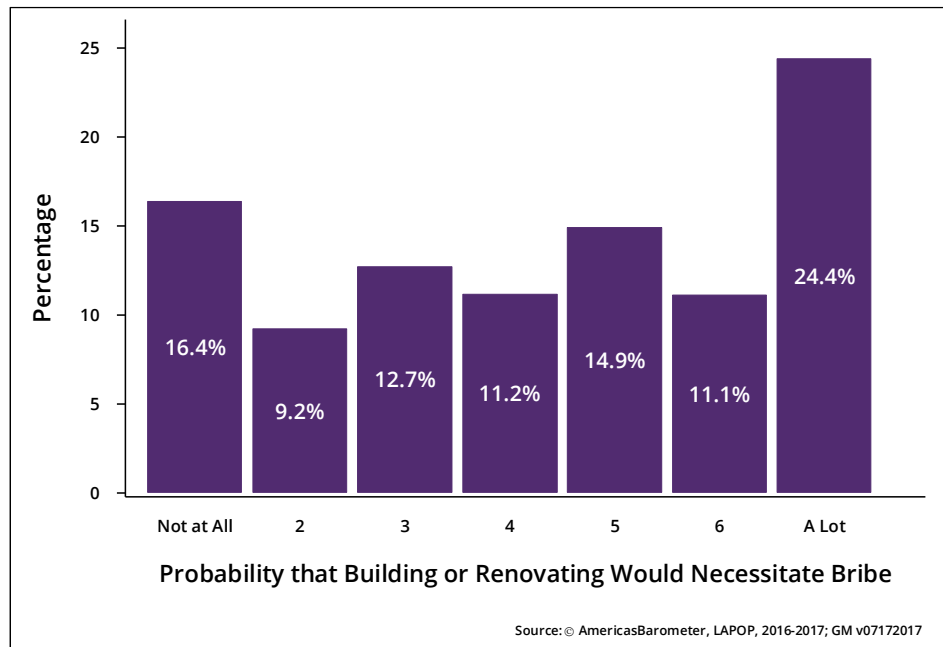


Figure 4.22. Probability that Obtaining Building Permits would Necessitate Bribes in Haiti, 2017

Responses to this question show one of the potential costs of perceptions of corruption, in this case, to a country's housing stock. If a home is in need of renovation and there is a belief that there is an additional cost to obtain permits in the form of bribes, homeowners are less likely to want to pay these additional fees, resulting in either work that does not conform to permitted standards or they do not perform the work at all.

V. Conclusions

The 2017 AmericasBarometer survey of Haiti shows that crime and insecurity is common in Haiti. More than one in five individuals in Haiti is a victim of crime and more than half of Haitians feel somewhat or very unsafe in their neighborhoods. Crime victimization and insecurity in Haiti have risen since 2014, mirroring general trends in the Americas where crime and violence have become significant problems for governments and their citizenry. The AmericasBarometer also demonstrates a lack of citizen satisfaction with how the justice system responds to these challenges. Most respondents express low levels of confidence that the judicial system would punish guilty criminals.

Corruption in Haiti, as in many countries of the Americas, continues to be an ongoing problem with negative political, economic and social consequences. Most Haitians believe that more than half or all politicians are corrupt. The public perception that politics is teeming with corruption is widespread in Haiti, and indeed, across the Americas.

A positive trend detected in the recent AmericasBarometer survey in Haiti pertains to the fact that fewer people experienced solicitations of bribes from police or public employees in both 2014 and 2017, compared to 2012. There is a clear urgency to the need to build on this positive outcome,



given that tolerance for corruption in Haiti remains high: Haitians have the highest level of tolerance for corruption among all countries in the Americas. Nearly two in five Haitians say that paying bribes is a justifiable action—considerably higher than their neighbors in the Dominican Republic (the next highest level of corruption tolerance in the Americas).

Finally, the data on citizens' expectations regarding lax oversight and corruption in the area of building and renovating homes suggests a need to increase confidence in regulatory oversight and compliance, which in turn ought to bolster citizen confidence in the system and their willingness to put effort into making effective and code-compliant improvements to their dwellings.



Chapter 5.

Local Politics in USAID Target Areas

Carole Wilson

I. Introduction

The 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer in Haiti featured a large-scale oversample of the following communes that are areas targeted by USAID programming: Delmas, Carrefour, Kenscoff, Cap-Haïtien, Limonade, Acul du Nord Ouanaminthe, Caracol, and Saint Marc. The purpose of this chapter is to evaluate similarities and differences between the USAID target area and the rest of the country with regard to citizens' participation in local organizations and governance, and their evaluation of public services.

II. Main Findings

- Except for differences in urban/rural composition, the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the USAID target area are indistinguishable from the rest of the country.
- In 2016/17, residents in the USAID target area are more likely to attend meetings of religious, community, and parent organizations, as well as local government meetings than those living in the rest of the country.
- There are small differences in satisfaction with services between the USAID target area and the rest of the country. The results point to slightly higher levels of satisfaction in target areas, but the observed differences fail to reach conventional levels of statistical significance.
- Lastly, trust in governing authorities and satisfaction with democracy seem to be slightly higher in target areas.

III. USAID Target Area Sample

In 2016/17, 1207 interviews were conducted in the eight communes of Delmas, Carrefour, Kenscoff, Cap-Haïtien, Limonade, Acul du Nord Ouanaminthe, Caracol, and Saint Marc. A total of 1014 interviews were conducted in the rest of the country. While previous surveys did not contain oversamples, seven of the eight communes were interviewed in 2012 and 2014. This allows us to

compare responses to many of the questions across multiple waves of the AmericasBarometer for the USAID target area.¹

In many ways, these USAID target communes look very similar to the rest of the country. Figures 5.1 through 5.5 show the distributions for gender, urban/rural areas, age, education, and quintiles of wealth. Only the urban/rural division is significantly different in the USAID target area from the rest of the country (Figure 5.2). The USAID target area is considerably more urban than the rest of the country (79.8% in the USAID region compared to 35.6% in the rest of the country). In both areas, the average age of respondents is about 38 years with the distribution of age cohorts showing that there are more respondents in the 16-35 aged category than in older cohorts. Approximately two-thirds of both samples has secondary education. Wealth measure shows the quintiles are equally distributed across the USAID target area and the rest of the country (the USAID area is not significantly more or less wealthy than in the rest of the country).

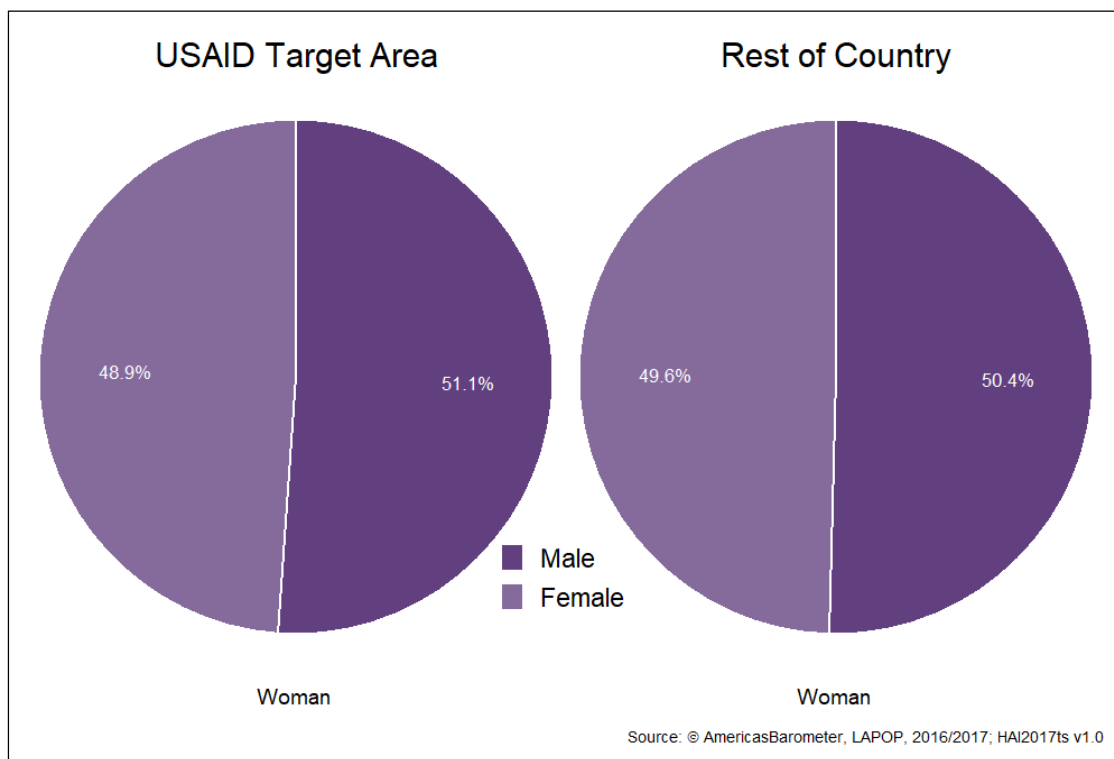


Figure 5.1. Gender Distribution in USAID Target Area and Rest of the Country, Haiti 2017

¹ The commune of Caracol was not surveyed in 2012 or 2014. Therefore, cross-time comparisons exclude Caracol from the analysis in 2016/17 for the sake of comparability. Figures containing only a single year retain Caracol in the sample.

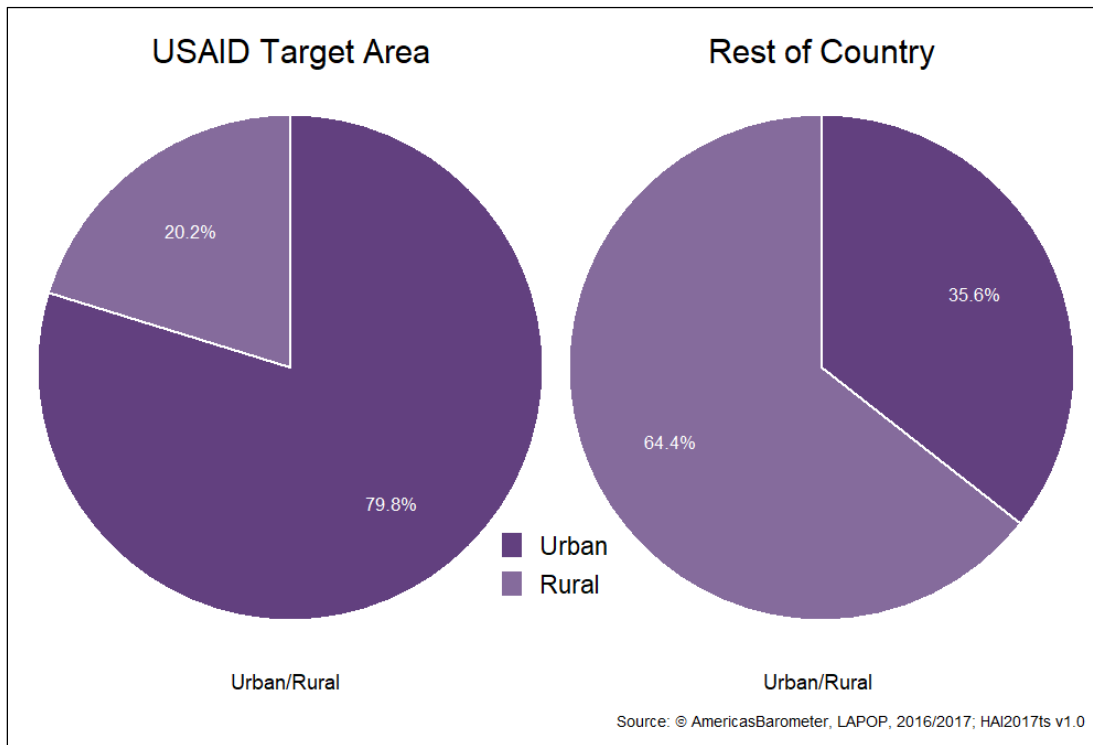


Figure 5.2. Urban/Rural Distribution in USAID Target Area and Rest of the Country, Haiti 2017)

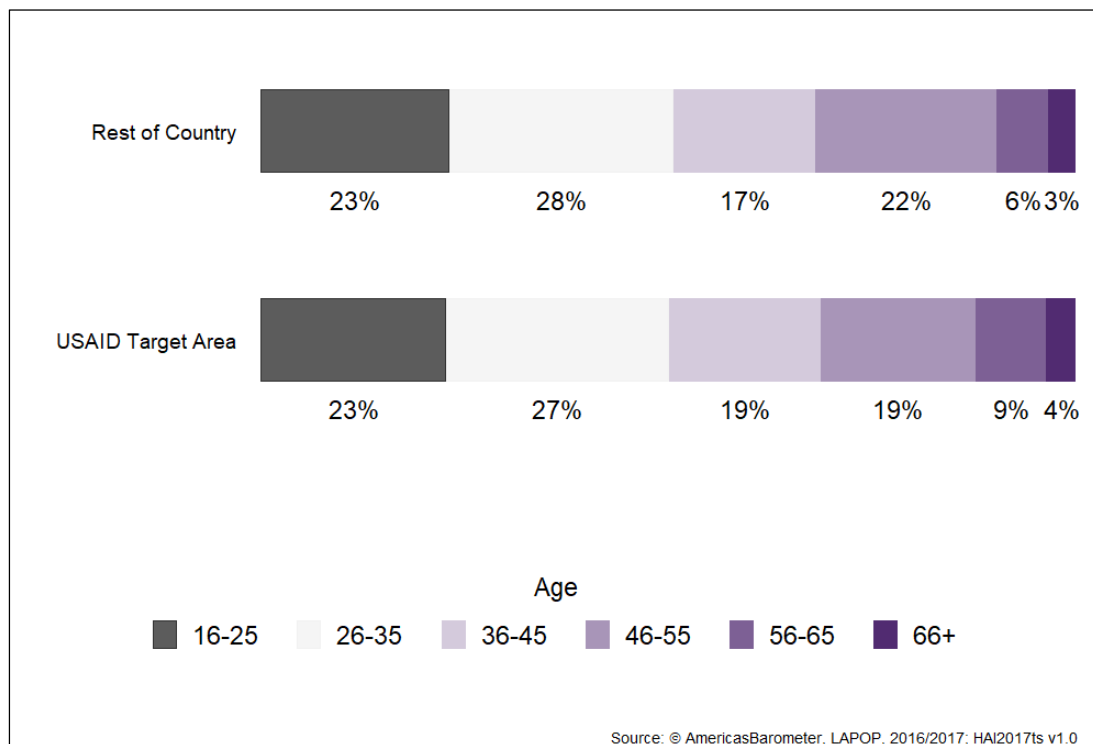


Figure 5.3. Age Distribution in USAID Target Area and Rest of the Country, Haiti 2017

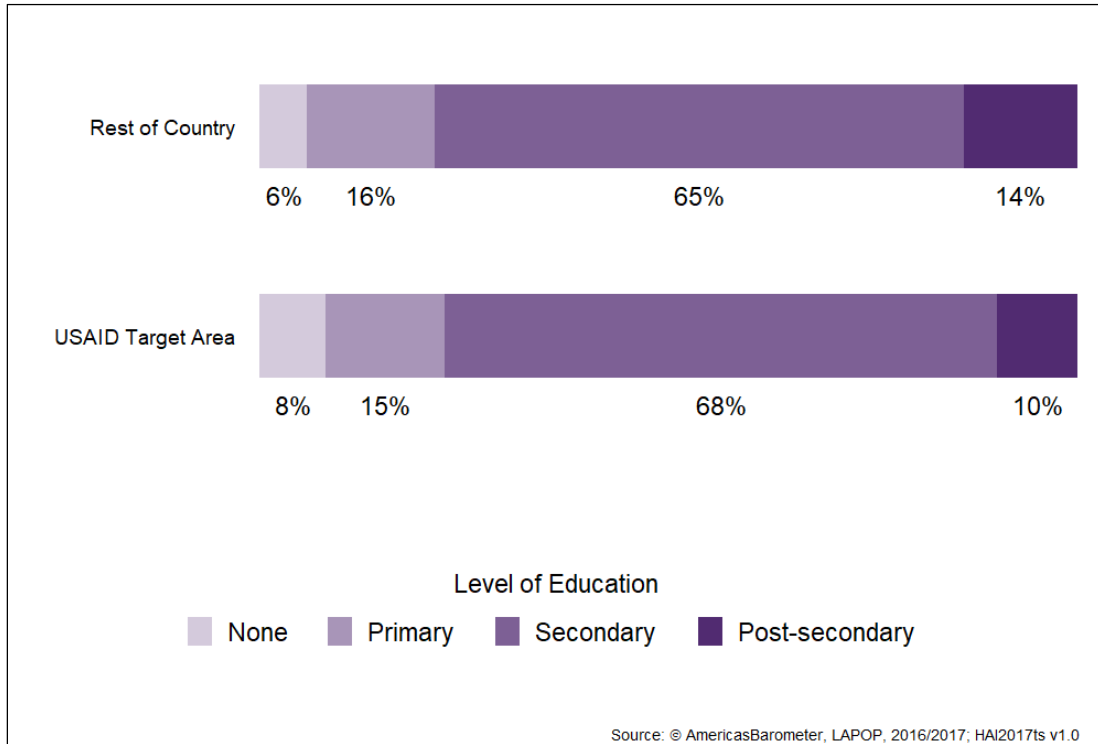


Figure 5.4. Education Distribution in USAID Target Area and Rest of the Country, Haiti 2017

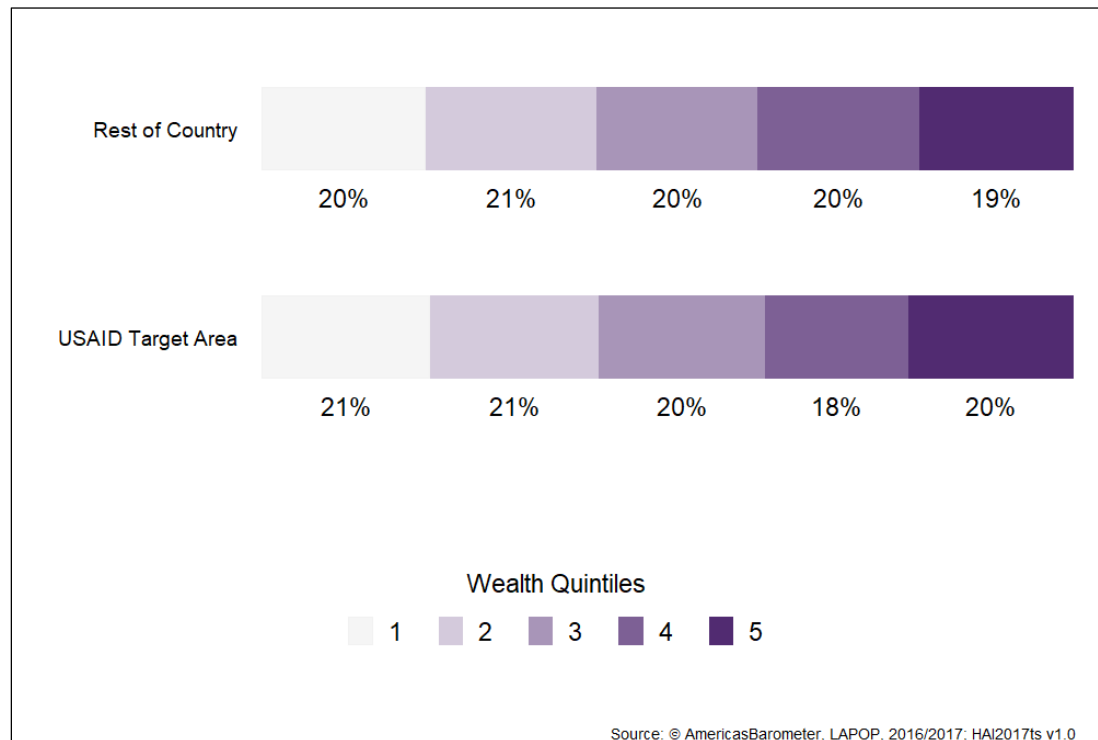


Figure 5.5. Wealth Distribution in USAID Target Area and Rest of the Country, Haiti 2017

IV. Participation in Local Organizations

The AmericasBarometer features a number of questions aimed at identifying the extent of participation of citizens in community organizations such as religious organizations, organizations of parents, women's organizations, and community improvement groups. For each group, respondents were asked how often they attend meetings—once a week, once or twice a month, once or twice a year, or never. Responses are coded so that the graphs display the percentage of respondents that attend meetings at least once a year.

When asked about attendance at meetings of religious organizations, more than half of respondents (57.1%) across Haiti report attending these meetings at least once a year (Figure 5.6).

I am going to read you a list of groups and organizations. Please tell me if you attend meetings of these organizations at least once a week, once or twice a month, once or twice a year, or never. **[Repeat “once a week,” “once or twice a month,” “once or twice a year,” or “never” to help the interviewee]**

CP6. Meetings of any religious organization? Do you attend them...

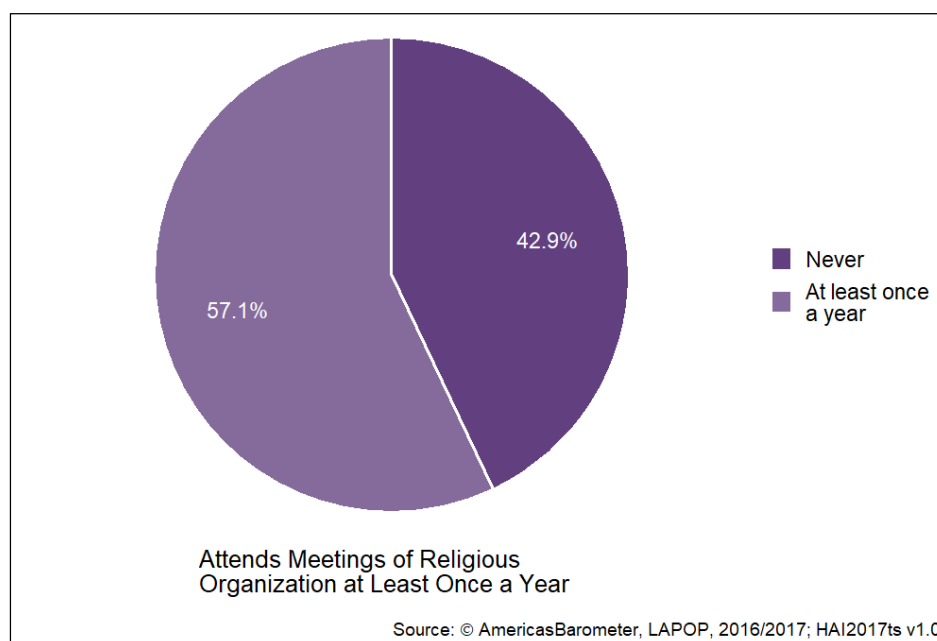


Figure 5.6. Attendance of Meetings of Religious Organizations at Least Once a Year, Haiti 2017

Figure 5.7 shows the distribution of attendance across gender, urban/rural environment, age, education, and wealth. Women and those living in urban areas are significantly more likely to attend meetings of religious organizations than are men and those living in rural areas. Attendance increases with age, though not all age groups are significantly different. Those in the youngest age group (18-25) have only significantly lower attendance than those in the age groups 36 through 65, while the age group 56-65 has significantly higher attendance than all other groups with the exception of the oldest category (66+). The oldest age group is not significantly different from any

other group. Those with no education or only primary education are significantly more likely to attend meetings of religious organization than those with secondary or post-secondary education. There is little variation across wealth quintiles. Only those in the third and fourth quintiles are significantly different from each other.

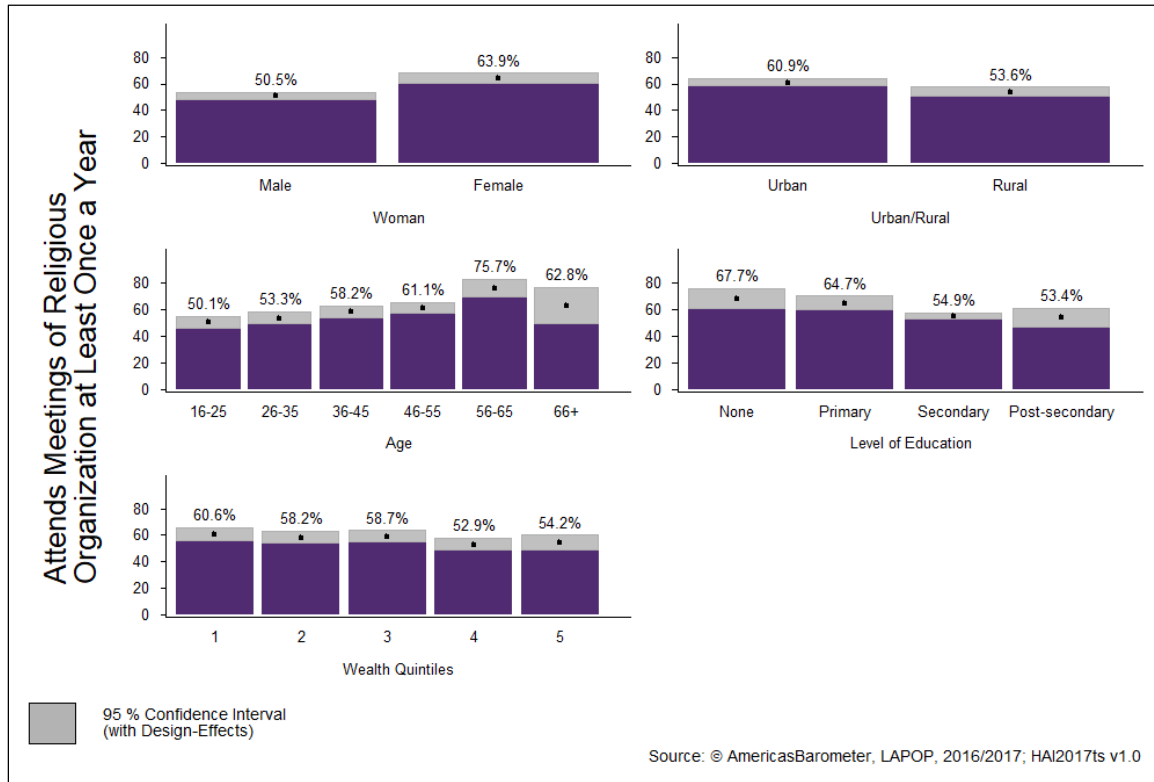


Figure 5.7. Attendance of Meetings of Religious Organizations by Demographic and Socio-Economic Subgroups, Haiti 2017

Focusing on differences in the 2016/17 survey between the USAID target area and the rest of the national sample shows that those living in the USAID target areas are significantly more likely to attend a meeting of a religious organization (see Figure 5.8).

These differences were not clearly established in previous waves of the survey. Figure 5.9 shows that attendance at meetings of religious organizations has declined in each of the years since 2012 in the USAID target area and the rest of the sample. Only in 2016/17 is the difference between the two samples significant. This is due to a more limited drop of attendance (13 percentage points) in 2016/17 in USAID target areas, compared to only a 22 percentage point drop in the rest of the national sample.

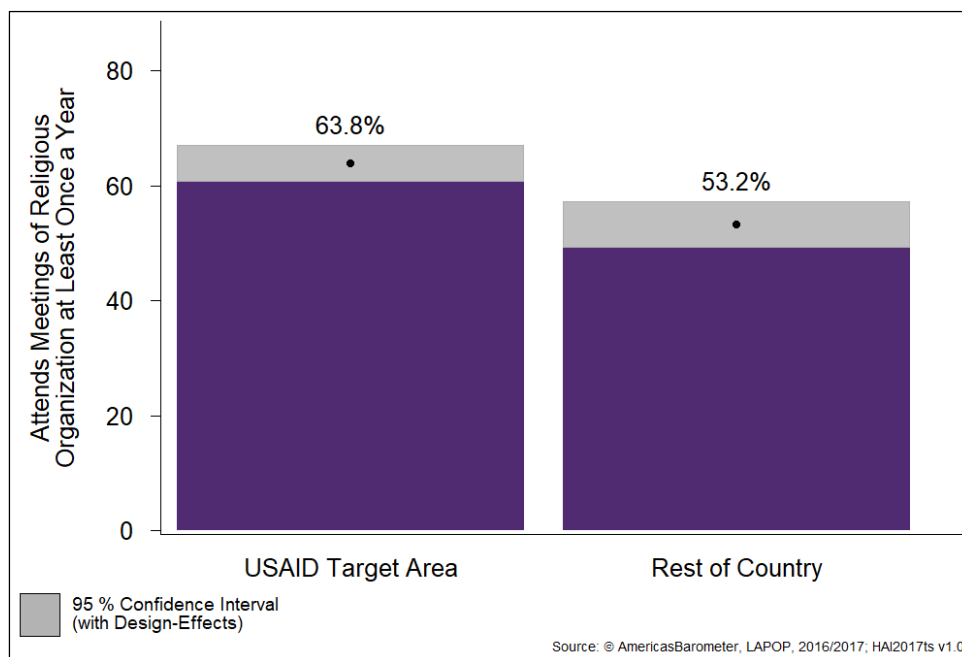


Figure 5.8. Attendance of Meetings of Religious Organizations in USAID Target Areas and Rest of the Country, Haiti 2017

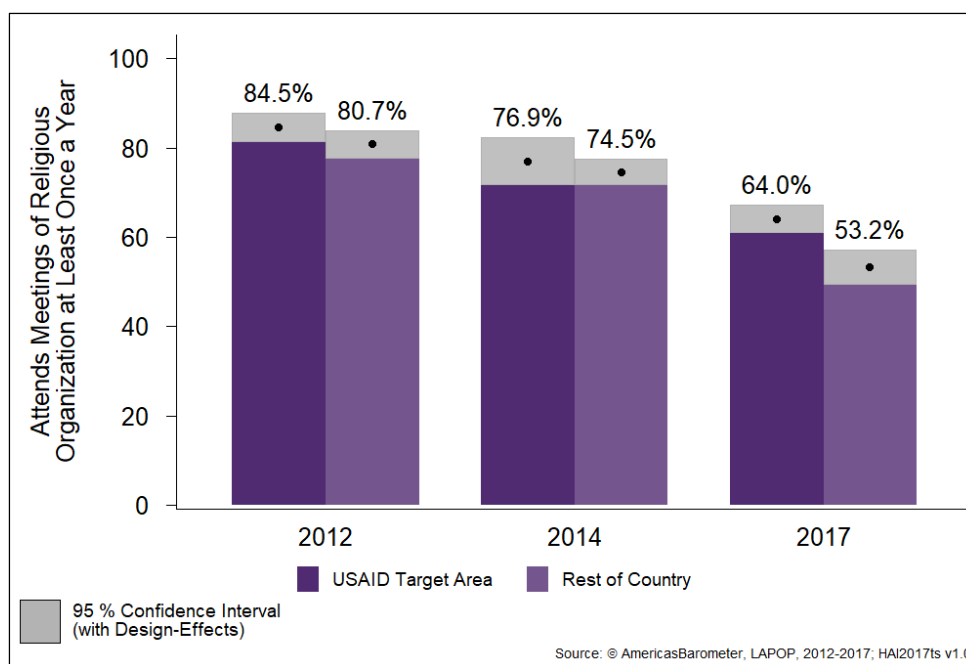


Figure 5.9. Attendance of Meetings of Religious Organizations by USAID Target Areas and Rest of the Country, Haiti 2012-2017

Haitians have a similarly high level of attendance at meetings of parent associations in Haiti. Figure 5.10 shows that more than half of Haitians (58.3%) attend parent associations at least once a year. Attendance is broken down into demographic and socio-economic subgroups in Figure 5.11. Women and those living in urban areas are more likely to attend than men and rural inhabitants. Those in the youngest and oldest cohorts are significantly less likely to attend than those in middle

age range cohorts (36-65)—probably because they are less likely to have children. Those with no education are significantly less likely to attend parent association meetings than those with only primary education, but there are no other differences in attendance among educational groups. There are no differences in attendance among wealth quintiles.

I am going to read you a list of groups and organizations. Please tell me if you attend meetings of these organizations at least once a week, once or twice a month, once or twice a year, or never. **[Repeat “once a week,” “once or twice a month,” “once or twice a year,” or “never” to help the interviewee]**

CP7. Meetings of a parents’ association at school? Do you attend them...

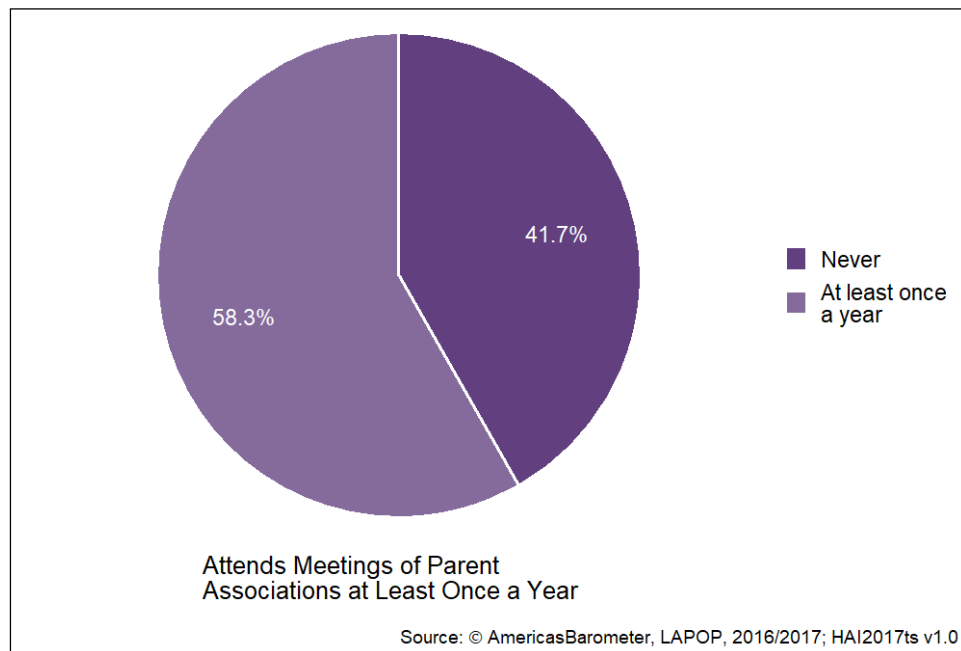


Figure 5.10. Attendance of Meetings of Parent Association at Least Once a Year, Haiti 2017

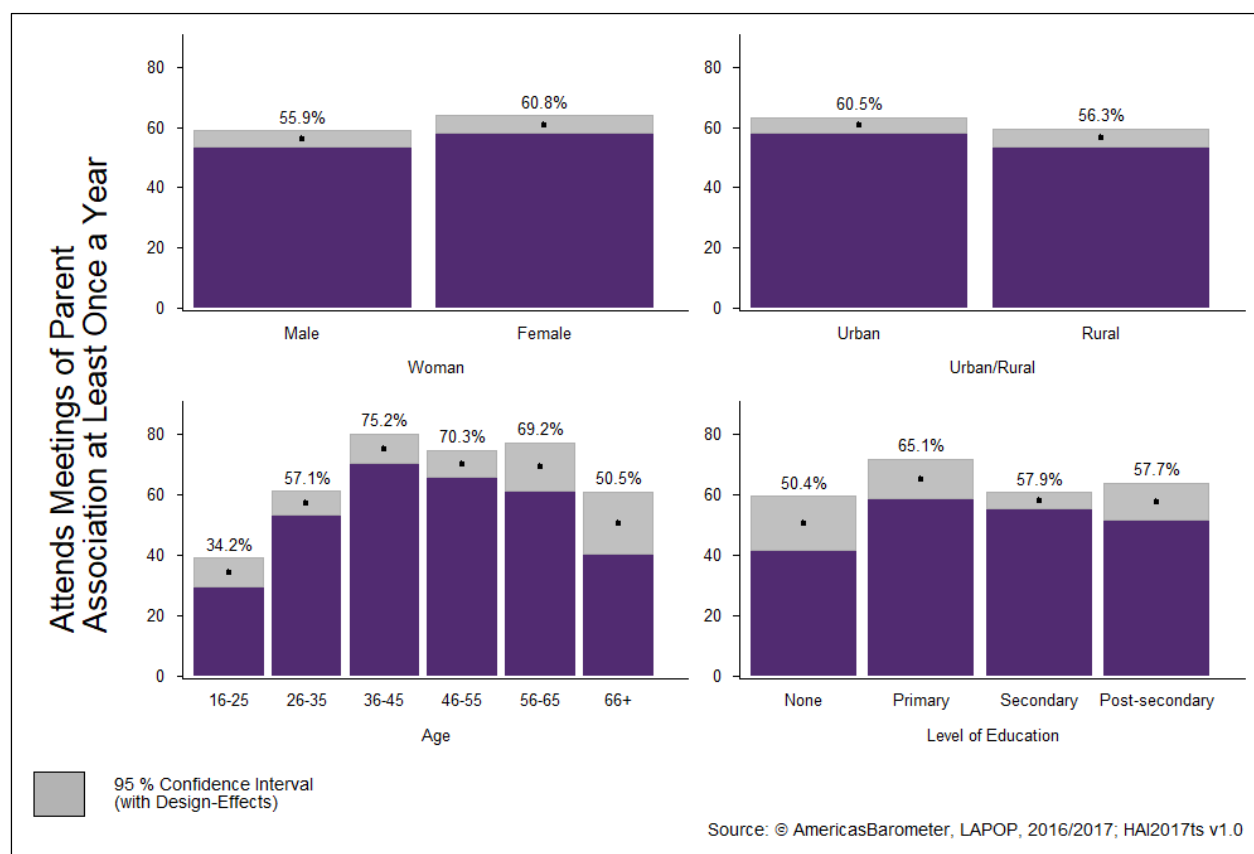


Figure 5.11. Attendance of Meetings of Parent Association by Demographic and Socio-Economic Subgroups, Haiti 2017

Those living in the USAID target areas are significantly more likely to attend parent association meetings than those living in the rest of the country (Figure 5.12). When shown over time in Figure 5.13, we see that reported attendance in the USAID target area was highest in 2012, declined in 2014, and stabilized thereafter. As for the rest of the country, the figure indicates a steady decline in attendance for each wave of the survey. There was no significant difference in levels of attendance between the USAID target area and the rest of the country, except in 2017.

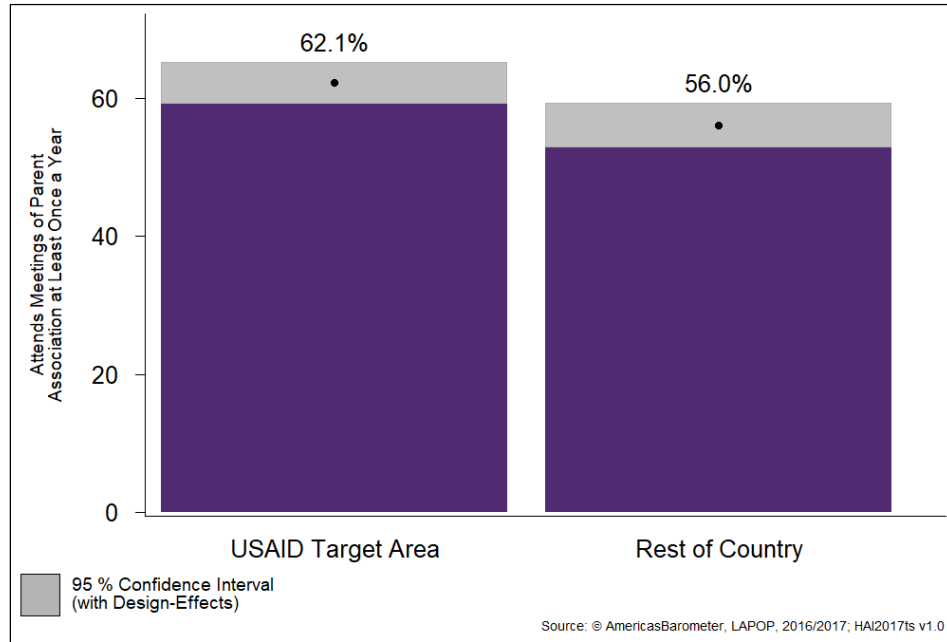


Figure 5.12. Attendance of Meetings of Parent Association in USAID Target Areas and Rest of the Country, Haiti 2017

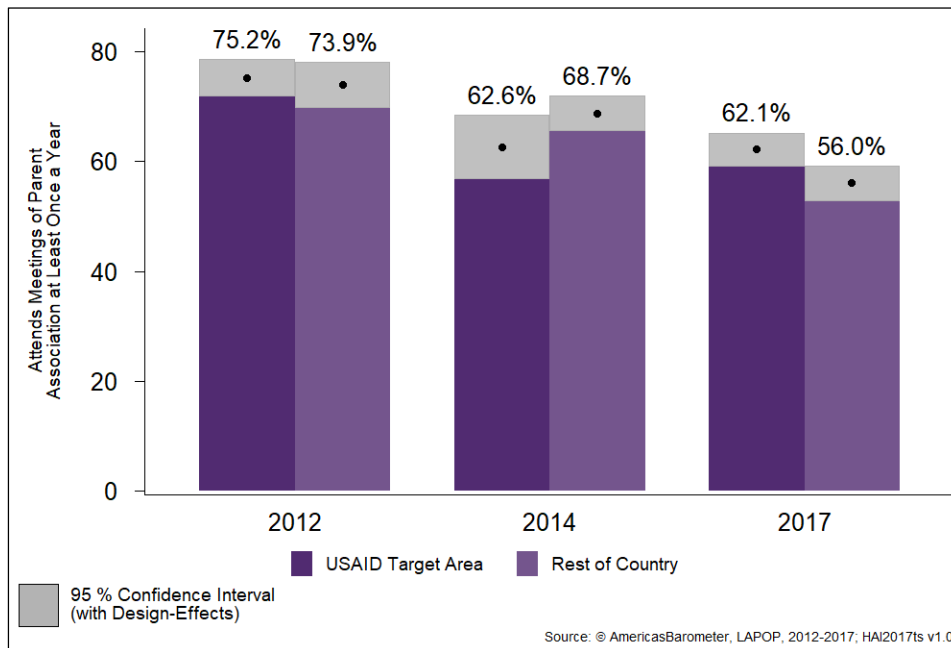


Figure 5.13. Attendance of Meetings of Parent Association in USAID Target Areas and Rest of the Country, Haiti 2012-2017

Attendance at meetings of women's associations is relatively low compared to attendance of meetings of parent associations and religious organizations. Figure 5.14 shows that only 21.2% of Haitian women reported attending such meetings at least once a year. Looking at demographic and economic subgroups (Figure 5.15), there is only small variation in attendance. The youngest age cohort is significantly less likely to attend than other age cohorts. Those with primary-only

education are significantly less likely to attend than those with post-secondary education. And, the second lowest wealth quintile is significantly less likely to attend than are those in quintiles three and four. Urban and rural residents are equally likely to attend women's meetings.

I am going to read you a list of groups and organizations. Please tell me if you attend meetings of these organizations at least once a week, once or twice a month, once or twice a year, or never. **[Repeat "once a week," "once or twice a month," "once or twice a year," or "never" to help the interviewee]**

CP20. [WOMEN ONLY] Meetings of associations or groups of women or homemakers? Do you attend them...

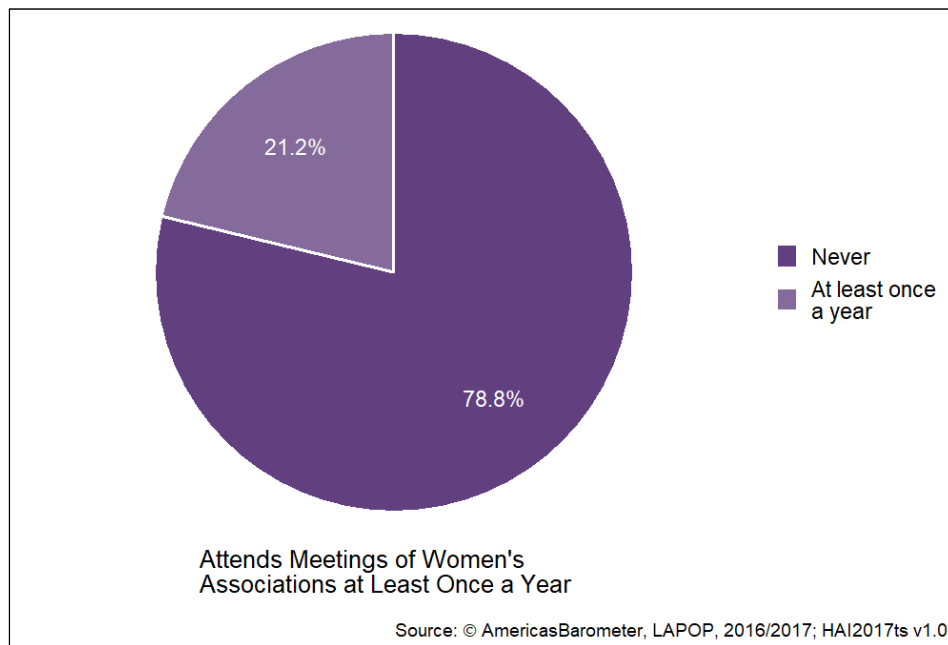


Figure 5.14. Attendance of Meetings of Women's Association at Least Once a Year, Haiti 2017

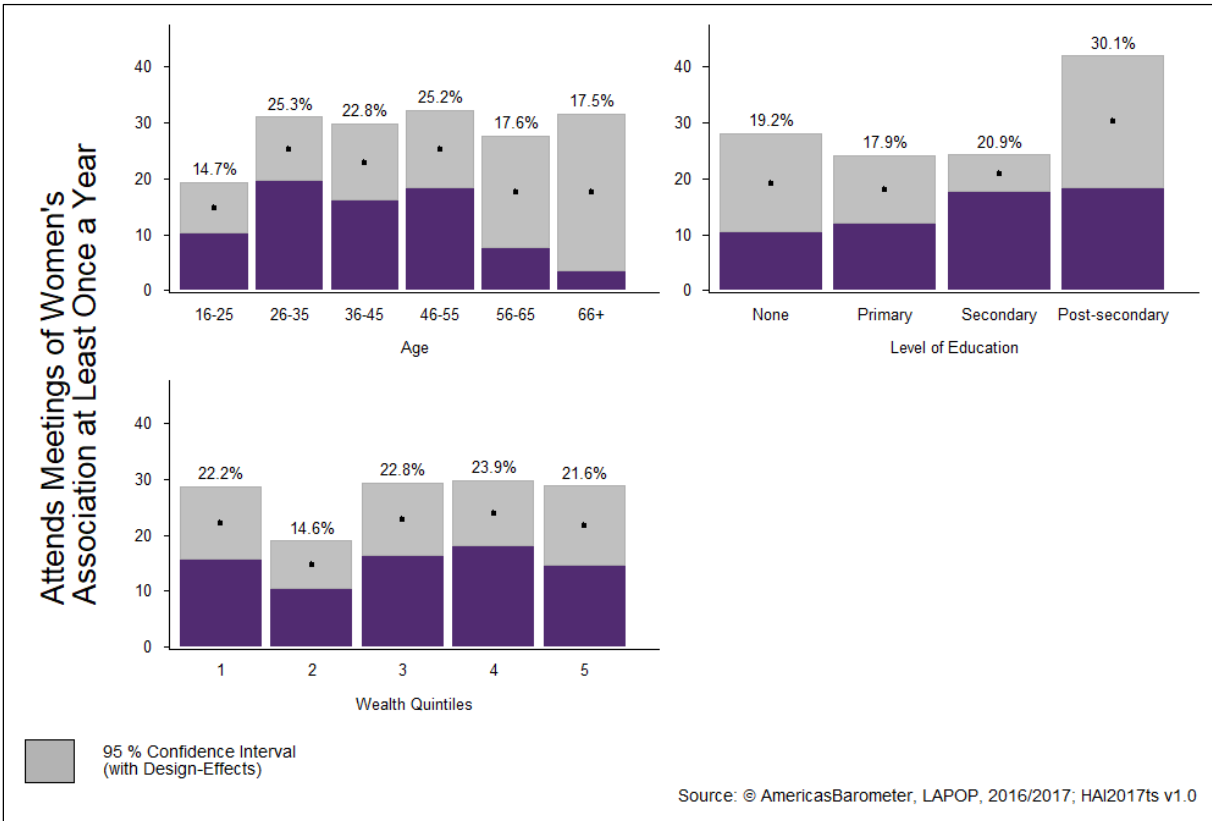


Figure 5.15. Attendance of Meetings of Women's Association by Demographic and Socio-Economic Subgroups, Haiti 2017

Figure 5.16 shows that there is no statistical difference in attendance of women's association meetings between those living the USAID target area and those living in the rest of the country. Attendance in both areas has declined significantly since 2012 when more than 60% of women attended these meetings at least once a year (Figure 5.17). The difference between the two areas is only statistically different in 2014 (attendance in the target area was about 10 percentage points lower). The decline between 2014 and 2017 seems to be more contained in the target areas (11 percentage points) than in the rest of the country (19 percentage points).

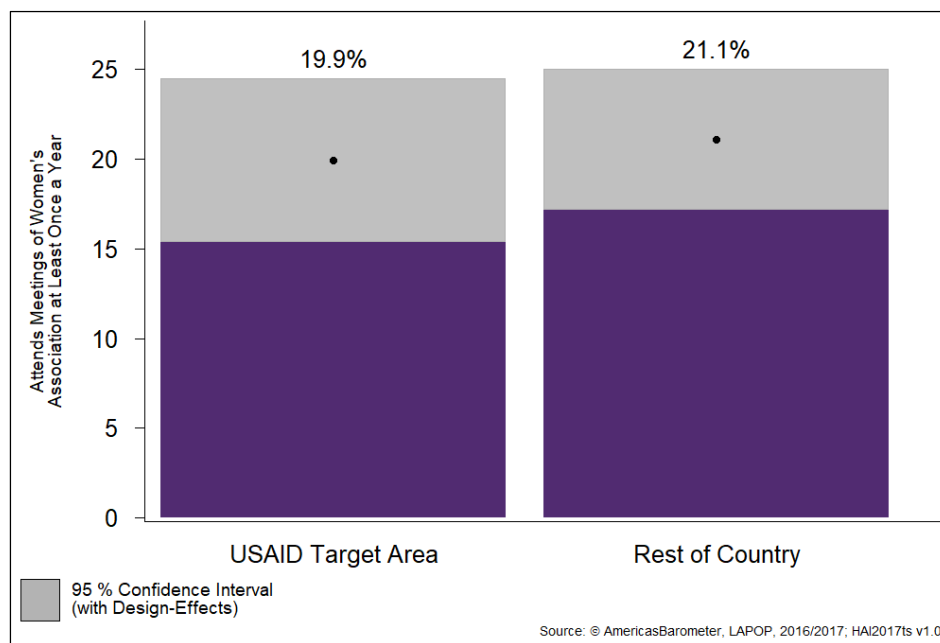


Figure 5.16. Attendance of Meetings of Women's Association in USAID Target Areas and Rest of the Country, Haiti 2017

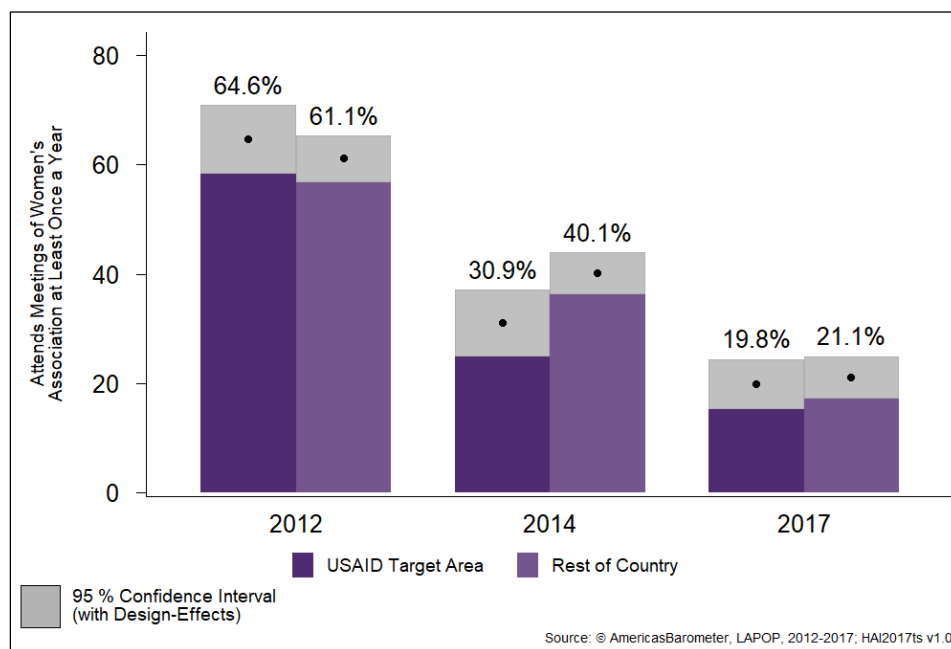


Figure 5.17. Attendance of Meetings of Women's Association in USAID Target Areas and Rest of the Country, Haiti 2012-2017

About a fourth of Haitians reported attending meetings of a community improvement committee or association at least once a year (Figure 5.18). As seen in figure 5.19, there is considerable variation by demographic and socio-economic subgroups. Men and those living in urban areas are significantly more likely to attend such meeting than are women and those living in rural areas.

The “early, middle-age” cohorts (26-45) are more likely to attend these meeting than are either the youngest age group or the 46 and older age cohorts. Those Haitian with post-secondary education are more likely to attend than are those with no education or primary-only education, and those with no education are less likely to attend than those with either secondary or post-secondary education. Those in the second wealth quintile are significantly less likely to attend than those in the higher wealth quintiles.

I am going to read you a list of groups and organizations. Please tell me if you attend meetings of these organizations at least once a week, once or twice a month, once or twice a year, or never. **[Repeat “once a week,” “once or twice a month,” “once or twice a year,” or “never” to help the interviewee]**

CP8. Meetings of a community improvement committee or association? Do you attend them...

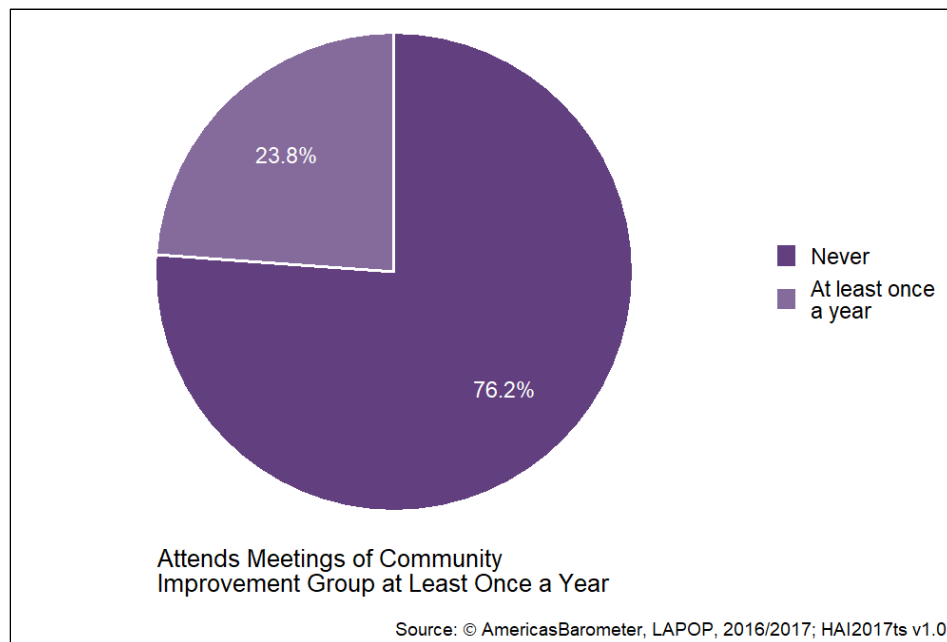


Figure 5.18. Attendance of Community Improvement Group at least Once a Year, Haiti 2017

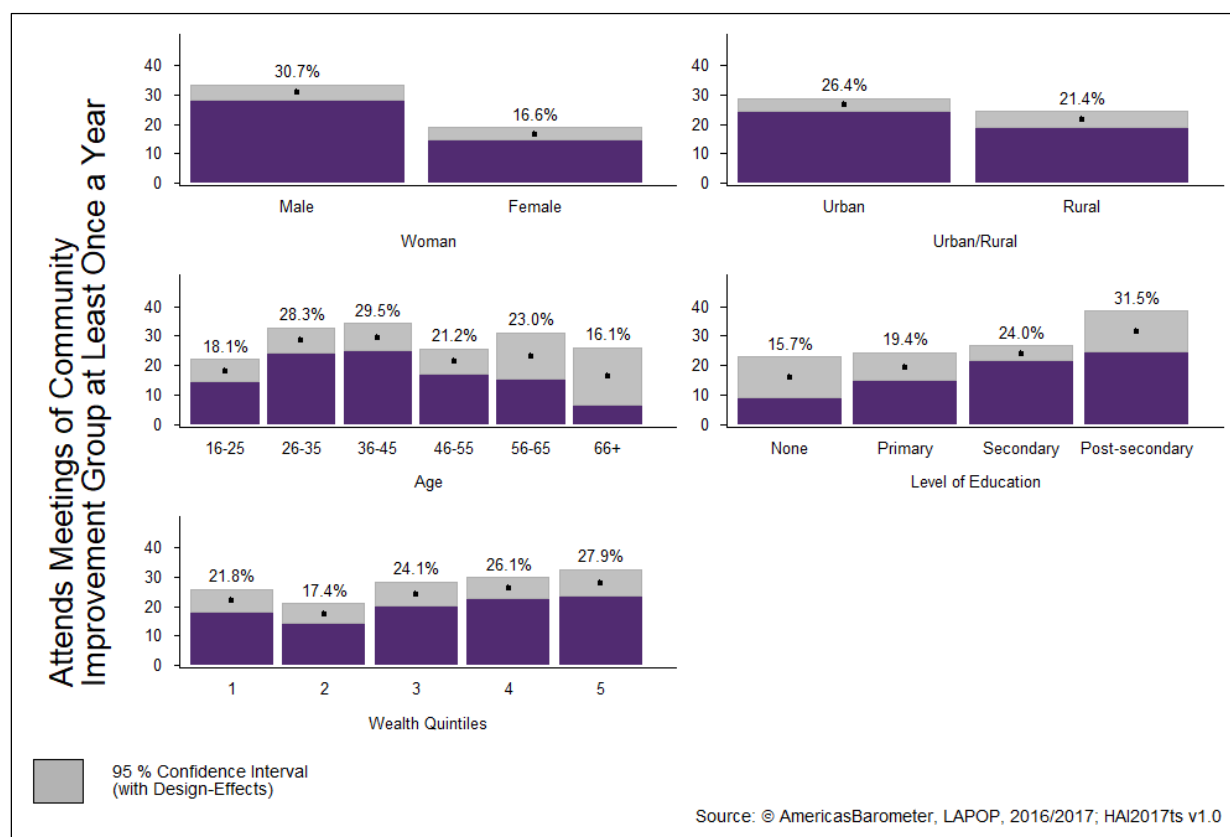


Figure 5.19. Attendance of Community Improvement Group by Demographic and Socio-Economic Subgroups, Haiti 2017

While there is no significant difference in attendance at community improvement group meetings between the USAID target areas and the rest of the country in 2016/17 (Figure 5.20), there have been differences between the two regions over time (Figure 5.21). In 2012, attendance was significantly higher in the USAID target area than in the rest of the country (62.1% and 45.9%, respectively). Attendance in 2014 declined significantly in both areas, but the decline was much smaller in the rest of the country (from 45.9% in 2012 to 36.8% in 2014) resulting in lower reported attendance in the USAID target areas than in the rest of the country. However, in 2016/17, attendance declined further in the rest of the country, but not in target areas.

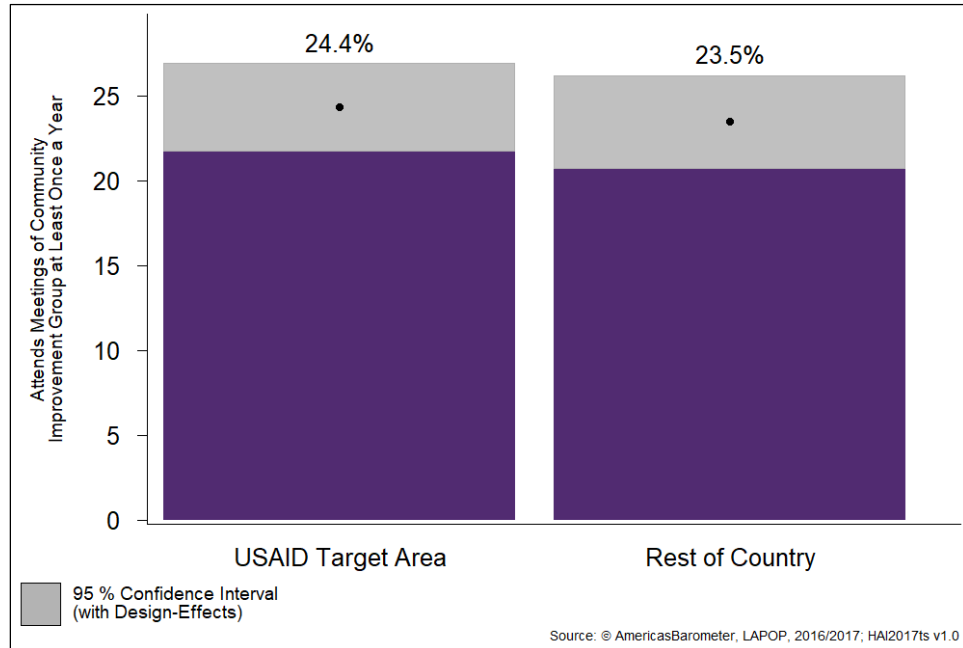


Figure 5.20. Attendance of Community Improvement Group in USAID Target Areas and Rest of the Country, Haiti 2017

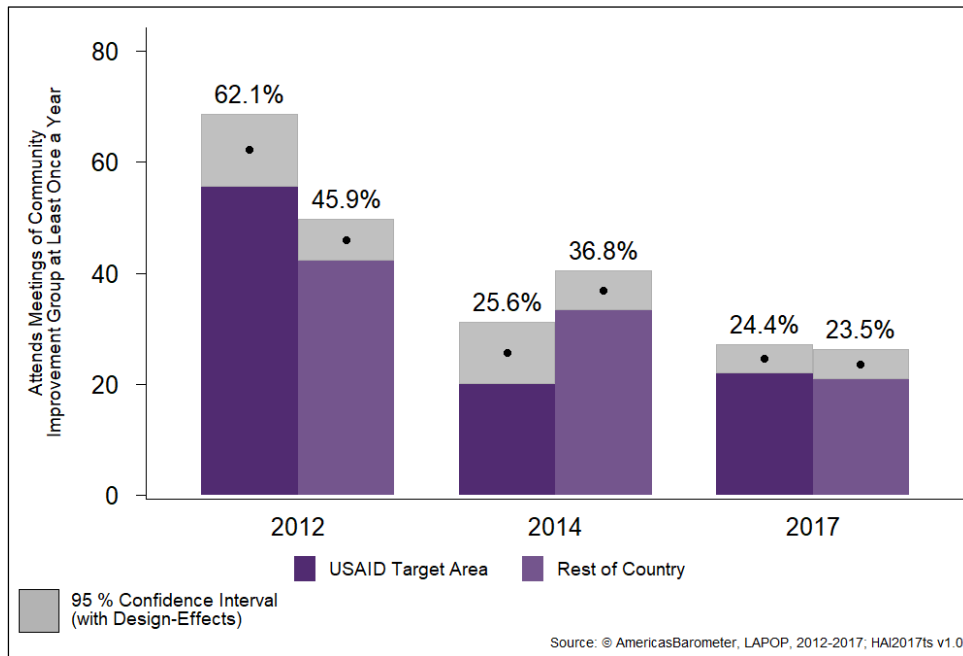


Figure 5.21. Attendance of Community Improvement Group in USAID Target Areas and Rest of the Country, Haiti 2012-2017

In addition to asking about attendance of community improvement group meetings, the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer Haiti survey also explored the ways in which attendees participated in



meetings. Figure 5.22 shows that more than half of attendees participated actively in meetings by making points in the meetings, asking questions, or making suggestions.²

I am going to read you a list of groups and organizations. Please tell me if you attend meetings of these organizations at least once a week, once or twice a month, once or twice a year, or never. **[Repeat “once a week,” “once or twice a month,” “once or twice a year,” or “never” to help the interviewee]**

CP8. Meetings of a community improvement committee or association? Do you attend them...

HAICP8A. And during that meeting, did you...**[Read alternatives (and for electronic devices, mark all that apply)]**

(1) Intervene to make a point

(2) Ask a question

(3) Offer feedback/suggestion

² There was a difference in the way the question was asked to some respondents. For surveys conducted on electronic devices, the interviewers marked more than one form of participation if applicable. For paper questionnaires, only one form of participation was recorded. The figures display the percentage of respondents who selected each option as at least one form of participation in the meeting.

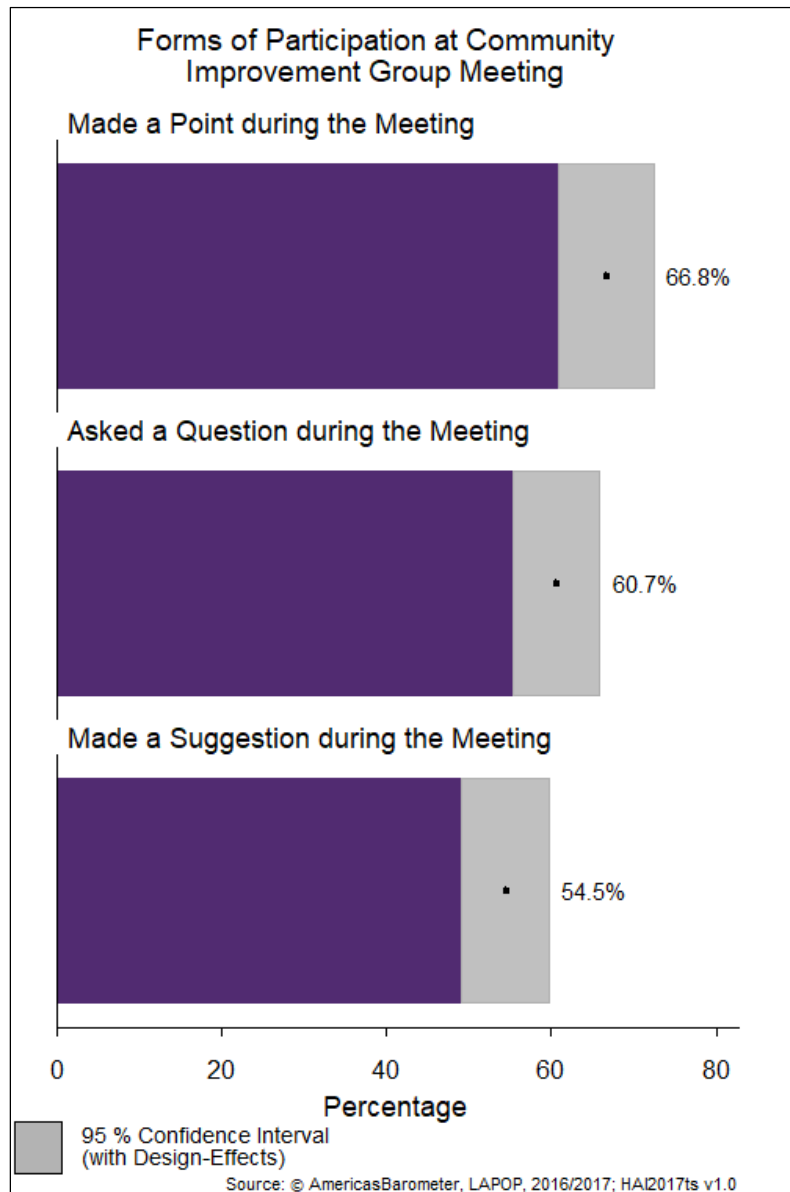


Figure 5.22. Forms of Participation at Community Improvement Group Meetings, Haiti 2017

As part of the series of questions about community improvement meetings, the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer survey in Haiti included a question to assess the extent to which attendance improved community understanding. An overwhelming majority of those who attended said “Yes” (87.5%), indicating that such meetings do improve understanding in the town/county (Figure 5.23). There is no difference in understanding between the USAID and rest of the country.

HAICP8B. And after attending that meeting do you feel you gain a better understanding of your community? (1) Yes (2) No

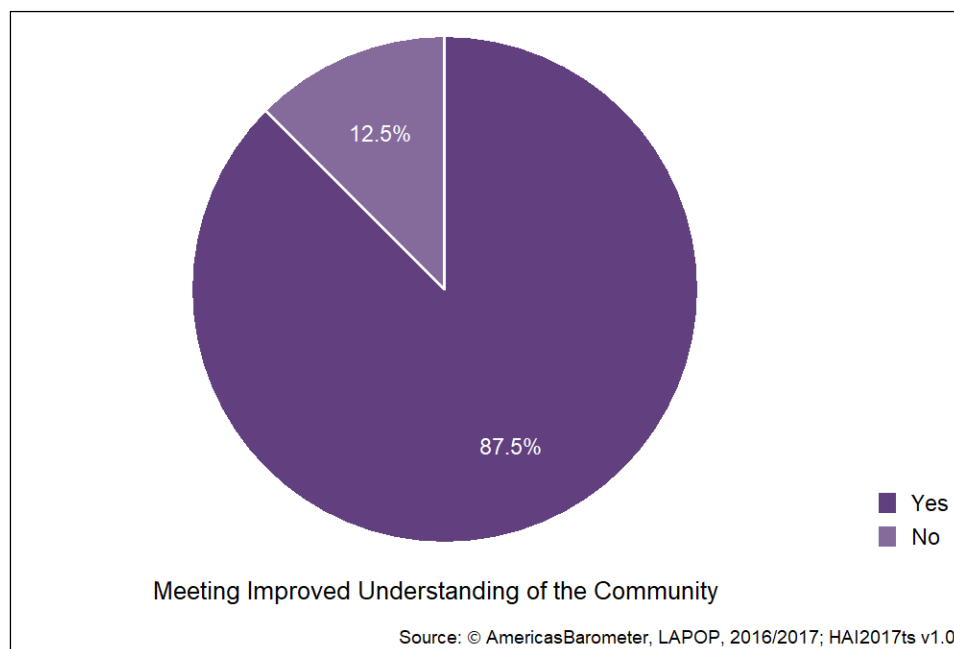


Figure 5.23. Community Improvement Meeting Improved Understanding of the Community, Haiti 2017

V. Participation in Local Government

This section explores the levels of participation of Haitian in local governmental organizations. The AmericasBarometer 2016/17 survey ask respondents if they attended a meeting of the local government in the last 12 months. Figure 5.24 shows that about 13 percent of Haitians attended town meetings, city council meetings, or other such meetings in the past year.

NP1. Have you attended a town meeting, city council meeting or other meeting in the past 12 months?

(1) Yes

(2) No

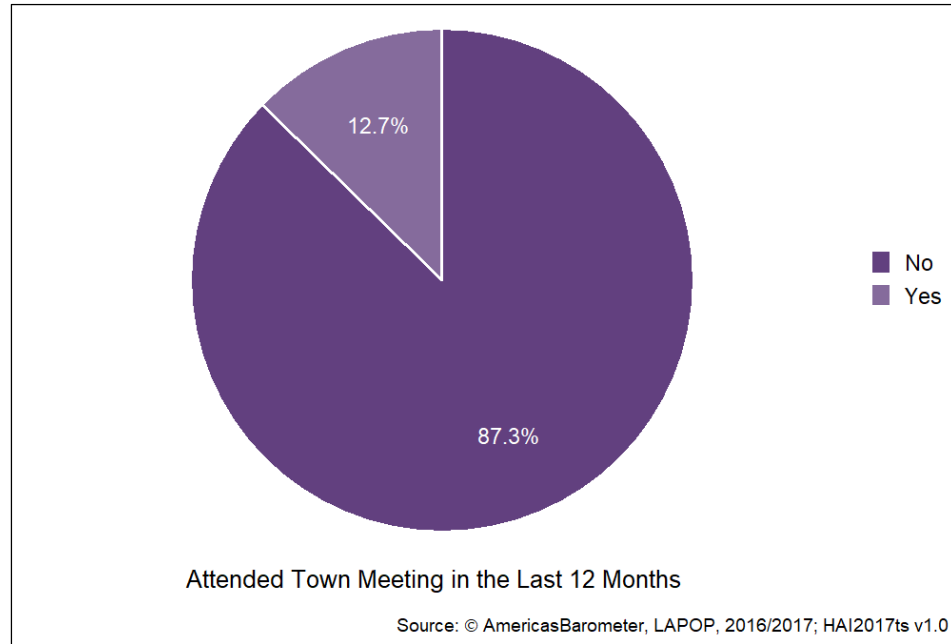


Figure 5.24. Attendance at Town Meeting in the Last 12 Months, Haiti 2017

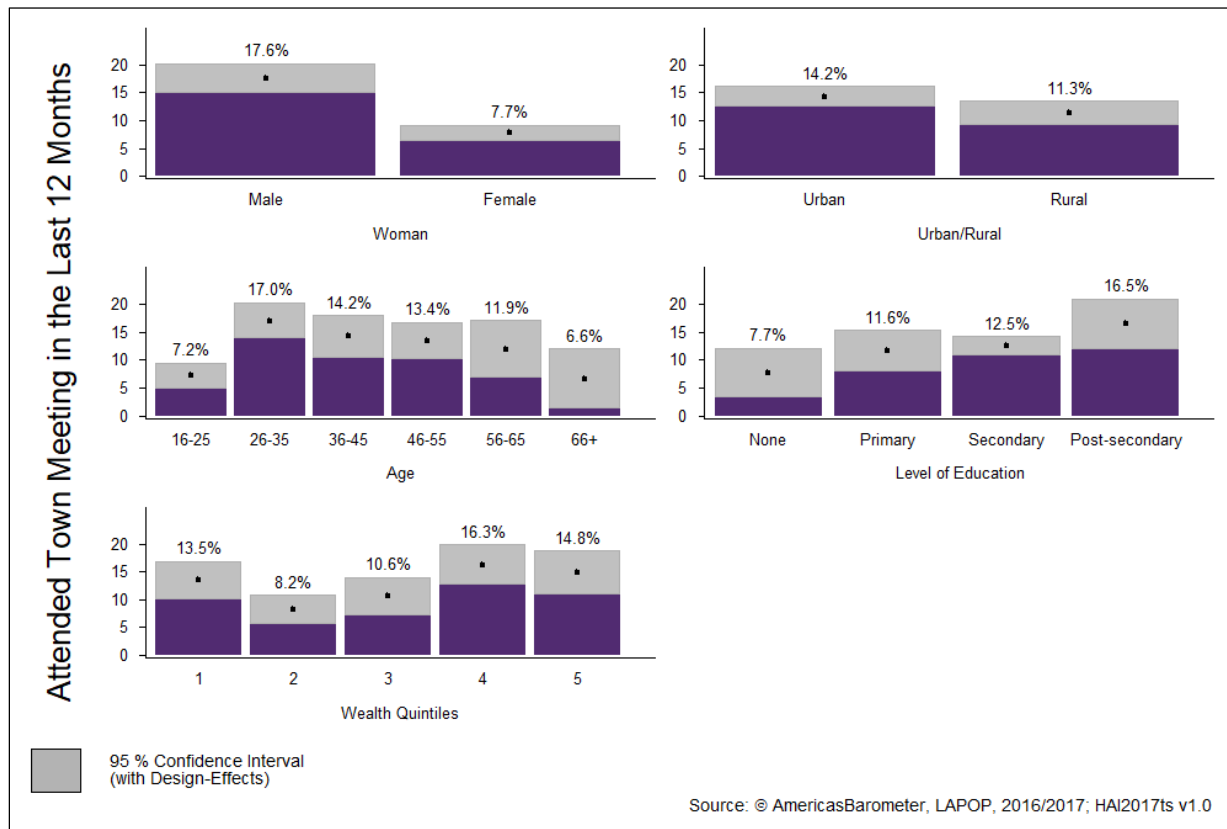


Figure 5.25. Attendance at Town Meeting in the Last 12 Months by Demographic and Socio-Economic Subgroups, Haiti 2017

Examining demographic and socio-economic subgroups (Figure 5.25) we see that men are more than twice as likely to attend such meetings as are women. Those living in urban areas, the youngest and oldest age cohorts, and the second and third wealth quintiles are less likely to attend than those in rural areas, those in the middle age categories, and those in the other wealth quintiles.

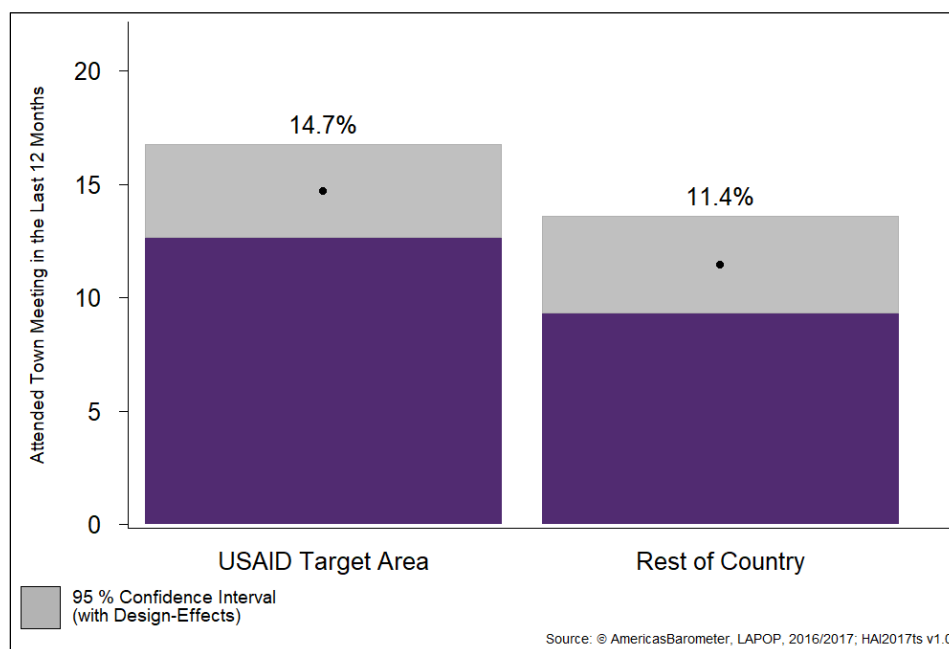


Figure 5.26. Attendance at Town Meeting in the Last 12 Months in USAID Target Areas and Rest of the Country, Haiti 2017

Comparing the USAID target area to the rest of the country, we see in Figure 5.26 that those in the target area are more likely to attend than those in the rest of the country, although the difference is not quite statistically significant. Figure 5.27 shows that reported attendance in both regions was at its highest in 2012 (25.7% in the USAID target area and 20% in the rest of the country). Attendance has declined significantly in subsequent surveys in both areas with attendance in the USAID target area slightly higher than the rest of the country in 2012 and in 2016/17.

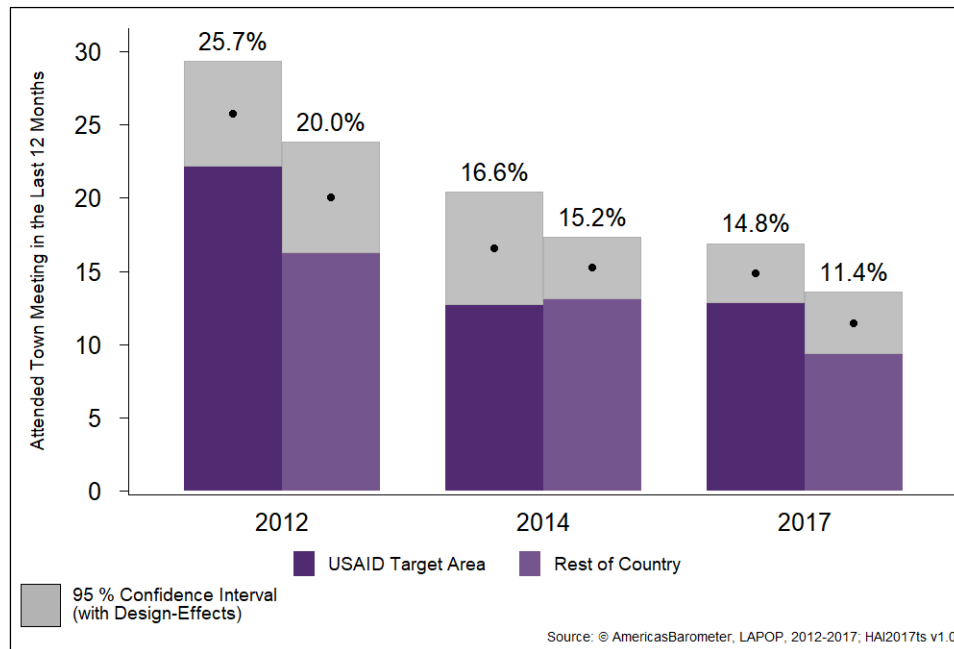


Figure 5.27. Attendance at Town Meeting in the Last 12 Months in USAID Target Areas and Rest of the Country, Haiti 2012-2017

The 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer asked respondents if, in the last 12 months, one or more persons in the household participated in 1) the development of the municipal budget, or 2) the planning of services or projects of the municipal government. Reported household participation was 9.5% for development of the municipal budget and 12.4% for planning of services or projects (Figure 5.28). There are no statistically significant differences in participation rates between the USAID target areas and the rest of the country.

HAINP1A. Is there one or more people in your household who participated in the development of the municipal budget in the last 12 months?

(1) Yes (2) No

HAINP1B. Is there one or more people in your household who participated in the planning of services or projects of the municipal government in the last 12 months?

(1) Yes (2) No

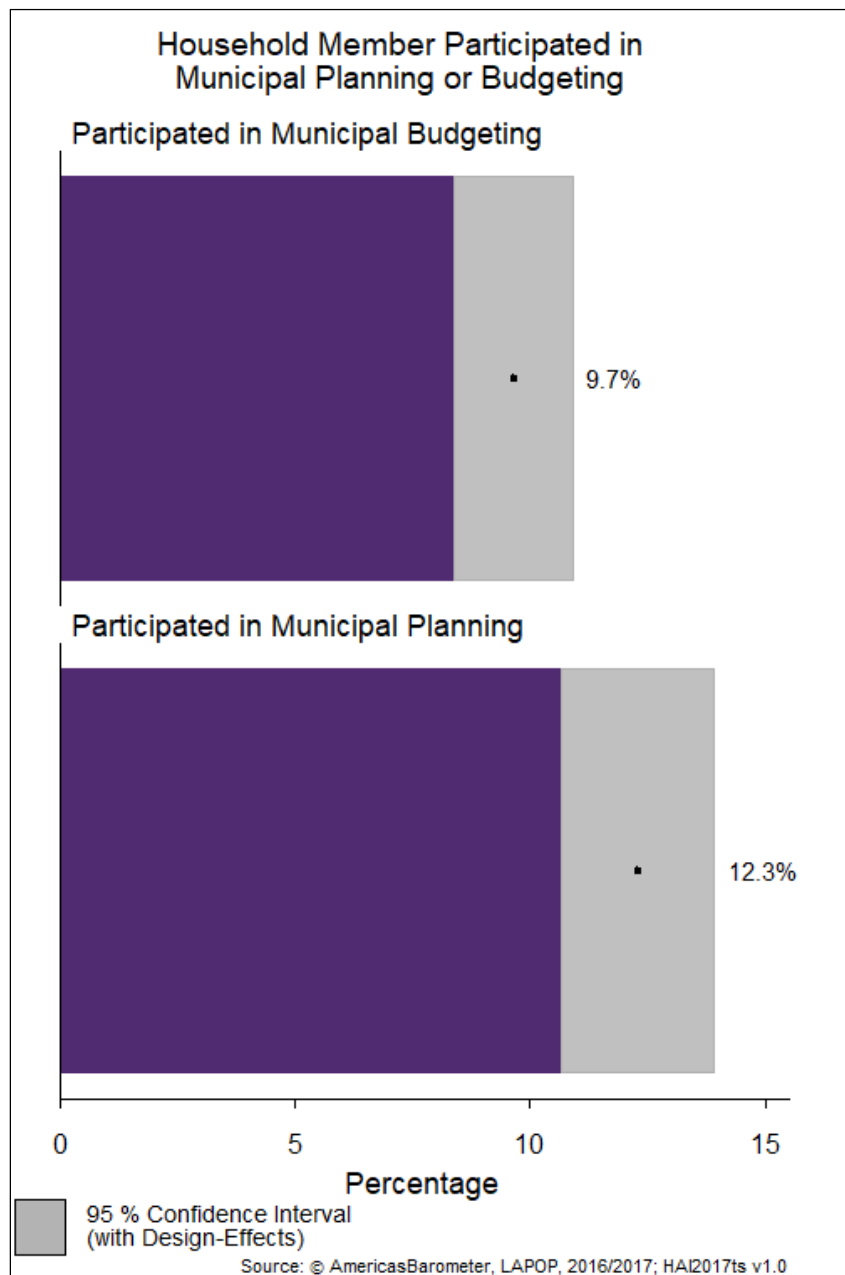


Figure 5.28. Household Participation in Municipal Planning and Budgeting, Haiti 2017

VI. Satisfaction with Services

A series of questions to evaluate the quality of services in Haiti were asked in the 2016/17 round of the AmericasBarometer. These questions were previously asked in the 2012 round of the survey. Figures display the percentage of those responding “Good” or “Very Good” to the following questions:

In general, how would you rate the quality of each of the following services in Haiti? Very good, good, neither good nor bad, bad or very bad?	Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad
HAIACS1. Transportation system. Would you say that the service is... [Read alternatives]	1	2	3	4	5
HAIACS2. Education system. Would you say that the service is... [Read alternatives]	1	2	3	4	5
HAIACS3. Public health Care. Would you say that the service is... [Read alternatives]	1	2	3	4	5
HAIACS4. Electricity. Would you say that the service is... [Read alternatives]	1	2	3	4	5
HAIACS5. Drinkable water. Would you say that the service is... [Read alternatives]	1	2	3	4	5
HAIACS6. Trash disposal. Would you say that the service is... [Read alternatives]	1	2	3	4	5
HAIACS7. Public services provided by the local government in your community. Would you say that the service is... [Read alternatives]	1	2	3	4	5

The results in Figure 5.29 show fairly consistent patterns of responses across time and across the USAID target areas and the rest of the country. Evaluations of the quality of the transportation system declined significantly in the USAID target areas and the rest of the country between 2012 and 2016/17. The differences between the two areas are not statistically different. We see an identical pattern for evaluations of the quality of the electricity—declining evaluations in both areas, but no significant differences between the two areas. Similarly, the evaluations of the educational system declined in the USAID target areas, but no significant decline in the rest of the country. There were no differences in the USAID target areas and the rest of the country.

There are no differences in perceptions of quality of public health care either across time or between areas or any statistically significant difference between the USAID areas and the rest of the country for those two years.

Perceptions of the quality of drinking water improved significantly between 2012 and 2016/17 in both the USAID target areas and the rest of the country (but no difference between the two areas in either year). There were no significant differences in perceptions of quality of trash disposal or quality of electricity over time or across regions, nor was there a difference between USAID target areas in general public services (only asked in 2016.17).

Although the reported differences illustrated in Figure 5.29 do not reach conventional levels of statistical significance, it is worth noting that the evaluations are consistently higher in target areas in every domain, but one, namely the quality of electricity. This is an improvement over the 2012 wave, in which target areas had lower evaluations in two domains, the quality of electricity and the quality of public health care.

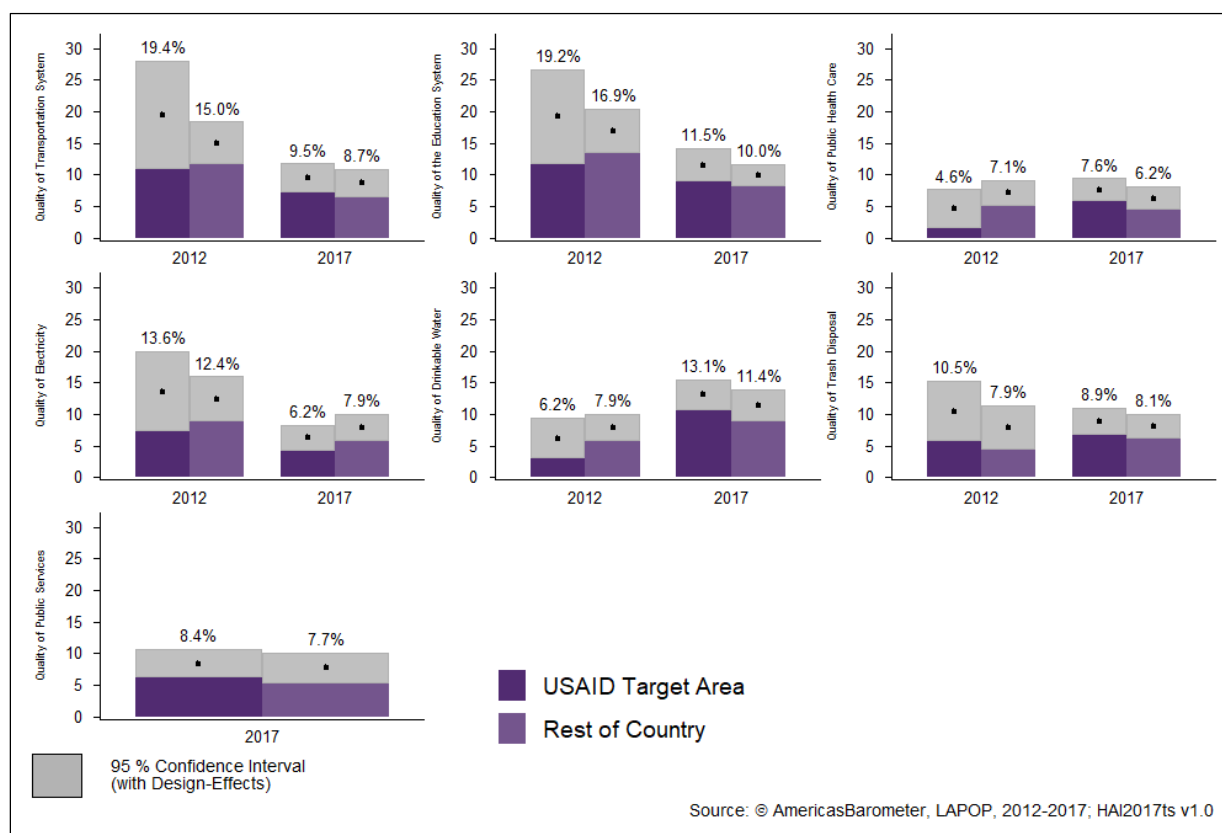


Figure 5.29. Evaluations of Quality of Services, Haiti 2012 and 2017

Further, the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer included three questions assessing satisfaction with local services— specifically, roads, public schools and public medical services.

And thinking about this city/area where you live...

SD2NEW2. Are you very satisfied, satisfied, **dissatisfied**, or very **dissatisfied** with the condition of the streets, roads, and highways?

- (1) Very satisfied (2) Satisfied
(3) Dissatisfied (4) Very dissatisfied
(999999) Inapplicable (Does not use) **[DON'T READ]**

SD3NEW2. And with the quality of public schools? Are you... **[Read alternatives]**

- (1) Very satisfied (2) Satisfied
(3) Dissatisfied (4) Very dissatisfied
(999999) Inapplicable (Does not use) **[DON'T READ]**

SD6NEW2. And with the quality of public medical and health services? Are you...**[Read alternatives]**

- (1) Very satisfied (2) Satisfied
(3) Dissatisfied (4) Very dissatisfied
(999999) Inapplicable (Does not use) **[DON'T READ]**

Figure 5.30 shows the percentage of respondents that are “Satisfied” or “Very Satisfied” with each of the services. About one-third of respondents are satisfied with local roads. Twenty-seven

percent are satisfied with local public schools, and less than one-in-five respondents report being satisfied with public health services.

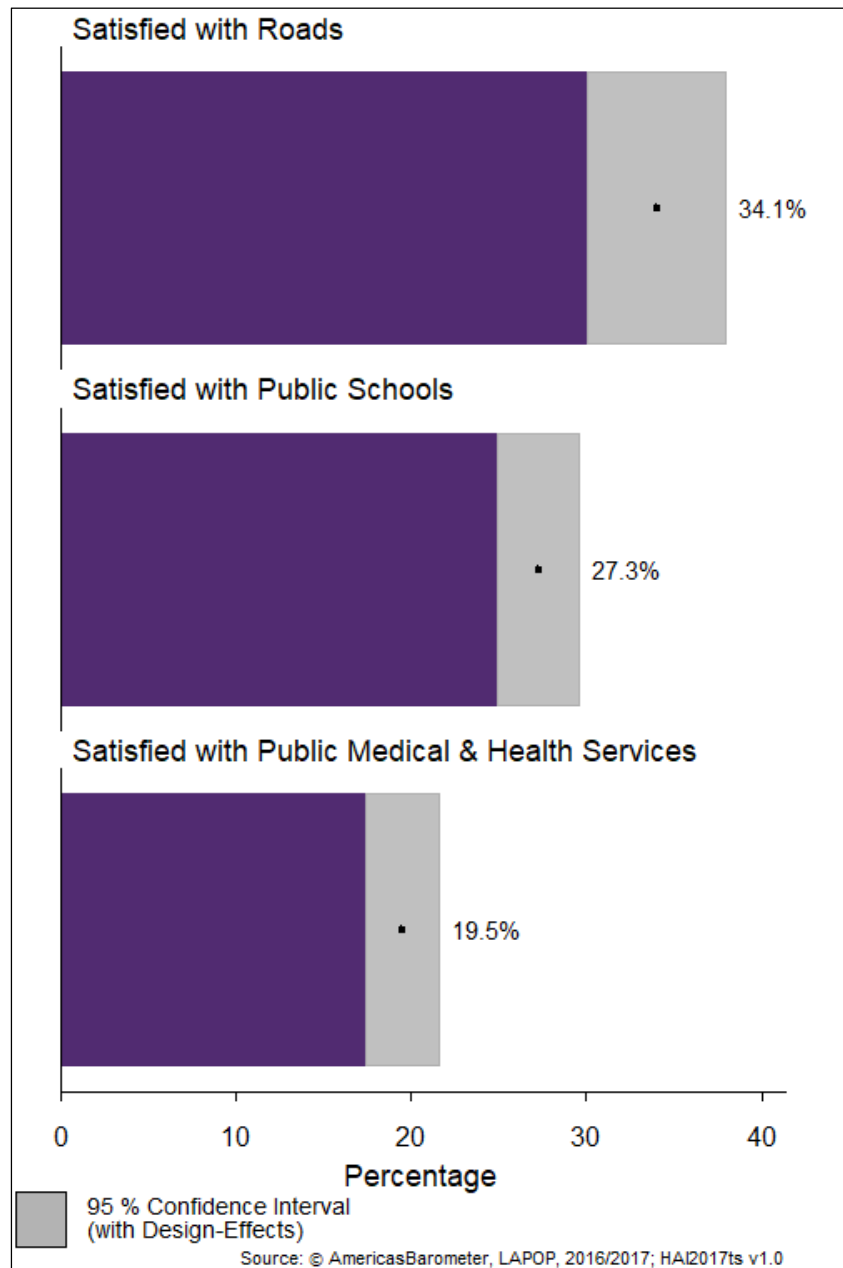


Figure 5.30. Satisfaction with Services, Haiti 2017

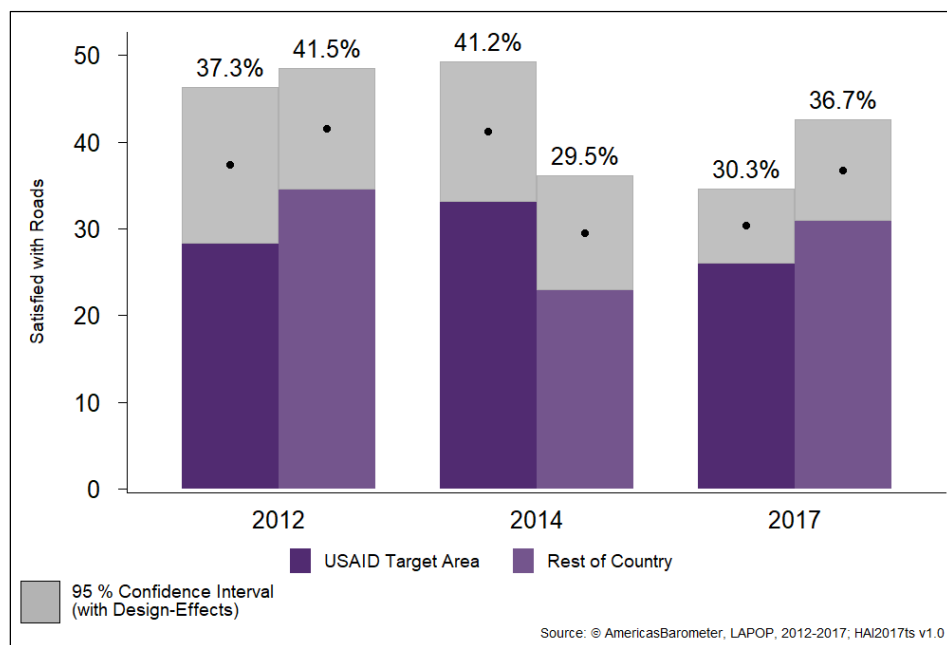


Figure 5.31. Satisfaction with Roads, Haiti 2012-2017

Figure 5.31 compares satisfaction with roads in the USAID target area with the rest of the country over time. Satisfaction with roads declined in target areas between 2014 and 2016/17 (from 41.2% to 30.3%). A similar decline occurred the rest of the country between 2012 and 2014 (from 41.5% to 29.5%). Satisfaction was lower in target areas in 2012 and 2014, but significantly higher in 2016/17.

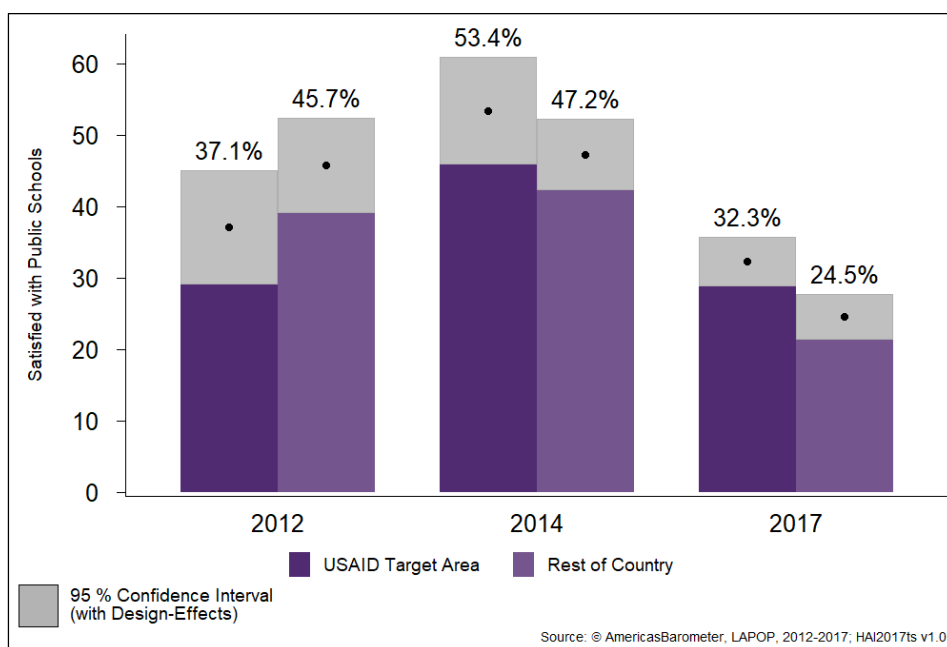


Figure 5.32. Satisfaction with Public Schools, Haiti 2012-2017

Figure 5.32 shows the change in satisfaction with public education over time in the USAID target area and the rest of the country. Overall, satisfaction was lower in 2017 than in either of the previous rounds of the survey. Satisfaction with public schools was at its highest level in 2014. There was no statistically significant difference between the rest of the country and the USAID region except in 2016/17, in which satisfaction with public schools appears to be significantly higher in target areas.

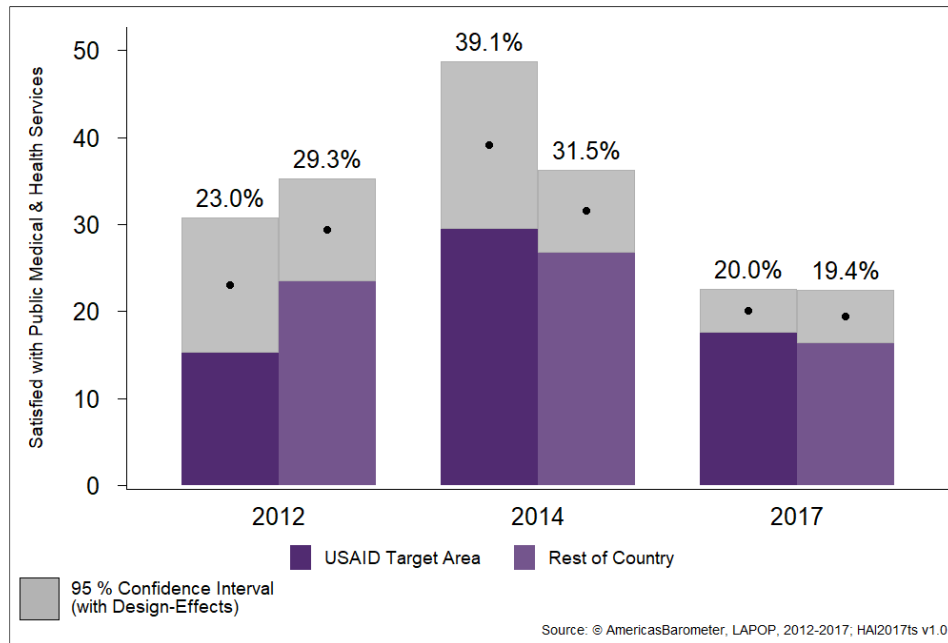


Figure 5.33. Satisfaction with Health Services, Haiti 2012-2017

Figure 5.33 shows that for satisfaction with health services in Haiti, there are no significant differences between the USAID target areas and the rest of the country in any of the survey waves. The observed pattern is similar to the one noted in the previous graph. Satisfaction with health services was at its highest in 2014 and at its lowest in 2016/17.

VII. Enforcement of Local Regulations

The 2016/17 AmericasBarometer survey of Haiti asked a series of question about whether respondents were aware of building codes or land use regulation in the area, and whether those codes/regulations were applied.

CCQ1. According to what you know or have heard, are there construction codes/norms/regulations in your city/area?

(1) Yes **[Continue]**

(2) No **[Skip to CCQ3]**

CCQ2. And also according to what you have seen or heard, would you say those codes/norms/regulations are applied? **[Read alternatives]**

- (1) Always
- (2) Almost always
- (3) Sometimes
- (4) Rarely
- (5) Never

CCQ3. Are there codes/norms/regulations that regulate the use of the soil or the land in this city/area where you live?

- (1) Yes **[Continue]**
- (2) No **[Skip to WF1]**

CCQ4. And also according to what you have seen and heard, would you say those codes/norms/regulations are applied **[Read alternatives]**

- (1) Always
- (2) Almost always
- (3) Sometimes
- (4) Rarely
- (5) Never

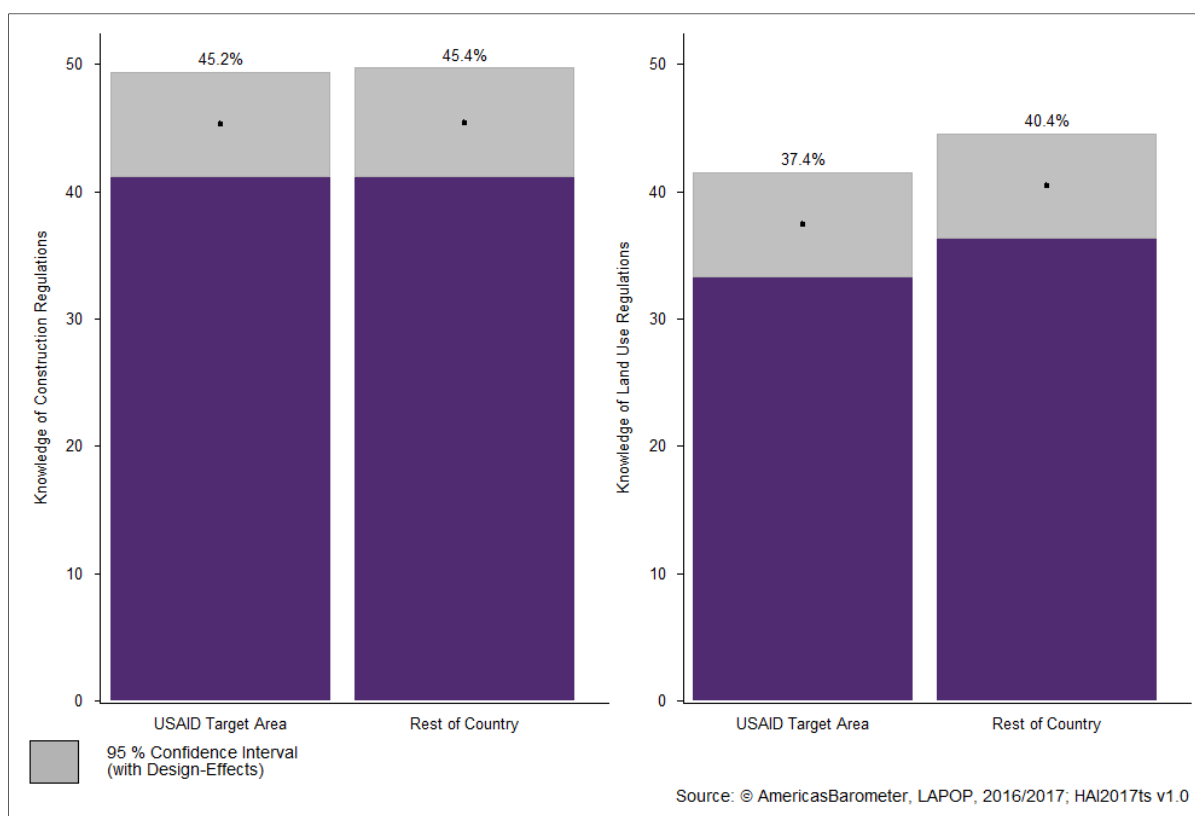


Figure 5.34. Awareness of Building Codes and Land Use Regulations, Haiti 2017

Figure 5.34 shows that about 45% of respondents in the USAID target area and the rest of the country are aware of building codes that regulate construction in the area. A slightly smaller

number declare being aware of land use regulation in the target area (37.4% in USAID areas and 40.4% in the rest of the country). There are no statistical differences between the USAID target area and the rest of the country for awareness of these codes/regulation. However, as seen in Figure 5.35, there are significant differences in the extent to which people in these areas believe that building codes and land use regulations are being applied. About one out of five individuals (20.6 % and 22.4 %) in USAID target areas believe that these regulations are being applied “Always” or “Almost Always”, whereas less than 13% of respondents in the rest of the country believe these are being applied “Always” or “Almost Always”.

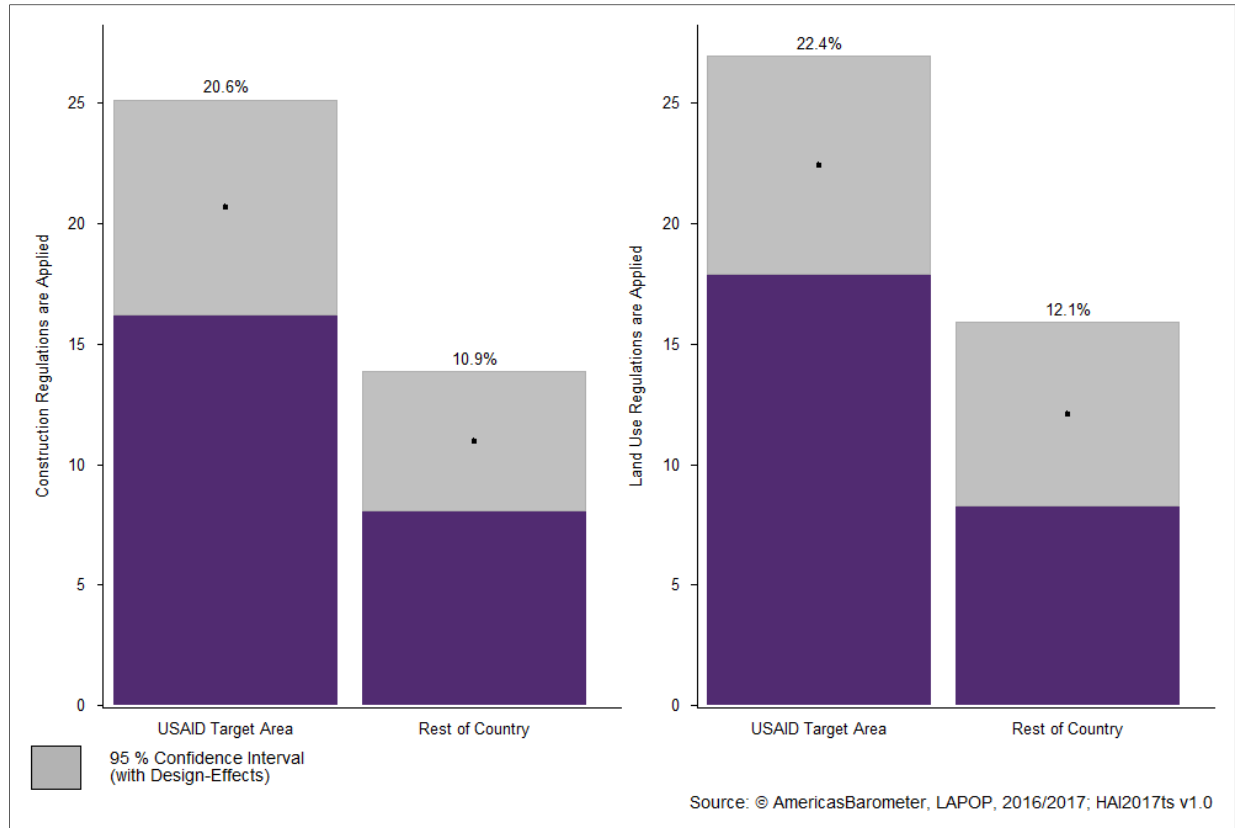


Figure 5.35. Application of Building Codes and Land Use Regulations, Haiti 2017

VIII. Taxes, Trust, and Satisfaction with Democracy

The 2016/17 wave of the AmericasBarometer also included questions about trust in the governing authorities and in democracy in general.

HAITAX1. Homeowners are required to pay local property tax. To what extent do you think that paying taxes improves the quality of services provided by the locality? **[Read alternatives]**

(1) A lot (2) Some (3) Little (4) None

PN4. In general, would you say that you are very satisfied, satisfied, **dissatisfied** or very **dissatisfied** with the way democracy works in Haiti?

(1) Very satisfied (2) Satisfied (3) Dissatisfied (4) Very dissatisfied

B32. To what extent do you trust the local or municipal government?

Figure 5.36 shows that Haitians living in the target areas are more likely to believe that paying local taxes makes a difference in the quality of services provided locally. 43.1 % of them agree with the statement in target areas, compared to 37,9 % in the rest of the country. Haitians living in target areas also display higher levels of trust in government (35.2 % versus 31.4 %) and overall satisfaction with democracy (25.2 % versus 23.7 %). These differences do not quite reach conventional levels of statistical significance, but all point in the same direction.

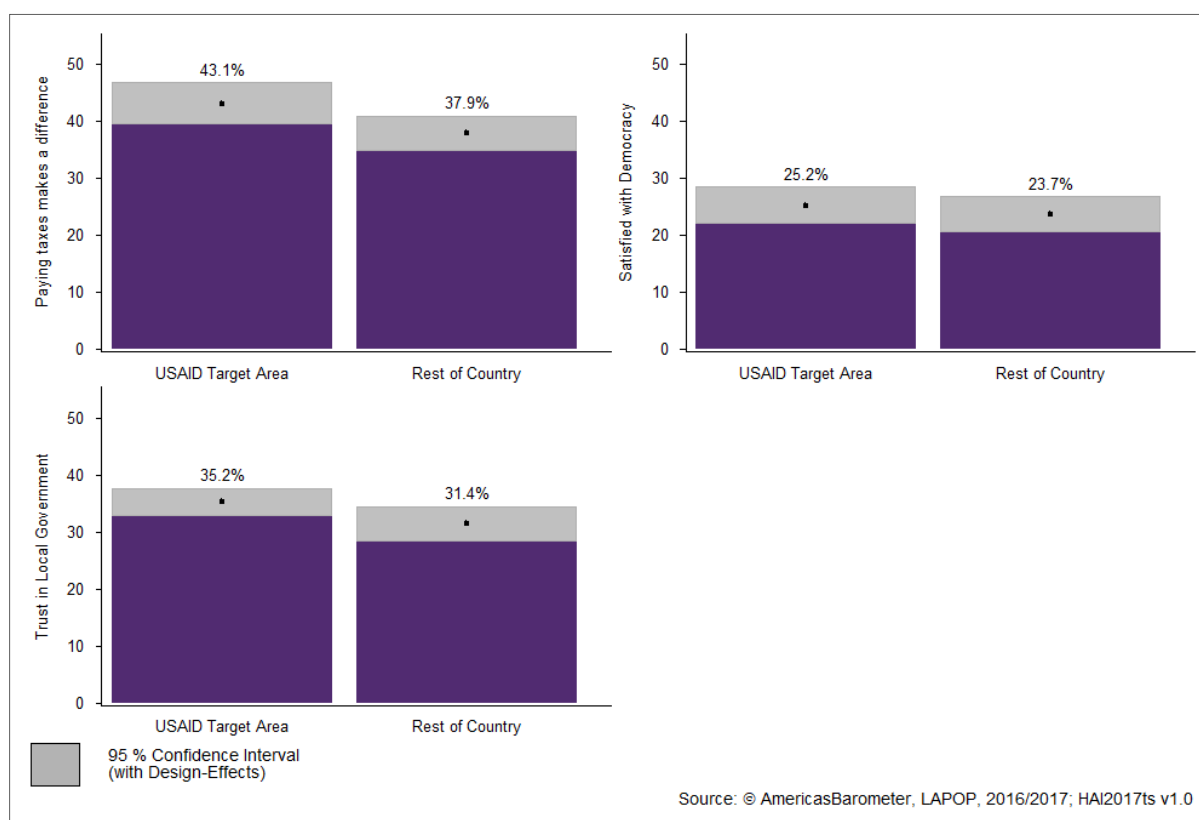


Figure 5.36. Trust in Government and Satisfaction with Democracy, Haiti 2017

IX. Conclusion

Participation rates in community and local governance organizations have generally declined in Haiti since 2012. Those living in the USAID target area have higher levels of participation in religious and parent organizations, and in attendance of town meetings than residents of the rest of the country. As for satisfaction with public services, the most recent wave of the survey indicates that it has declined, especially when compared to 2014. Differences in satisfaction with public services between the USAID target area and the rest of the country are generally small (though statistically significant in some cases) in 2016/17. While residents of the target region and the rest of the country seem to be similarly aware of regulations concerning land use and construction, perceptions of enforcement of the regulations are higher in the USAID target area. Lastly, Haitians living in the target regions display higher levels of trust in governmental authorities and higher support for democracy.



Chapter 6.

Democratic Orientations in the Americas

Ryan E. Carlin with LAPOP

I. Introduction

Plato's *Republic* posed a question with which philosophers and political scientists still grapple: what makes democracy stable? One ingredient in democracy's success is its ability to generate legitimacy while giving its detractors a political voice. Yet if mass support for the democratic system begins to slip, political instability could result. This chapter provides a time-lapsed photo of democratic legitimacy and political tolerance among the citizens of the Americas from 2006 to 2017 and analyzes the factors that shape these attitudes and the democratic orientations that they undergird.

Because it captures the relationship between citizens and state institutions, legitimacy plays a defining role in the study of political culture (Almond and Verba 1963; Diamond 1999). LAPOP defines political legitimacy in terms of citizen support for the political system. Political legitimacy or "system support" has two central dimensions: diffuse and specific support (Easton 1975). While specific support concerns citizen evaluations of incumbent authorities, diffuse system support refers to a generalized attachment to the more abstract objects that the political system and its institutions represent. LAPOP's measure of system support (operationalized through AmericasBarometer survey data) captures the diffuse dimension of support that is central to democratic survival (Booth and Seligson 2009).

Democratic legitimacy is a product of both contextual and individual factors. Among contextual explanations, one perspective holds that certain cultures grant democratic institutions greater legitimacy. According to this view, Latin America's corporatist institutions disadvantage democracy (Wiarda 2003). For other scholars, economic development heavily influences citizens' attitudes about the political system (Almond and Verba 1963; Inglehart 1988; Lipset 1963). Economic development often increases education, which typically correlates with the expression of democratic values in Latin America (Booth and Seligson 2009; Carlin 2006; Carlin and Singer 2011). Still others argue that the institutional features that make electoral defeat more palatable, e.g. that make legislative representation more proportional, can bolster system support, especially among election losers (Anderson et al. 2005). Interestingly, institutional configurations in the Latin American region seem to yield election winners who are less supportive of democratic rules of the game (Carlin and Singer 2011; Singer forthcoming). Since most contextual factors are fairly static or slow moving, mean levels of diffuse support for the political system are often theorized to be stable in the short run.

Perceptions of legitimacy, however, may not always be static within and across individuals. Citizens' experiences with the system may change frequently, and can partially determine the degree of legitimacy citizens accord to the democratic system. In particular, economic hardship, greater personal insecurity, and poor governance can all undermine the legitimacy citizens grant

democracy (Booth and Seligson 2009; Bratton and Mattes 2001; Duch 1995; Evans and Whitefield 1995; Morris 2008; Salinas and Booth 2011; Seligson 2002, 2006). Indeed, recent AmericasBarometer reports have linked perceptions of and experience with economic outcomes, the integrity of state officials, and the security situation to citizens' evaluations of the political system (Carlin et al. 2014).

Political tolerance is a second major component of political culture. Since broadly inclusive citizenship is a hallmark of democracy (Dahl 1971), political toleration is a central pillar of democratic quality and survival. In line with previous LAPOP research, political tolerance is defined as “the respect by citizens for the political rights of others, especially those with whom they may disagree.” Intolerance has nefarious effects on the quality of democracy, as well. Among both the mass public and elites, it is linked to support for policies that constrain individual freedoms (Gibson 1988, 1995, 1998, 2008).

What shapes political tolerance? At the macro level, more developed countries have generally more tolerant citizenries (Inglehart and Welzel 2005; Peffley and Rohrschneider 2003), while also tending to display more tolerance on specific issues such as same-sex marriage (Lodola and Corral 2010). External threats and security crises as well as levels of democratization are also related to tolerance. At the micro-level, scholars point to many factors including perceptions of high levels of threat (Marcus, Neuman and MacKuen 2000; Merolla and Zechmeister 2009), authoritarian personality (Altemeyer 2007), gender (Golebiowska 1999), and religion (Stouffer 1955).

Legitimacy and tolerance are, therefore, core elements of democratic culture. These attitudes combine to make unique profiles of democratic orientations. To understand how such orientations influence democratic stability, some scholars use the imagery of a reservoir: extended periods of strong performance raise levels of pro-democracy orientations high enough so that in hard times the regime can draw on these reserves to sustain itself. In such circumstances, democracy takes on inherent value and mass democratic orientations prove robust to economic shocks and short downturns in performance (Easton 1975; Lipset 1963). But few Latin American and Caribbean democracies have enjoyed long uninterrupted periods of prosperity and good governance. Thus, the region's pro-democracy reservoirs are likely shallow and may tend to ebb and flow with performance. This report, like others before it, seeks to track the depth of democratic orientations in the Americas over time, gauge their breadth across countries in the region, and analyze how citizens' specific experiences with democratic institutions shape their orientations to democracy.

II. Main Findings

- System support dropped almost 5 degrees in 2017 in Haiti. The components tapping beliefs about the legitimacy of courts and rights protection also deteriorated 10 and 8 degrees, respectively.
- Political tolerance rose 4 degrees in 2017 in Haiti, both overall and across each of its components.
- Orientations conducive to authoritarian stability increased; orientations conducive to democratic stability slightly decreased on average in Haiti in 2017 compared to 2014.

Second, this chapter considers how citizens' perceptions of and experience with political institutions shape their democratic orientations. The evidence is consistent with the following conclusions:

- Citizens' judgements of local government influence democratic orientations. Trust in local governments matters, in particular, for orientations that place democracy at risk. Satisfaction with local government services matters most for orientations linked to unstable democracy.
- The extent to which citizens feel their demands for basic political liberties are inadequately met shapes their democratic orientations.
- Perceptions of and experiences with corruption have only modest relevance with respect to citizens' democratic orientations.

III. Democratic Orientations across the Region and over Time

Stable democracies need citizens who support their institutions and respect the rights of, i.e. tolerate, dissenters. In other words, legitimacy/system support and political tolerance influence democratic stability. The ways in which this and previous LAPOP studies expect system support and tolerance, in combination, to affect stable democracy are summarized in Figure 6.1. If the majority in a country shows high system support as well as high tolerance, democracy should be stable, i.e. "consolidated." Conditions in which the citizenry has high system support but low tolerance do not bode well for democracy and, at the extreme, could support a more authoritarian model. A third possibility is an unstable democracy, where the majority exhibits high political tolerance but accords political institutions low legitimacy; these cases might see some instability but critiques of the system are grounded in a commitment to core democratic values. Finally, if the majority is intolerant and unsupportive of democratic institutions, democracy may be at risk of degradation or even breakdown.

Figure 6.1. The Relationship between System Support and Political Tolerance

	High Tolerance	Low Tolerance
High System Support	Stable Democracy	Authoritarian Stability
Low System Support	Unstable Democracy	Democracy at Risk

Notably, this conceptualization has empirical support. For example, data from the 2004 and 2008 AmericasBarometer studies identified serious warning signs of political instability in Honduras just before the military forces unconstitutionally exiled then president Zelaya to Costa Rica (Booth and Seligson 2009; Pérez, Booth, and Seligson 2010). Before analyzing these attitudes in combination,

let us examine the two dimensions – support for the political system and political tolerance – separately.

Support for the Political System

Booth and Seligson (2009) proposed a general way of looking at public support for the political system by measuring “system support” – a summary belief in the legitimacy of political institutions in a country and overall levels of support for how the political system is organized. It is measured using an index¹ created from the mean of responses to the following questions from the AmericasBarometer survey:

I am going to ask you a series of questions. I am going to ask you that you use the numbers provided in the ladder to answer. Remember, you can use any number.

B1. To what extent do you think the courts in (country) guarantee a fair trial? (**Read:** If you think the courts do not ensure justice at all, choose number 1; if you think the courts ensure justice a lot, choose number 7 or choose a point in between the two.)

B2. To what extent do you respect the political institutions of (country)?

B3. To what extent do you think that citizens’ basic rights are well protected by the political system of (country)?

B4. To what extent do you feel proud of living under the political system of (country)?

B6. To what extent do you think that one should support the political system of (country)?

Responses to each question are based on a 7-point scale, running from 1 (“not at all”) to 7 (“a lot”). Following the LAPOP standard, the resulting index is rescaled from 0 to 100, so that 0 represents very low support for the political system, and 100 represents very high support. Responses for each component are also rescaled from 0 to 100 for presentation.

Figure 6.2 compares levels of the system support index and its five components since 2006 in Haiti. The levels of system support have decreased almost 5 degrees with respect to 2014 (from 42.3 in 2014 to 37.7 in 2017). Most of the system support components, except for “Should Support the Political System,” show a similar pattern.

¹ For Haiti 2017, Cronbach’s alpha for an additive scale of the five variables is very high ($\alpha = .72$).

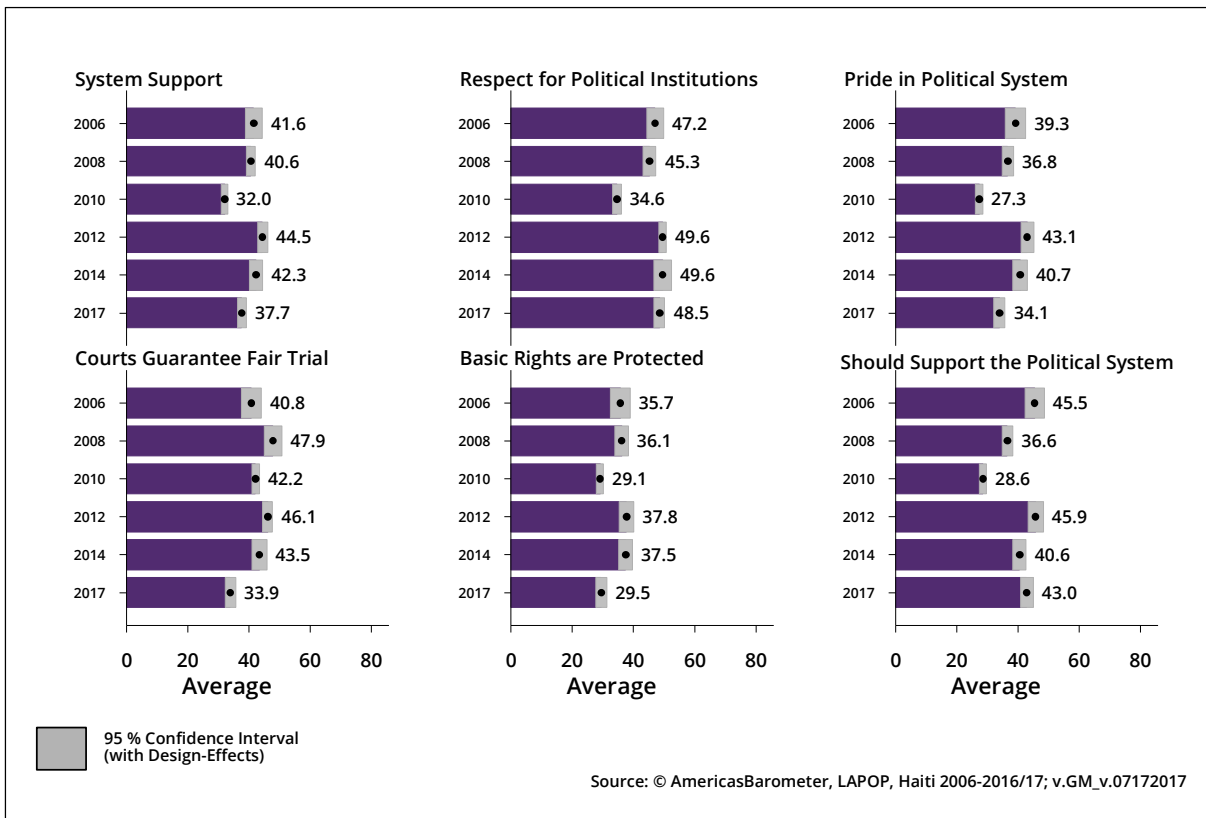


Figure 6.2. System Support and Its Components in Haiti, 2006-2016/17

How does support for the political system vary across the Americas today? Figure 6.3 presents levels of system support in the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer study. System support is highest in Guyana (65.5 degrees) followed by Nicaragua, Canada, and Costa Rica (62-63 degrees) and, for the third round running, lowest in Brazil (34.1 degrees). At 53.7 degrees, the United States hovers above the regional average (49.7). For the specific case of Haiti, data show that this country is located at the bottom of the ranking with 37.7 degrees, only above Brazil.

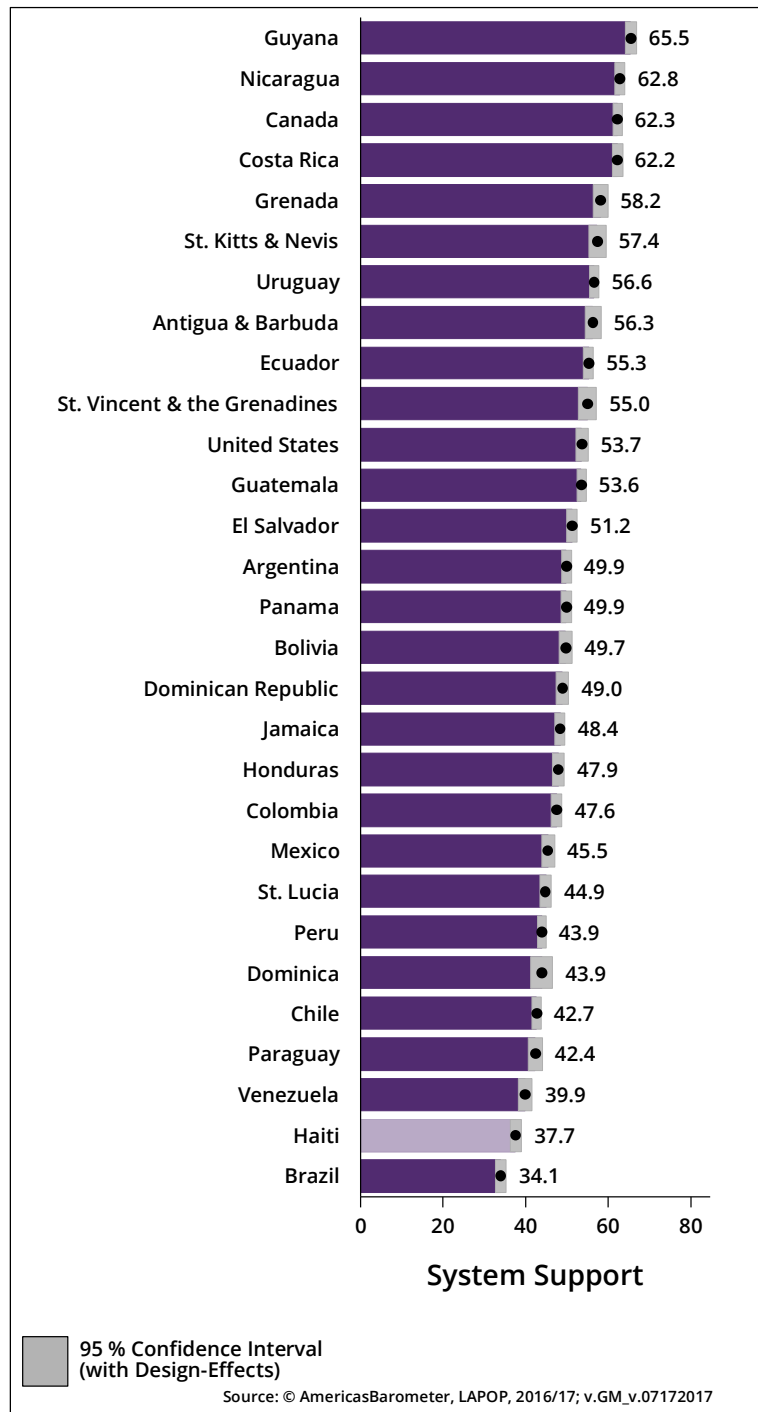


Figure 6.3. System Support in the Americas, 2016/17

Political Tolerance

High levels of support for the political system do not guarantee the quality and survival of liberal democratic institutions. Liberal democracy also requires citizens to accept the principles of open democratic competition and tolerance of dissent. Thus, the AmericasBarometer measures political tolerance toward those citizens who object to the political system. This index is composed of the following four items:

D1. There are people who only say bad things about the [country's] form of government, not just the incumbent government but the system of government. How strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people's **right to vote**? Please read me the number from the scale [1-10 scale]: *[Probe: To what degree?]*

D2. How strongly do you approve or disapprove that such people be allowed **to conduct peaceful demonstrations** in order to express their views? Please read me the number.

D3. Still thinking of those who only say bad things about the [country's] form of government, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people being permitted **to run for public office**?

D4. How strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people appearing on television **to make speeches**?

As with standard LAPOP indices, each respondent's mean (average) reported response to these four questions is calculated and then rescaled so that the resulting variable runs from 0 to 100, where 0 represents very low tolerance and 100 represents very high tolerance. Responses for each component have also been rescaled from 0 to 100 for presentation below.²

Figure 6.4 displays the national means on the political tolerance index in each round of the AmericasBarometer since 2006. The 2017 level of tolerance in Haiti (54.0) is the highest since 2006 (62.1). All tolerance components are higher in 2017 relative to 2014.

² Cronbach's alpha for an additive scale of the four variables is very high (.84) and principal components analysis indicates that they measure a single dimension.

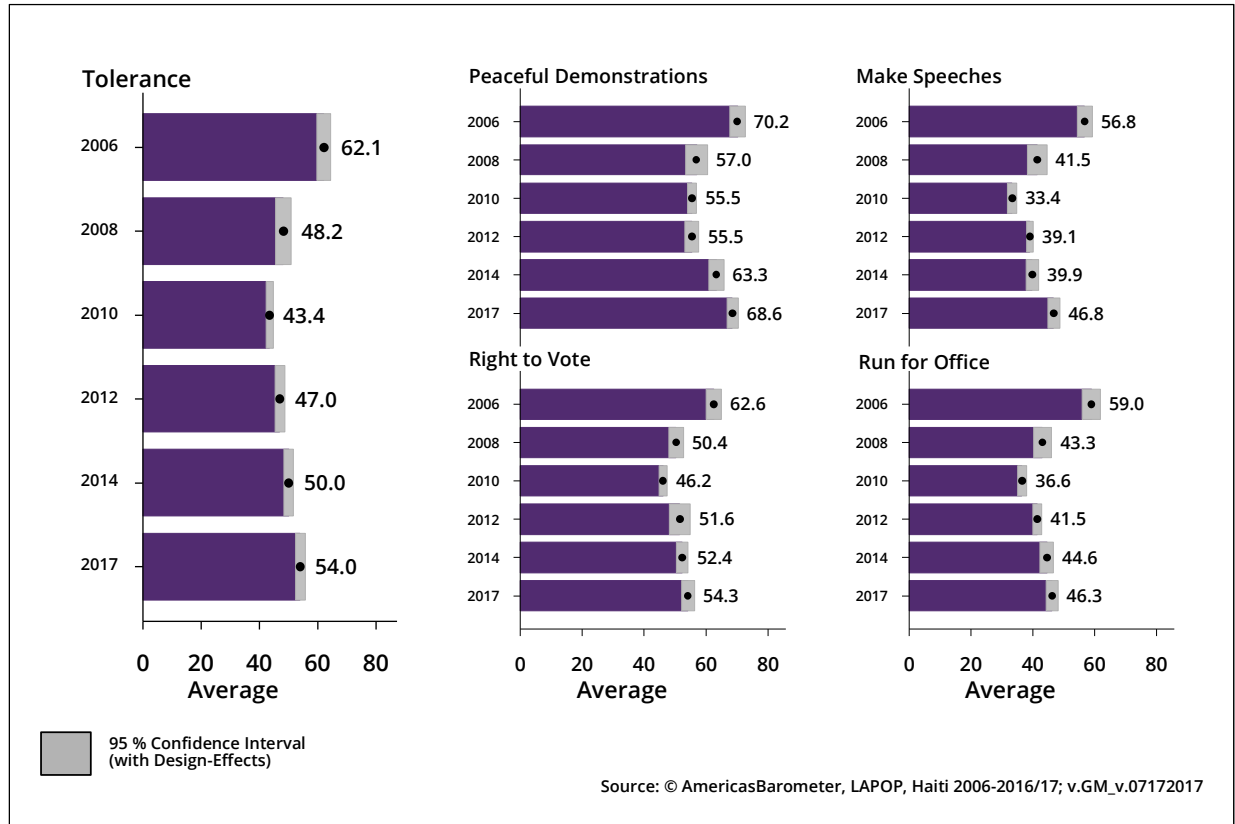


Figure 6.4. Political Tolerance and Its Components in Haiti, 2006-2016/17

The cross-national distribution of tolerance of political dissent in the region can be appreciated in Figure 6.5, which maps countries by mean score on the index from the 2016/17 AmericasBarometer. Tolerance is greatest in Canada and the United States (69.8 and 69.2 degrees on the 0-100 scale, respectively) and lowest in Peru and Colombia (47.6 and 45.4 degrees, respectively). Haiti is in the middle of the ranking, between Mexico and Paraguay.

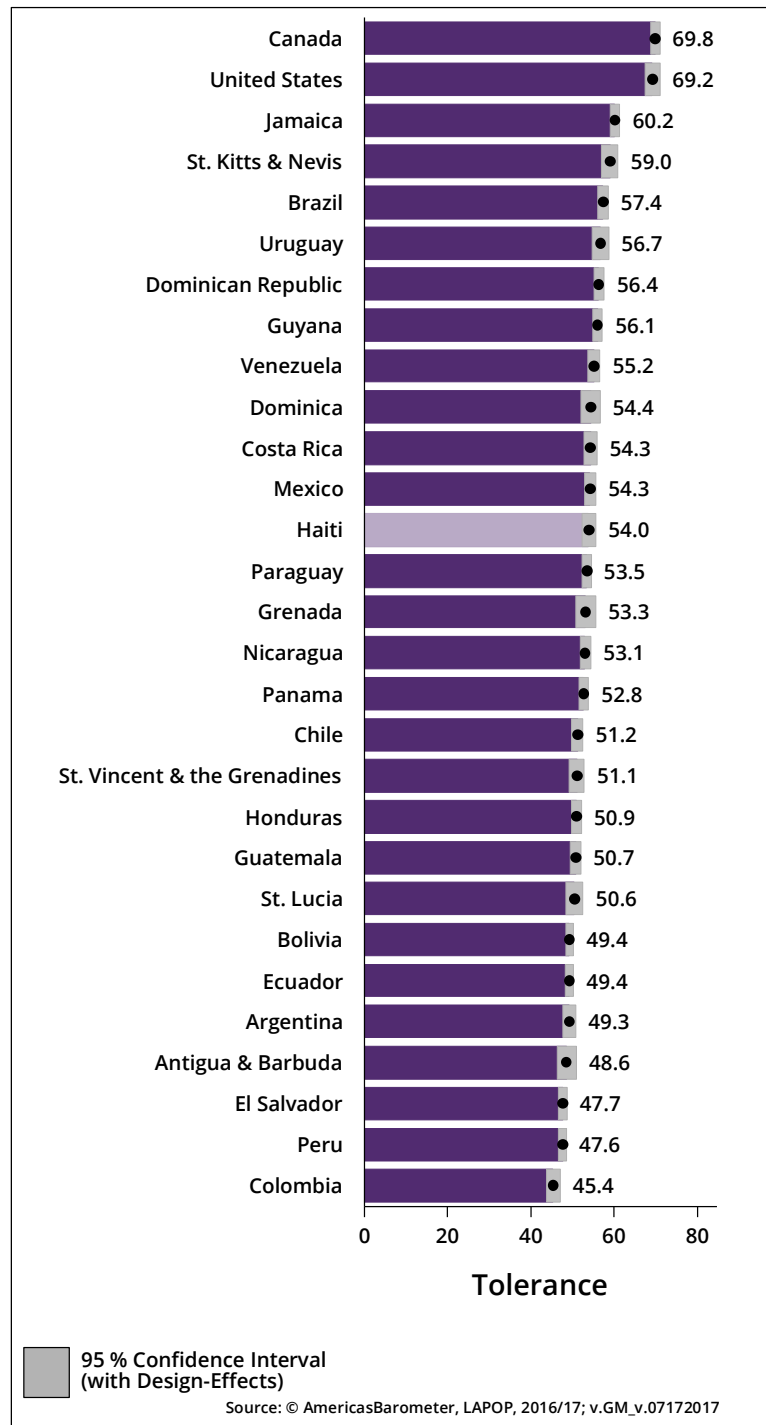


Figure 6.5. Political Tolerance in the Americas, 2016/17

Political tolerance appears no more stable than system support in the Americas from 2014 to 2016/17. Unlike system support, however, tolerance has risen on average in the region since 2014. This trend is similar in Haiti over time.

Orientations Conducive to Democratic Stability

To identify the orientations theorized to bolster democracy, the data from the system support and political tolerance indices outlined in the previous two sections are combined. Individuals who score above 50 (the midpoint) on both scales are considered to have attitudes conducive to *Stable Democracy*. Those who score below 50 (the midpoint) on both scales are considered to hold orientations that place *Democracy at Risk*. Individuals with high political tolerance but low system support have orientations that favor *Unstable Democracy*. Lastly, individuals with high system support but low tolerance are said to foster *Authoritarian Stability*.

How prevalent are these orientations in the Americas? Figure 6.6 reports trends from 2006 to 2017 for Haiti. In 2017, almost 4 out of 5 Haitians fall into either the “democracy at risk” category (38%), or “unstable democracy” (35%). Only 17% have orientations that favor stable democracy. The cross-national distribution of these orientations is shown in Figure 6.7.

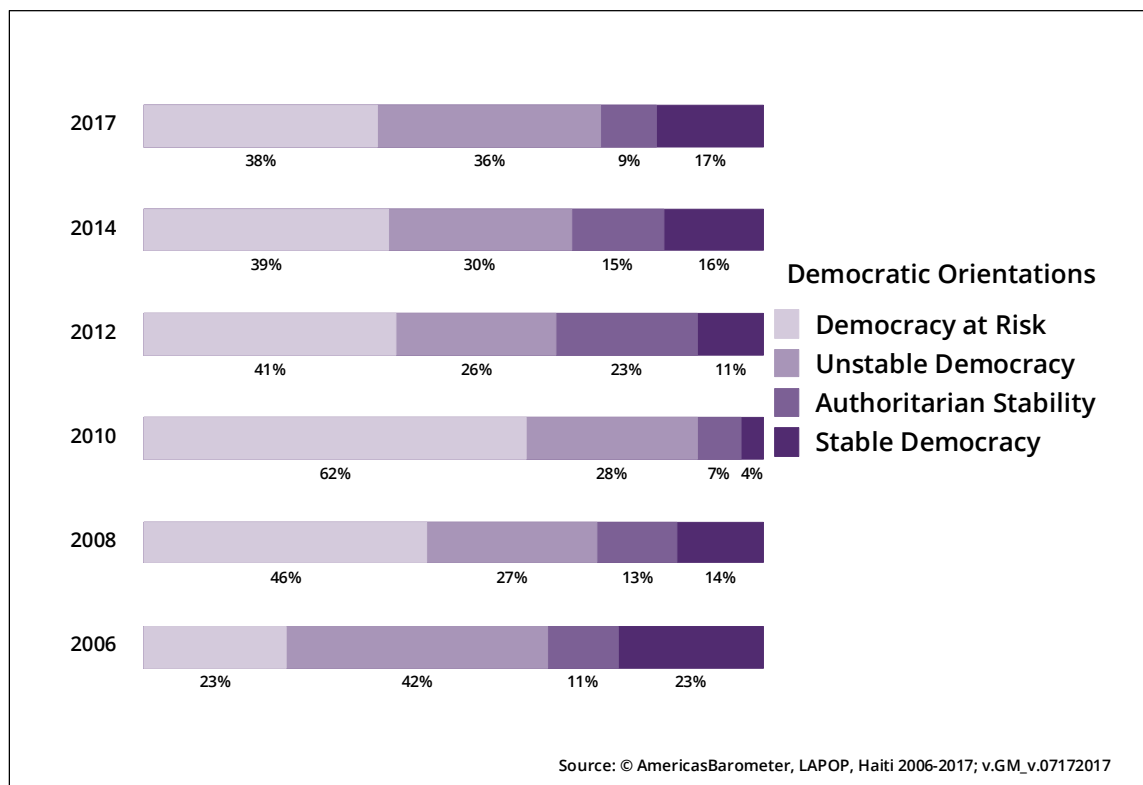


Figure 6.6. Democratic Orientations over Time in Haiti, 2006-2017

With respect to the profile of orientations that favors *Stable Democracy* – high system support and high political tolerance – the snapshot in Figure 6.7 flags an outlier: Canada. At 61%, Canada leads the region in *Stable Democracy* orientations. Next highest are Guyana (45%), the United States (43%), and Costa Rica (40%). At 13% and 15%, respectively, Brazil and Venezuela have the lowest percentages of citizens with orientations favorable to democratic stability. Haiti ranks fifth from the bottom, after Brazil, Venezuela, Peru, and Chile.

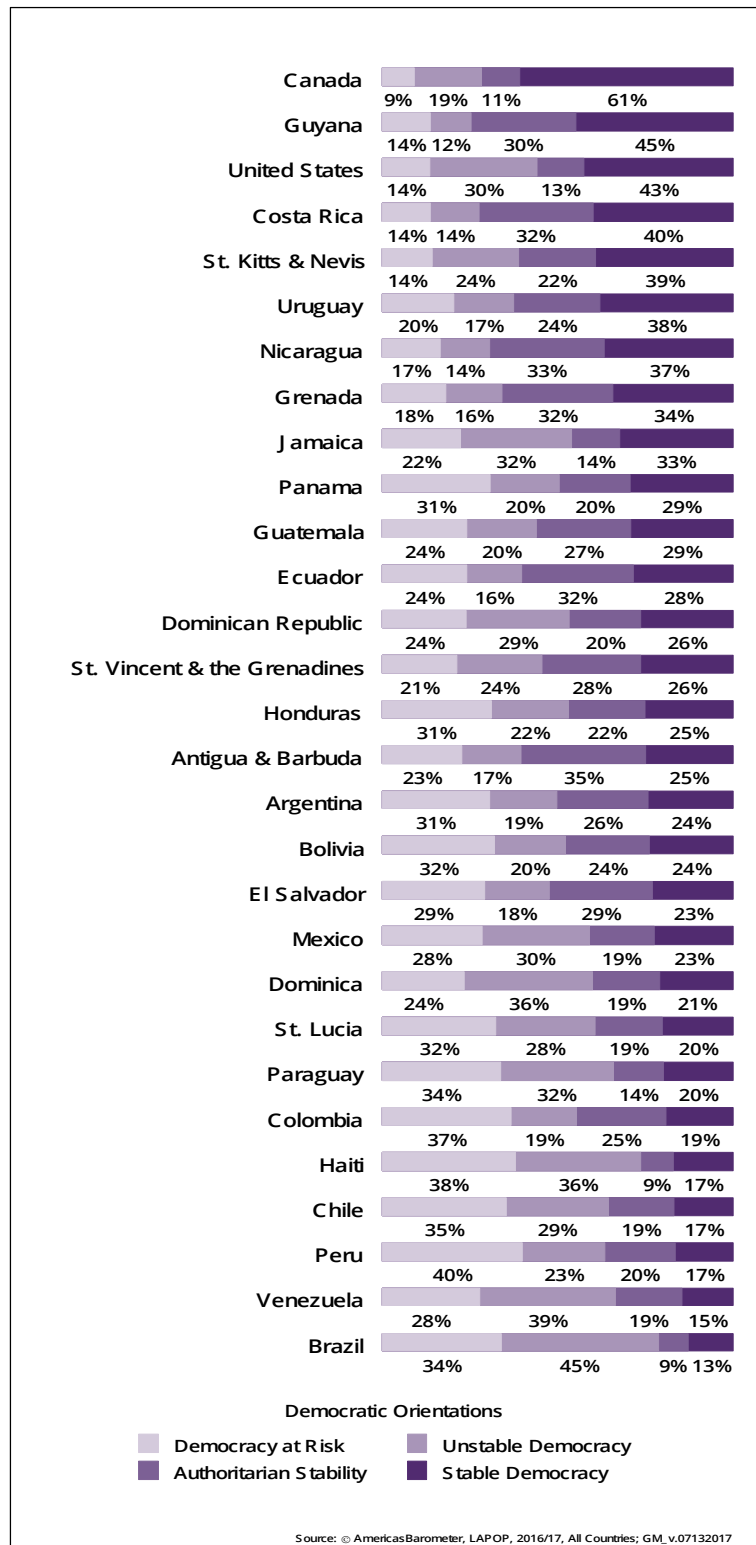


Figure 6.7. Democratic Orientations in the Americas, 2016/17

If we look at the interplay between *Stable Democracy* – the profile most supportive of democratic stability – and *Democracy at Risk* – the profile most threatening to democratic stability –, two

patterns emerge. First, in some cases *Stable Democracy* orientations have grown and *Democracy at Risk* orientations have dwindled. In Honduras, for example, we find that the percentage of individuals with *Stable Democracy* orientations has more than tripled its 2012 level while, at the same time, the proportion of individuals with orientations that put *Democracy at Risk* was more than halved. Similar if less exaggerated patterns are seen Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Ecuador, Peru, Paraguay, and the Dominican Republic.³

A second pattern is less heartening to democracy's champions. Namely, *Democracy at Risk* orientations are gaining ground over *Stable Democracy* orientations in handful of countries. For example, the percentage of Venezuelans who fit the *Democracy at Risk* profile has nearly doubled since 2012. *Stable Democrats*, by contrast, now make up just 15% of the population, down from 43% in 2006. Parallel, if less pronounced, dynamics have played out in Mexico and in Colombia since 2010.⁴

In short, although the political culture supporting democracy may have thickened in several countries of the hemisphere, it has thinned substantially in others. In Haiti, the percentage of people in the "stable democracy" category (17%) is the largest since 2006 (23%).

IV. Conclusion

Democracy's future in the Americas hinges on mass support for its institutions and the inclusive nature of democratic citizenship. When citizens broadly view the system as legitimate and tolerate even its most ardent detractors, democracy can achieve remarkable stability. But when this cultural foundation erodes, democracy's fate is less certain. Chapter 1 tracked noteworthy decay, on average in the region, in support for democracy in the abstract and in trust in and attachment to political parties. These outcomes are concerning, yet the set of attitudes that matter for democratic quality and stability is broader. It is also important to track legitimacy, political tolerance, and democratic orientations in the Americas, to compare them across countries, and, most crucially, to understand how citizens' interaction with state institutions shapes democratic orientations. This chapter sought to do just that. Now let us review our findings and ponder what they might mean for democracy's defenders and policymakers in this hemisphere.

A straightforward message from the over-time analyses is that system support and political tolerance do not necessarily trend together. Nor even do all components of these indices. Recall that overall system support fell largely due to flagging faith that courts guarantee a fair trial and that the system protects citizens' basic rights. Yet respect for regime was stable and normative commitments to them increased. Such diverging dynamics can have political implications. In this instance, robust respect for and commitment to democratic institutions can anchor the system if

³ These cases also show a lowered prevalence of *Authoritarian Stability* attitudes and rising levels of *Unstable Democracy* attitude profiles, i.e. those who are politically tolerant but have withdrawn support for the system.

⁴ Over the decade 2006 to 2016/17, the percentage of Mexicans with an *Authoritarian Stability* attitude profile shrunk from 29.2% to 18.5%. However, *Stable Democracy* attitudes in Mexico fell gradually from 41.1% to 22.6%, *Democracy at Risk* attitudes rose steadily from 13.4% to 28.3%, and *Unstable Democracy* attitudes grew from 16.6% to 30.5%.



reformers seek to craft policies to improve the justice system. Pairing this conclusion with rising tolerance for public dissent, policymakers may, indeed, find fertile ground for their reforms.

Another noteworthy message this chapter communicates is that democratic legitimacy and political tolerance exhibit volatility in the Americas. Brief analyses of specific cases here suggest this volatility reflects the real-time processes of democratization and de-democratization. As mentioned, scholars have used AmericasBarometer data to argue that low *levels* of legitimacy can be bellwethers of democratic instability (Booth and Seligson 2009; Pérez, Booth and Seligson 2010). Beyond specific levels, however, short-term *volatility* in system support, political tolerance, and/or democratic orientations may also have important implications – positive and negative – for democracy. This is an open question that can only be answered with consistently repeated measurement. Monitoring mass democratic sentiment cross-nationally and over time, a core mandate of the AmericasBarometer, is therefore crucial to understanding democratic stability.

Finally, this chapter's findings have implications for political actors in the region. Political parties, elections, and local government are some of the institutions with which citizens have the most contact. Citizens' trust in these institutions are the three strongest predictors of their democratic orientations. The strength of this relationship makes the findings presented in earlier chapters on declining confidence in parties and low trust in local government particularly relevant; though regional average orientations toward democratic stability have ticked upward, this outcome rests on tenuous grounds. This places a lot of responsibility on the shoulders of the actors who inhabit these institutions. It is thus incumbent upon party leaders to show themselves to be capable, honest, and responsive to citizens (Carlin 2014). Beyond those actors who can influence electoral commissions and other institutions that shape the conduct of elections, raising political knowledge, fostering interpersonal trust, and reaching out to those who voted for the losing candidates can boost trust in elections (Layton 2010) – and political actors can be protagonists of all three. Finally, while political actors surely have their parts to play in cultivating democratic culture, citizens have parts, as well. Becoming and staying informed and acting to hold politicians and state institutions accountable remain key duties of democratic citizenship, without which we should not expect the status quo to change for the better.

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Appendices



Appendix A. Understanding Figures in this Study

AmericasBarometer data are based on national probability samples of respondents drawn from each country; naturally, all samples produce results that contain a margin of error. It is important for the reader to understand that each data point (for example, a country's average trust in political parties) has a confidence interval, expressed in terms of a range surrounding that point. Most graphs in this study show a 95% confidence interval that takes into account the fact that our samples are “complex” (i.e., stratified and clustered). In bar charts, this confidence interval appears as a grey block, whereas in figures presenting the results of regression models it appears as a horizontal bracket. The dot in the center of a confidence interval depicts the estimated mean (in bar charts) or coefficient (in regression charts). The numbers next to each bar in the bar charts represent the estimated mean values (the dots). When two estimated points have confidence intervals that overlap to a large degree, the difference between the two values is typically not statistically significant; conversely, where two confidence intervals in bar graphs do not overlap, the reader can be very confident that those differences are statistically significant with 95% confidence. To help interpret bar graphs, chapter authors will frequently indicate in the text whether a difference is statistically significant or not.

Graphs that show regression results include a vertical line at zero. When a variable's estimated (standardized) coefficient falls to the left of this line, this indicates that the variable has a negative relationship with the dependent variable (i.e., the attitude, behavior, or trait we seek to explain); when the (standardized) coefficient falls to the right, it has a positive relationship. We can be 95% confident that the relationship is statistically significant when the confidence interval does not overlap the vertical line at zero.

On occasion, analyses and graphs in this report present “region-average” findings. LAPOP's standard is to treat countries as units of analysis and, thus, we weight countries equally in the calculation of region averages.

The dataset used for the analyses in this report was a preliminary version of the cross-time, cross-national merge of the 2004-2016/17 AmericasBarometer surveys. Finalized versions of each survey represented in the dataset are available for free download on the project's website at www.LapopSurveys.org.



Appendix B. Study Information Sheet



VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

March 27, 2017

Dear Sir/Madam:

You have been selected at random to participate in a study of public opinion on behalf of Borge y Asociados. The project is supported by USAID and Vanderbilt University.

The interview will last approximately 45 minutes.

The objective of the study is to learn your opinions about different aspects of the way things are in Haiti. Even though we cannot offer you any specific benefit, we do plan to make general findings available to the media and researchers.

Although you have been selected to participate, Sir/Ma'am, your participation in the study is voluntary. You can decline to answer any question or end the interview at any time. The replies that you give will be kept confidential and anonymous. For quality control purposes, sections of the interview may be recorded.


If you have any questions about the study, please do not hesitate to contact Ben Thermilus at 509-3336-3149, or at the email info@borgeya.com.

We are leaving this sheet with you in case you want to refer to it.

Are you willing to participate?

Appendix C. Questionnaire

AmericasBarometer 2017 Haiti Questionnaire Version # 18.0.4.0 IRB Approval #: 170509

 USAID FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE	
	
	

LAPOP: Haiti, 2017

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PAIS. Country:				
01. Mexico	02. Guatemala	03. El Salvador	04. Honduras	05. Nicaragua
06. Costa Rica	07. Panama	08. Colombia	09. Ecuador	10. Bolivia
11. Peru	12. Paraguay	13. Chile	14. Uruguay	15. Brazil
16. Venezuela	17. Argentina	21. Dom. Rep.	22. Haiti	23. Jamaica
24. Guyana	25. Trinidad & Tobago	26. Belize	40. United States	41. Canada
27. Suriname	28. Bahamas	29. Barbados	30. Grenada	31. Saint Lucia
32. Dominica	33. Antigua and Barbuda	34. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	35. Saint Kitts and Nevis	
IDNUM. Questionnaire number [assigned at the office]				
HAIMUESTRA: (1) National Sample (2) Oversample				
ESTRATOPRI: (2201) Metropolitan Area (2202) Region 1 (North-Northwest-Northeast) (2003) Region 2 (Center-Artibonite) (2204) Region 3 (West) (2205) Region 4 (South-Southeast-Grand-Anse/Nippes)				
ESTRATOSEC. Size of the Municipality [voting age population according to the census; modify for each country, using the appropriate number of strata and population ranges]: (1) Large (more than 100,000) (2) Medium (between 25,000-100,000) (3) Small (< 25,000)				
UPM [Primary Sampling Unit, normally identical to "MUNICIPIO"]: _____				
PROV. Department: _____				
MUNICIPIO. Commune: _____				
HAISEKSYON. Communal Section: _____				
HAISEC. Sector: _____				
HAISEGMENTO. Census Segment [official census code] _____				
CLUSTER. [Final sampling unit, or sampling point]: _____ [Every cluster must have 6 interviews; use the official census code]				
UR. (1) Urban (2) Rural				
TAMANO. Size of place: (1) National Capital (Metropolitan area) (2) Large City (3) Medium City (4) Small City (5) Rural Area				
IDIOMAQ. Questionnaire language: (14) Kreyòl				
ITA. Start time: _____:_____				

FECHA. Date Day: ____ Month: ____ Year: 2017	
ATTENTION : It is compulsory to always read the STUDY INFORMATION SHEET and obtain consent before starting the interview.	
Q1. Sex [Record but DO NOT ask]: (1) Male (2) Female	
Q2. How old are you? ____ years [RECORD AGE IN YEARS COMPLETED. Age cannot be less than 18 years] (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]	
LS3. To begin, in general how satisfied are you with your life? Would you say that you are: [Read alternatives] (1) Very satisfied (2) Somewhat satisfied (3) Somewhat dissatisfied (4) Very dissatisfied (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]	

A4. In your opinion, what is the most serious problem faced by the country? [DO NOT read alternatives; Accept only ONE answer]			
Armed conflict	30	Inequality	58
Bad government	15	Inflation, high prices	02
Corruption	13	Kidnappings	31
Credit, lack of	09	Land to farm, lack of	07
Crime	05	Malnutrition	23
Discrimination	25	Migration	16
Drug addiction; consumption of drugs	11	Politicians	59
Drug trafficking	12	Popular protests (strikes, blocking roads, work stoppages, etc.)	06
Economy, problems with, crisis of	01	Population explosion	20
Education, lack of, poor quality	21	Poverty	04
Electricity, lack of	24	Roads in poor condition	18
Environment	10	Security (lack of)	27
External debt	26	Terrorism	33
Forced displacement of persons	32	Transportation, problems of	60
Gangs	14	Unemployment	03
Health services, lack of	22	Violence	57
Housing	55	War against terrorism	17
Human rights, violations of	56	Water, lack of	19
Impunity	61	Other	70
Rebuilding the country after the earthquake	62	Taking care of the people hurt by the earthquake	63
Don't know	888888	No answer	988888

SOCT2. Do you think that the country's current economic situation is better than, the same as or worse than it was 12 months ago? (1) Better (2) Same (3) Worse (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]	
IDIO2. Do you think that your economic situation is better than, the same as, or worse than it was 12 months ago? (1) Better (2) Same (3) Worse (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]	

Now, let's talk about your local municipality...	
NP1. Have you attended a town meeting, city council meeting or other meeting in the past 12 months? (1) Yes (2) No (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]	

HAINP1A. Is there one or more people in your household who participated in the development of the municipal budget in the last 12 months? (1) Yes (2) No (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]	
HAINP1B. Is there one or more people in your household who participated in the planning of services or projects of the municipal government in the last 12 months? (1) Yes (2) No (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]	

Please tell me which should be the highest THREE priorities of the local government in improvement of your community.			
	First answer HAIMUNI8A	Second answer HAIMUNI8B	Third answer HAIMUNI8C
Building schools	12	12	12
Neighborhood security	2	2	2
Creating jobs	3	3	3
Roads construction	4	4	4
Potable water	5	5	5
Electricity and renewable energy	6	6	6
Health care	7	7	7
Housing	8	8	8
Environmental Improvements	9	9	9
Improving national government's capacity	13	13	13
Improving local government's capacity	11	11	11
Other priorities	77	77	77
Don't know [DON'T READ]	8888888	8888888	8888888
(988888) No answer [DON'T READ]	9888888	9888888	9888888

Now let's talk about some services in Haiti								
In general, how would you rate the quality of each of the following services in Haiti? Very good, good, neither good nor bad, bad or very bad?	Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Don't know [DON'T READ]	No answer [DON'T READ]	
HAIACS1. Transportation system. Would you say that the service is... [Read alternatives]	1	2	3	4	5	888888	988888	
HAIACS2. Education system. Would you say that the service is... [Read alternatives]	1	2	3	4	5	888888	988888	
HAIACS3. Public health Care. Would you say that the service is... [Read alternatives]	1	2	3	4	5	888888	988888	
HAIACS4. Electricity. Would you say that the service is... [Read alternatives]	1	2	3	4	5	888888	988888	
HAIACS5. Drinkable water. Would you say that the service is... [Read alternatives]	1	2	3	4	5	888888	988888	
HAIACS6. Trash disposal. Would you say that the service is... [Read alternatives]	1	2	3	4	5	888888	988888	
HAIACS7. Public services provided by the local government in your community. Would you say that the service is... [Read alternatives]	1	2	3	4	5	888888	988888	

I am going to read you a list of groups and organizations. Please tell me if you attend meetings of these organizations at least once a week, once or twice a month, once or twice a year, or never. **[Repeat “once a week,” “once or twice a month,” “once or twice a year,” or “never” to help the interviewee]**

	Once a week	Once or twice a month	Once or twice a year	Never	Don't know [DON'T READ]	No answer [DON'T READ]	Inapplicable [DON'T READ]
CP6. Meetings of any religious organization? Do you attend them...	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	
CP7. Meetings of a parents' association at school? Do you attend them...	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	
CP8. Meetings of a community improvement committee or association? Do you attend them...	1 [Continue]	2 [Continue]	3 [Continue]	4 [Skip to CP13]	888888 [Skip to CP13]	988888 [Skip to CP13]	
HAICP8A. And during that meeting, did you... [Read alternatives and mark all that apply] (1) Intervene to make a point (2) Ask a question (3) Offer feedback/suggestion (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] (999999) Inapplicable [DON'T READ] [NOTE: this variable is coded in the dataset as: HAICP8A_# - with number of variables equal to number of response categories-. If respondent selected option #, the variable is coded 1, 0 if respondent did not select that option. If respondent said Don't know/No answer, then all variables are coded as Don't know/No answer. For interviews carried out using paper questionnaires, just one alternative was selected/asked, the variable for these interviews is coded HAICP8A_p].							
HAICP8B. And after attending that meeting do you feel you gain a better understanding of your community? (1) Yes (2) No (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] (999999) Inapplicable [DON'T READ]							

	Once a week	Once or twice a month	Once or twice a year	Never	Don't know [DON'T READ]	No answer [DON'T READ]	Inapplicable [DON'T READ]
CP13. Meetings of a political party or political organization? Do you attend them...	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	
CP20. [WOMEN ONLY] Meetings of associations or groups of women or home makers? Do you attend them...	1	2	3	4	888888	988888	999999

IT1. And speaking of the people from around here, would you say that people in this community are very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy or untrustworthy...? (1) Very trustworthy (2) Somewhat trustworthy (3) Not very trustworthy (4) Untrustworthy (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]							
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[GIVE CARD “A” TO THE INTERVIEWEE]

L1. Now, to change the subject.... On this card there is a 1-10 scale that goes from left to right. The number one means left and 10 means right. Nowadays, when we speak of political leanings, we talk of those on the left and those on the right. In other words, some people sympathize more with the left and others with the right. According to the meaning that the terms "left" and "right" have for you, and thinking of your own political leanings, where would you place yourself on this scale? Tell me the number.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
Left Right											

[TAKE BACK CARD "A"]

PROT3. In the **last 12 months**, have you participated in a demonstration or protest march?

(1) Yes (2) No

(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]

Now, changing the subject. Some people say that under some circumstances it would be justified for the Police Nationale d'Haïti to take power by a coup d'état (military coup). In your opinion would a coup by the police be justified under the following circumstances...**[Read alternatives]**:

JC10. When there is a lot of crime.	(1) A take-over by the police of the state would be justified	(2) A take-over by the police of the state would not be justified	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
JC13. When there is a lot of corruption.	(1) A take-over by the police of the state would be justified	(2) A take-over by the police of the state would not be justified	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)

JC15A. Do you believe that when the country is facing very difficult times it is justifiable for the president of the country to close the Parliament and govern without Parliament?

(1) Yes, it is justified

(2) No, it is not justified

Don't know
[DON'T READ]
(888888)

No answer
[DON'T READ]
(988888)

VIC1EXT. Now, changing the subject, have you been a victim of any type of crime in the past 12 months? That is, have you been a victim of robbery, burglary, assault, fraud, blackmail, extortion, violent threats or **any other type** of crime in the past 12 months?

(1) Yes **[Continue]** (2) No **[Skip to AOJ11]**

(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] **[Skip to AOJ11]**

(988888) No answer [DON'T READ] **[Skip to AOJ11]**

VIC1EXTA. How many times have you been a crime victim during the last 12 months? _____

[Fill in number] _____ **[HIGHEST NUMBER ACCEPTED: 20]**

(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ]

(988888) No answer [DON'T READ]

(999999)

Inapplicable [DON'T READ]

AOJ11. Speaking of the neighborhood where you live and thinking of the possibility of being assaulted or robbed, do you feel very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe or very unsafe ? (1) Very safe (2) Somewhat safe (3) Somewhat unsafe (4) Very unsafe (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]	
AOJ12. If you were a victim of a robbery or assault how much faith do you have that the judicial system would punish the guilty? [Read alternatives] (1) A lot (2) Some (3) Little (4) None (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]	

[GIVE CARD "B" TO THE INTERVIEWEE]

On this card there is a ladder with steps numbered 1 to 7, where 1 is the lowest step and means NOT AT ALL and 7 the highest and means A LOT. For example, if I asked you to what extent do you like watching television, if you don't like watching it at all, you would choose a score of 1, and if, in contrast, you like watching television a lot, you would indicate the number 7 to me. If your opinion is between not at all and a lot, you would choose an intermediate score. So, to what extent do you like watching television? Read me the number. **[Make sure that the respondent understands correctly].**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	888888	988888
Not at all				A lot			Don't know [DON'T READ]	No Answer [DON'T READ]
Note down a number 1-7, or 888888 Don't know and 988888 No answer								

I am going to ask you a series of questions. I am going to ask that you use the numbers provided in the ladder to answer. Remember, you can use any number.

B1. To what extent do you think the courts in Haiti guarantee a fair trial? (**Read:** If you think the courts do not ensure justice at all, choose number 1; if you think the courts ensure justice a lot, choose number 7, or choose a point in between the two.)

B2. To what extent do you respect the political institutions of Haiti?

B3. To what extent do you think that citizens' basic rights are well protected by the political system of Haiti?

B4. To what extent do you feel proud of living under the political system of Haiti?

B6. To what extent do you think that one should support the political system of Haiti?

B43. To what extent are you proud of being Haitian?

B13. To what extent do you trust the Parliament?

B18. To what extent do you trust the Police (PNH)?

B21. To what extent do you trust the political parties?

B21A. To what extent do you trust the President?

B32. To what extent do you trust the local or municipal government?

B37. To what extent do you trust the mass media?

B47A. To what extent do you trust elections in this country?

Using the same 1 to 7 scale, where 1 is "Not at all" and 7 is "A lot"....	(888888) Don't know (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]
PR3DN. If in your neighborhood one of your neighbors decides to build or renovate a house without a license or permit. How likely is it that they would be punished by the authorities?	
PR3EN. If someone in your neighborhood decides to build or renovate a house, how likely do you think it is that they would be asked to pay a bribe to get a license or permit, or to ignore the construction altogether?	

[TAKE BACK CARD "B"]



<p>M1. Speaking in general of the current administration, how would you rate the job performance of President Jovenel Moïse? [Read alternatives] (1) Very good (2) Good (3) Neither good nor bad (fair) (4) Bad (5) Very bad (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>M2. Now speaking of Congress/Parliament, and thinking of members/senators and representatives as a whole, without considering the political parties to which they belong, do you believe that the members/senators and representatives of Congress/Parliament are performing their jobs: very well, well, neither well nor poorly, poorly, or very poorly? (1) Very well (2) Well (3) Neither well nor poorly (4) Poorly (5) Very poorly (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>And thinking about this city/area where you live... SD2NEW2. Are you very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the condition of the streets, roads, and highways? (1) Very satisfied (2) Satisfied (3) Dissatisfied (4) Very dissatisfied (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] (999999) Inapplicable (Does not use) [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>SD3NEW2. And with the quality of public schools? Are you... [Read alternatives] (1) Very satisfied (2) Satisfied (3) Dissatisfied (4) Very dissatisfied (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] (999999) Inapplicable (Does not use) [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>SD6NEW2. And with the quality of public medical and health services? Are you... [Read alternatives] (1) Very satisfied (2) Satisfied (3) Dissatisfied (4) Very dissatisfied (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] (999999) Inapplicable (Does not use) [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>INFRA3. Suppose someone enters your home to burglarize it and you call the police. How long do you think it would take the police to arrive at your house on a typical day around noon? [Read alternatives] (1) Less than 10 minutes (2) Between 10 and 30 minutes (3) More than 30 minutes and up to an hour (4) More than an hour and up to three hours (5) More than three hours (6) [DON'T READ] There are no police/they would never arrive (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>INFRA3. Suppose you are in your house and you experience a very serious injury and need immediate medical attention. How long do you think it would take you, by the fastest means, to get to the nearest medical center or hospital (public or private)? [Read alternatives] (1) Less than 10 minutes (2) Between 10 and 30 minutes (3) More than 30 minutes and up to an hour (4) More than an hour and up to three hours (5) More than three hours (6) [DON'T READ] There is no such service available / I wouldn't go to one (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	

[GIVE CARD "C" TO THE INTERVIEWEE]

Now we will use a ladder where 1 means “strongly disagree” and 7 means “strongly agree.” A number in between 1 and 7 represents an intermediate score.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	888888	988888
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree	Don't know [DON'T READ]	No answer [DON'T READ]

[Note down 1-7, 888888 = Don't know, 988888=No answer]

Now I am going to read some statements. Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.

ROS1. The Haitian government, instead of the private sector, should own the most important enterprises and industries of the country. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement?

ROS4. The Haitian government should implement **strong** policies to reduce income inequality between the rich and the poor. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?

ING4. Changing the subject again, democracy may have problems, but it is better than any other form of government. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?

EFF1. Those who govern this country are interested in what people like you think. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement?

EFF2. You feel that you understand the most important political issues of this country. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement?

AOJ22NEW. To reduce crime in a country like ours, punishment of criminals must be increased. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?

And changing the subject...

[Continue using Card “C”]

[1-7, 888888= Don't know 988888= No answer]

MEDIA3. Information reported by the Haiti news media is an accurate representation of different viewpoints that exist in Haiti. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?

MEDIA4. The Haiti news media are controlled by a few big corporations/economic groups. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?

[TAKE BACK CARD “C”]

[GIVE CARD “N” TO THE INTERVIEWEE]

We are going to use this new card...

[Note down 1-7, 888888= Don't know, 988888 = No answer]

ENV1C. Some people believe that protecting the environment should be given priority over economic growth, while others believe that growing the economy should be prioritized over environmental protection. On a 1 to 7 scale where 1 means that the environment should be the highest priority, and 7 means the economic growth should be the highest priority, where would you place yourself?

[TAKE BACK CARD “N”]

ENV2B. If nothing is done to reduce climate change in the future, how serious of a problem do you think it will be for Haiti? [Read alternatives]

(1) Very Serious

(2) Somewhat Serious

(3) Not so serious

(4) Not serious at all

(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ]

(988888) No answer [DON'T READ]

[GIVE CARD “C” TO THE INTERVIEWEE]



<p>We will use this card again; it goes from 1 “strongly disagree” to 7 “strongly agree” [Note down 1-7, 888888 = Don’t know, 988888 = No answer]</p> <p>DST1B. The government should spend more money to enforce building codes/norms/regulations to make homes safer from natural disasters, even if it means spending less on other programs... How much do you agree or disagree with this statement?</p> <p>[TAKE BACK CARD “C”]</p> <p>DRK1. How likely do you think it is that you or someone in your immediate family here in Haiti could be killed or seriously injured in a natural disaster, such as floods, earthquakes, or hurricanes/landslides/tornados/storms, in the next 25 years? Do you think it is...? [Read alternatives] (1) Not likely (2) A little likely (3) Somewhat likely (4) Very likely (888888) Don’t know [DON’T READ] (988888) No answer [DON’T READ]</p>	
<p>PN4. In general, would you say that you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the way democracy works in Haiti? (1) Very satisfied (2) Satisfied (3) Dissatisfied (4) Very dissatisfied (888888) Don’t know [DON’T READ] (988888) No answer [DON’T READ]</p> <p>W14A. And now, thinking about other topics. Do you think it’s justified to interrupt a pregnancy, that is, to have an abortion, when the mother’s health is in danger? (1) Yes, justified (2) No, not justified (888888) Don’t know [DON’T READ] (988888) No answer [DON’T READ]</p>	

[GIVE CARD “D” TO THE INTERVIEWEE]

<p>Now we are going to use another card. The new card has a 10-point ladder, which goes from 1 to 10, where 1 means that you <i>strongly disapprove</i> and 10 means that you <i>strongly approve</i>. I am going to read you a list of some actions that people can take to achieve their political goals and objectives. Please tell me how strongly you would approve or disapprove...</p>											
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	888888 Don’t know [DON’T READ]	988888 No Answer [DON’T READ]
Strongly disapprove										Strongly approve	
<p align="center">[Note down 1-10, 888888= Don’t know, 988888= No answer]</p>											
<p>E5. Of people participating in legal demonstrations. How much do you approve or disapprove?</p>											
<p>D1. There are people who only say bad things about the Haiti form of government, not just the current (incumbent) government but the system of government. How strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people’s right to vote? Please read me the number from the scale: [Probe: To what degree?]</p>											
<p>D2. How strongly do you approve or disapprove that such people be allowed to conduct peaceful demonstrations in order to express their views? Please read me the number.</p>											
<p>D3. Still thinking of those who only say bad things about the Haiti form of government, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people being permitted to run for public office?</p>											
<p>D4. How strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people appearing on television to make speeches?</p>											
<p>D5. And now, changing the topic and thinking of homosexuals, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people being permitted to run for public office?</p>											
<p>D6. How strongly do you approve or disapprove of same-sex couples having the right to marry?</p>											

[TAKE BACK CARD “D”]

	Very little	Enough	Too much	Don't know [DON'T READ]	No answer [DON'T READ]	
LIB1. Do you believe that nowadays in the country we have very little, enough or too much freedom of press?	1	2	3	888888	988888	
LIB2B. And freedom of expression. Do we have very little, enough or too much?	1	2	3	888888	988888	
LIB2C. And freedom to express political views without fear. Do we have very little, enough or too much?	1	2	3	888888	988888	
LIB4. Human rights protection. Do we have very little, enough or too much?	1	2	3	888888	988888	

	N/A Did not try or did not have contact	No	Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ]	No answer [DON'T READ]	
Now we want to talk about your personal experience with things that happen in everyday life...						
EXC2. Has a police officer asked you for a bribe in the last twelve months?		0	1	888888	988888	
EXC6. In the last twelve months, did any government employee ask you for a bribe?		0	1	888888	988888	
EXC18. Do you think given the way things are, sometimes paying a bribe is justified?		0	1	888888	988888	

EXC7NEW. Thinking of the politicians of Haiti... how many of them do you believe are involved in corruption? [Read alternatives] (1) None (2) Less than half of them (3) Half of them (4) More than half of them (5) All (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]	
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VB1. Do you have a national identification card? (1) Yes (2) No (3) Being processed (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]	
VB2. Did you vote in the first round of the last presidential elections of 2016? (1) Voted [Continue] (2) Did not vote [Skip to VB4NEW2] (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] [Skip to VB10] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] [Skip to VB10]	
VB3N. Who did you vote for in the first round of the last presidential election of 2016? [DO NOT read alternatives] (00) None (Blank ballot) [Skip to VB10] (97) None (null ballot) [Skip to VB10] (2201) Jovenel Moïse (Haitian Tèt Kale Party) [Skip to VB10] (2202) Jude Célestin (Ligue Alternative pour le Progrès et l'Emancipation Haitienne) [Skip to VB10] (2203) Jean-Charles Moïse (Platfom Pitit Desalin) [Skip to VB10] (2204) Maryse Narcisse (Fanmi Lavalas) [Skip to VB10] (2205) Eric Jean Baptiste (Mouvement Action Socialiste) [Skip to VB10] (2206) Jean Henry Céant (Renmen Ayiti) [Skip to VB10] (2277) Other [Skip to VB10] (8888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] [Skip to VB10] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] [Skip to VB10] (999999) Inapplicable (Didn't vote) [DON'T READ] [Go to VB4NEW2]	

<p>VB4NEW2. [ONLY FOR THOSE WHO DIDN'T VOTE. DON'T read alternatives] [If respondent says "I didn't vote because I didn't want", ask why did not he/she want] Why did you not vote in the first round of the last presidential election? [Only allow one response] (1) Was confused about the candidates (9) Was confused about the policies (2) Didn't like any of the candidates, didn't like the campaign (3) Do not believe in elections/electoral authorities (4) Do not believe in democracy (5) Bureaucratic matters (voter registry) (6) Age-related matters (too young, too old) (7) Not in the district/away from home (8) Not interested in politics (10) Didn't know there was an election (11) Do not have an identification card (77) Another reason (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T REA] (999999) Inapplicable (Voted) [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>VB10. Do you currently identify with a political party? (1) Yes [Continue] (2) No [Skip to POL1] (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] [Skip to POL1] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] [Skip to POL1]</p>	
<p>VB11. Which political party do you identify with? [DO NOT read alternatives] (2201) Fwon Lespwa (2202) RDNP (2203) Respè (2204) Repons Peyizan (2205) MPH (2206) Fusion des Sociaux-Démocrates Haïtienne (2207) Oganizasyon Pèp Kap Litè (2208) Alyans/Alliance Démocratique (2209) Renmen Ayiti (2210) Ansanm nou Fo (2211) Lavalas (2212) Unité (2213) PHTK (Pati Tèt Kale) (2214) Pitit Desalinn (2215) LA PEH (2216) Verite (2277) Other (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] (999999) Inapplicable [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>POL1. How much interest do you have in politics: a lot, some, little or none? (1) A lot (2) Some (3) Little (4) None (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>VB20. If the next presidential elections were being held this week, what would you do? [Read alternatives] (1) Wouldn't vote (2) Would vote for the current (incumbent) candidate or party (3) Would vote for a candidate or party different from the current administration (4) Would go to vote but would leave the ballot blank or would purposely cancel my vote (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	

[GIVE CARD “H” TO THE INTERVIEWEE]

Now, changing the topic...

FOR5N. In your opinion, which of the following countries ought to be the model for the future development of our country? **[Read alternatives]**

- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| (1) China | (2) Japan |
| (3) India | (4) United States |
| (5) Singapore | (6) Russia |
| (7) South Korea | (10) Brazil |
| (11) Venezuela, or | (12) Mexico |
| (13) [DON'T READ] None/we ought to follow our own model | |
| (14) [DON'T READ] Other | |
| (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] | |
| (988888) No answer [DON'T READ] | |

[TAKE BACK CARD “H”]

Now, I would like to ask you how much you trust **some international organizations**. For each of them, please tell me if in your opinion it is very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy, or not at all trustworthy, or if you don't have an opinion.

	Very trustworthy	Somewhat trustworthy	Not very trustworthy	Not at all trustworthy	Don't know/ No opinion	No answer [DON'T READ]
MIL10OAS. The OAS, Organization of the American States. In your opinion, is it very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy, or not at all trustworthy, or do you not have an opinion?	1	2	3	4	888888	988888
MIL10UN. The UN, United Nations. In your opinion, is it very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy, or not at all trustworthy, or do you not have an opinion?	1	2	3	4	888888	988888

Let's talk now about the governments of some countries...

MIL10A. The government of China. In your opinion, is it very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy, or not at all trustworthy, or do you not have an opinion?	1	2	3	4	888888	988888
MIL10E. The government of the United States. In your opinion, is it very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy, or not at all trustworthy, or do you not have an opinion?	1	2	3	4	888888	988888

Changing the topic. Now, we are going to talk about construction codes/norms/regulations for construction of houses and buildings.

CCQ1. According to what you know or have heard, are there construction codes/norms/regulations in your city/area?

- (1) Yes **[Continue]**
 (2) No **[Skip to CCQ3]**
 (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** **[Skip to CCQ3]**
 (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]** **[Skip to CCQ3]**

CCQ2. And also according to what you have seen or heard, would you say those codes/norms/regulations are applied?

[Read alternatives]

- (1) Always
- (2) Almost always
- (3) Sometimes
- (4) Rarely
- (5) Never
- (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]**
- (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**
- (999999) Inapplicable **[DON'T READ]**

CCQ3. Are there codes/norms/regulations that regulate the use of the soil or the land in this city/area where you live?

- (1) Yes **[Continue]**
- (2) No **[Skip to WF1]**
- (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ] [Skip to WF1]**
- (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ] [Skip to WF1]**

CCQ4. And also according to what you have seen and heard, would you say those codes/norms/regulations are applied

[Read alternatives]

- (1) Always
- (2) Almost always
- (3) Sometimes
- (4) Rarely
- (5) Never
- (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]**
- (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**
- (999999) Inapplicable **[DON'T READ]**

WF1. Do you or someone in your household receive regular assistance in the form of money, food, or products from the government, not including pensions/social security?

- (1) Yes (2) No
- (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

ED. How many years of schooling have you completed?

____ Year _____ (primary, secondary, university) = _____ total number of years **[Use the table below for the code]**

00. None

Primary	Secondary	University
01 Pre-School	08 Sixième / 7 A.F.	15 University 1
02 Preparatory 1 / 1 A.F.	09 Cinquième / 8 A.F.	16 University 2
03 Preparatory 2 / 2 A.F.	10 Quatrième / 9 A.F.	17 University 3
04 Elementary 1 / 3 A.F.	11 Troisième	18+ University 4 and more
05 Elementary 2 / 4 A.F.	12 Seconde	
06 Intermediate 1 / 5 A.F.	13 Rhéto	
07 Intermediate 2 / 6 A.F.	14 Philo	
(888888) Don't know [DON'T Read]	(988888) No answer [DON'T Read]	

<p>ED2. And what educational level did your mother complete?</p> <p>[DO NOT read alternatives]</p> <p>(00) None</p> <p>(01) Primary incomplete</p> <p>(02) Primary complete</p> <p>(03) Secondary incomplete</p> <p>(04) Secondary complete</p> <p>(05) Technical school/Associate degree incomplete</p> <p>(06) Technical school/Associate degree complete</p> <p>(07) University (bachelor's degree or higher) incomplete</p> <p>(08) University (bachelor's degree or higher) complete</p> <p>(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ]</p> <p>(988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>Q5A. How often do you attend religious services? [Read alternatives]</p> <p>(1) More than once per week (2) Once per week (3) Once a month (4) Once or twice a year (5) Never or almost never</p> <p>(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) Don't answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>Q5B. Could you please tell me: how important is religion in your life? [Read alternatives]</p> <p>(1) Very important (2) Somewhat important (3) Not very important</p> <p>(4) Not at all important (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ]</p> <p>(988888) Don't answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>PS1. Where does the water used in this house come from? [Read alternatives]</p> <p>(1) In house plumbing [Continue]</p> <p>(2) Outdoor plumbing but part of the property [Continue]</p> <p>(3) Neighbor's plumbing [Continue]</p> <p>(4) Public sink or faucet [Continue]</p> <p>(5) Well on the property [Skip to PS3]</p> <p>(6) Well in the neighborhood [Skip to PS3]</p> <p>(7) Truck, wagon or tanker [Skip to PS3]</p> <p>(8) Water bucket [Skip to PS3]</p> <p>(9) Rain [Skip to PS3]</p> <p>(10) Spring, river or stream [Skip to PS3]</p> <p>(11) Other [Skip to PS3]</p> <p>(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] [Skip to PS3]</p> <p>(988888) Don't answer [DON'T READ] [Skip to PS3]</p>	
<p>PS2. How often does this household receive water? [Read alternatives]</p> <p>(1) Every day</p> <p>(2) Every two days</p> <p>(3) Every three days</p> <p>(4) Once a week</p> <p>(5) Once every two weeks or less</p> <p>(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ]</p> <p>(988888) Don't answer [DON'T READ]</p> <p>(999999) Inapplicable [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>PS3. Is this house/apartment connected to the public electric power supply?</p> <p>(1) Yes (2) No</p> <p>(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ]</p> <p>(988888) Don't answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>PS4. Approximately how many hours per day have you been supplied with electricity within the 3 past months?</p> <p>Hours of electricity per day (00-24) _____</p> <p>(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ]</p> <p>(988888) Don't answer [DON'T READ]</p> <p>(999999) Inapplicable [DON'T READ]</p>	



<p>[Use card “Q3C” for back-up only. Do NOT show card to the interviewee.] Q3C. What is your religion, if any? [DO NOT read alternatives] [If the respondent says that he/she has no religion, probe to see if he/she should be located in option 4 or 11] [If interviewer says “Christian” or “Evangelical”, probe to verify if he is catholic (option 1), Pentecostal (option 5) or non-pentecostal evangelical (option 2). If he is unsure, select (2)].</p> <p>(01) Catholic (02) Protestant, Mainline Protestant or Protestant non-Evangelical (Christian; Calvinist; Lutheran; Methodist; Presbyterian; Disciple of Christ; Anglican; Episcopalian; Moravian). (03) Non-Christian Eastern Religions (Islam; Buddhist; Hinduism; Taoist; Confucianism; Baha’i). (05) Evangelical and Pentecostal (Evangelical; Pentecostals; Church of God; Assemblies of God; Universal Church of the Kingdom of God; International Church of the Foursquare Gospel; Christ Pentecostal Church; Christian Congregation; Mennonite; Brethren; Christian Reformed Church; Charismatic non-Catholic; Light of World; Baptist; Nazarene; Salvation Army; Adventist; Seventh-Day Adventist; Sara Nossa Terra). (06) LDS (Mormon). (07) Traditional Religions or Native Religions (Santería, Candomblé, Voodoo, Rastafarian, Mayan Traditional Religion; Umbanda; Maria Lanza; Inti; Kardecista, Santo Daime, Esoterica). (10) Jewish (Orthodox; Conservative; Reform). (12) Jehovah’s Witness. (04) None (Believes in a Supreme Entity but does not belong to any religion) (11) Agnostic, atheist (Does not believe in God).</p> <p>(77) Other (888888) Don’t know [DON’T READ] (988888) No answer [DON’T READ]</p>	
<p>OCUP4A. How do you mainly spend your time? Are you currently [Read alternatives] (1) Working? [Continue] (2) Not working, but have a job? [Continue] (3) Actively looking for a job? [Skip to Q10NEW] (4) A student? [Skip to Q10NEW] (5) Taking care of the home? [Skip to Q10NEW] (6) Retired, a pensioner or permanently disabled to work [Skip to Q10G] (7) Not working and not looking for a job? [Skip to Q10NEW] (888888) Don’t know [DON’T READ] [Skip to Q10NEW] (988888) No answer [DON’T READ] [Skip to Q10NEW]</p>	
<p>OCUP1A. In this job are you: [Read alternatives] (1) A salaried employee of the government or an independent state-owned enterprise? (2) A salaried employee in the private sector? (3) Owner or partner in a business? (4) Self-employed? (5) Unpaid worker? (888888) Don’t know [DON’T READ] (988888) No answer [DON’T READ] (999999) Inapplicable [DON’T READ]</p>	

[GIVE CARD “F” TO THE INTERVIEWEE]

[ASK ONLY IF RESPONDENT IS WORKING OR IS RETIRED/DISABLED/ON PENSION (VERIFY OCUP4A)]

Q10G. In this card there are several income ranges. Can you tell me into which of the following ranges fits the income you **personally** earn each month in your work or retirement or pension, without taking into account the income of other members of the home?

[If the respondent does not understand, ask: How much do you alone earn, in your salary or pension, without counting the income of the other members of your household, remittances, or other income?]

- (00) No income
- (01) Less than 5,000 gourdes
- (02) 5,000 – 9,000 gourdes
- (03) 9,001 – 11,000 gourdes
- (04) 11,001 – 12,500 gourdes
- (05) 12,501 – 14,000 gourdes
- (06) 14,001 – 15,000 gourdes
- (07) 15,001 – 16,000 gourdes
- (08) 16,001 – 17,500 gourdes
- (09) 17,501 – 19,500 gourdes
- (10) 19,501 – 23,000 gourdes
- (11) 23,001 – 28,000 gourdes
- (12) 28,001 – 36,500 gourdes
- (13) 36,501 – 45,500 gourdes
- (14) 45,501 - 55,500 gourdes
- (15) 55,501 – 70,000 gourdes
- (16) More than 70,000 gourdes
- (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]**
- (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**
- (999999) Inapplicable (not working and not retired) **[DON'T READ]**

Q10NEW. And into which of the following ranges does the total monthly income of this household fit, including remittances from abroad and the income of all the working adults and children?

[If the interviewee does not get it, ask: "Which is the total monthly income in your household?"]

- (00) No income
- (01) Less than 5,000 gourdes
- (02) 5,000 – 9,000 gourdes
- (03) 9,001 – 11,000 gourdes
- (04) 11,001 – 12,500 gourdes
- (05) 12,501 – 14,000 gourdes
- (06) 14,001 – 15,000 gourdes
- (07) 15,001 – 16,000 gourdes
- (08) 16,001 – 17,500 gourdes
- (09) 17,501 – 19,500 gourdes
- (10) 19,501 – 23,000 gourdes
- (11) 23,001 – 28,000 gourdes
- (12) 28,001 – 36,500 gourdes
- (13) 36,501 – 45,500 gourdes
- (14) 45,501 - 55,500 gourdes
- (15) 55,501 – 70,000 gourdes
- (16) More than 70,000 gourdes
- (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]**
- (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

[TAKE BACK CARD "F"]

Q10A. Do you or someone else living in your household receive remittances (financial support), that is, economic assistance from abroad?

- (1) Yes (2) No
- (888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]** (988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**

<p>Q14. Do you have any intention of going to live or work in another country in the next three years?</p> <p>(1) Yes (2) No</p> <p>(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>Q10D. The salary that you receive and total household income: [Read alternatives]</p> <p>(1) Is good enough for you and you can save from it</p> <p>(2) Is just enough for you, so that you do not have major problems</p> <p>(3) Is not enough for you and you are stretched</p> <p>(4) Is not enough for you and you are having a hard time</p> <p>(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ]</p> <p>(988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>Q10E. Over the past two years, has the income of your household: [Read alternatives]</p> <p>(1) Increased?</p> <p>(2) Remained the same?</p> <p>(3) Decreased?</p> <p>(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>Q11N. What is your marital status? [Read alternatives]</p> <p>(1) Single (2) Married</p> <p>(3) Common law marriage (Living together) (4) Divorced</p> <p>(5) Separated (6) Widowed</p> <p>(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ]</p> <p>(988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>Q12C. How many people in total live in this household at this time? _____</p> <p>(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ]</p> <p>(988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>Q12BN. How many children under the age of 13 live in this household? _____</p> <p>00 = none,</p> <p>(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>Q12. Do you have children? How many? [Include all respondent's children] _____ [HIGHEST NUMBER ACCEPTED: 20] [Continue]</p> <p>(00 = none) [Skip to VAC1]</p> <p>(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] [Continue]</p> <p>(988888) No answer [DON'T READ] [Continue]</p>	
<p>How many sons and how many daughters do you have?</p> <p>Q12M [Write down total number of sons] _____</p> <p>Q12F [Write down total number of daughters] _____</p> <p>(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ]</p> <p>(988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p> <p>(99999) Inapplicable (does not have children) [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>VAC1. Thinking about mothers, fathers, or caregivers of children that you know in this neighborhood/community, do you know if they care that their children are up to date on vaccines?</p> <p>(1) Yes</p> <p>(2) No</p> <p>(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>ETID. Do you consider yourself white, black, mulatto, or of another race? [If respondent says Afro-Haitian, mark (4) Black]</p> <p>(1) White (4) Black (5) Mulatto (7) Other</p> <p>(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ]</p> <p>(988888) No answer [DON'T READ]</p>	
<p>WWW1. Talking about other things, how often do you use the internet? [Read alternatives]</p> <p>(1) Daily</p> <p>(2) A few times a week</p> <p>(3) A few times a month</p> <p>(4) Rarely</p> <p>(5) Never</p> <p>(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ]</p>	

(988888) No answer [DON'T READ]	
G10. About how often do you pay attention to the news, whether on TV, the radio, newspapers or the internet? [Read alternatives]: (1) Daily (2) A few times a week (3) A few times a month (4) Rarely (5) Never (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]	

PR1. Is the home in which you reside... [Read alternatives] (1) Rented (2) Owned [If respondent has doubts, say "paid off completely or being paid for in regular mortgage payments"] (3) Borrowed or shared (4) Another situation (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]	
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HAITAX1. Homeowners are required to pay local property tax. To what extent do you think that paying taxes improves the quality of services provided by the locality? [Read alternatives] (1) A lot (2) Some (3) Little (4) None (888888) Don't know [DON'T READ] (988888) No answer [DON'T READ]	
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To conclude, could you tell me if you have the following in your house: [Read out all items]

R3. Refrigerator	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
R4. Landline/residential telephone (not cellular)	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
R4A. Cellular telephone. (Accept smartphone)	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
R5. Vehicle/car. How many? [If the interviewee does not say how many, mark "one."]	(0) No (1) One (2) Two	(3) Three or more	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
R6. Washing machine	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
R7. Microwave oven	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
R8. Motorcycle	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
R12. Drinking water line/pipe to the house	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
R14. Indoor bathroom/toilet/WC	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
R15. Computer (Accept tablet, iPad)	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
R18. Internet from your home (included phone or tablet)	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)
R1. Television	(0) No [Skip to FORMATQ]	(1) Yes [Continue]	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)

R16. Flat panel TV	(0) No	(1) Yes	Don't know [DON'T READ] (888888)	No answer [DON'T READ] (988888)	Inapplicable [DON'T READ] (999999)
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These are all the questions I have. Thank you very much for your cooperation.

FORMATQ. Please indicate the format in which THIS specific questionnaire was completed. (1) Paper (2) ADGYS (3) Windows PDA (4) STG	
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COLORR. [When the interview is complete, WITHOUT asking, please use the color chart and circle the number that most closely corresponds to the color of the face of the respondent] _____ (97) Could not be classified [Mark (97) only if, for some reason, you could not see the face of the respondent]	
TIB. Time interview ended: _____ : _____	

[When the interview is complete, WITHOUT asking, please complete the following questions]	
CONOCIM. Using the scale shown below, please rate your perception about the level of political knowledge of the interviewee. (1) Very high (2) High (3) Neither high or low (4) Low (5) Very low	

PHYSICAL DISORDER To what extent would you say the area around the interviewee's home is affected by...?	Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Very much
IAREA1. Garbage in the street or the sidewalk	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
IAREA2. Potholes in the street	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
IAREA3. Households with bars/railings in windows (includes metal fences, barbwire and similar items)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

SOCIAL DISORDER To what extent would you say the area around the interviewee's home is affected by...?	Not at all	Little	Somewhat	Very much
IAREA4. Youth or kids in the streets with nothing to do, wandering around	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
IAREA6. People drunk or under the influence of drugs in the streets	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
IAREA7. People arguing in a violent or aggressive manner in the street (talking loudly, with anger)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

TI. Duration of interview [minutes, see page # 1] _____	
INTID. Interviewer ID number: _____	
SEXI. Note interviewer's sex: (1) Male (2) Female	
COLORI. Using the color chart, note the color that comes closest to your own color.	

I swear that this interview was carried out with the person indicated above.

Interviewer's signature _____ *Date* ____ / ____ / ____

Field supervisor's signature _____

Comments: _____

[Not for PDA/Android use] Signature of the person who entered the data _____

[Not for PDA/Android use] Signature of the person who verified the data _____

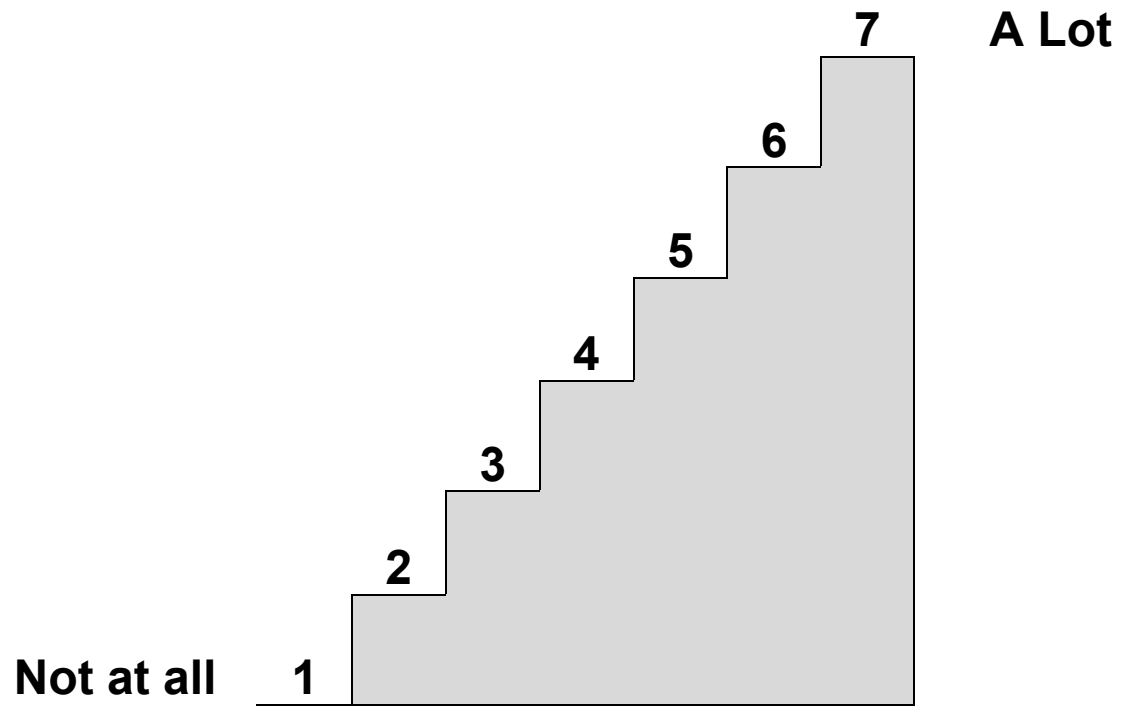


Card A (L1)

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

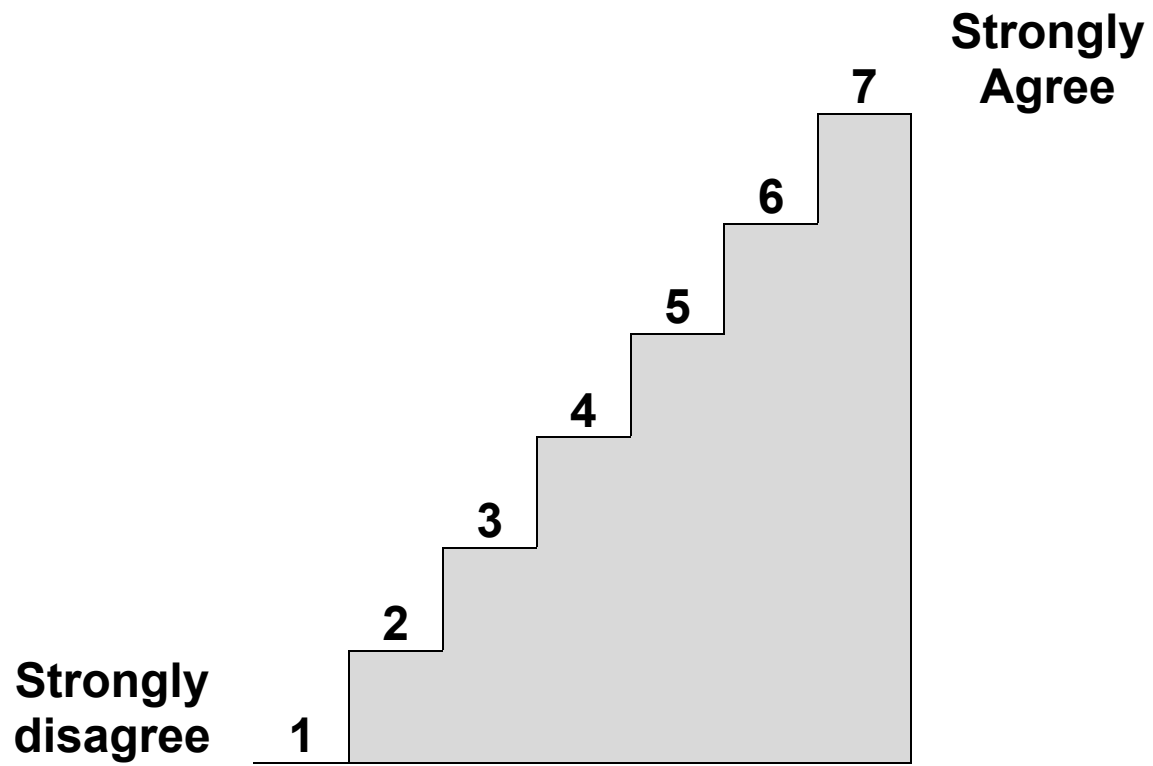


Card B





Card C



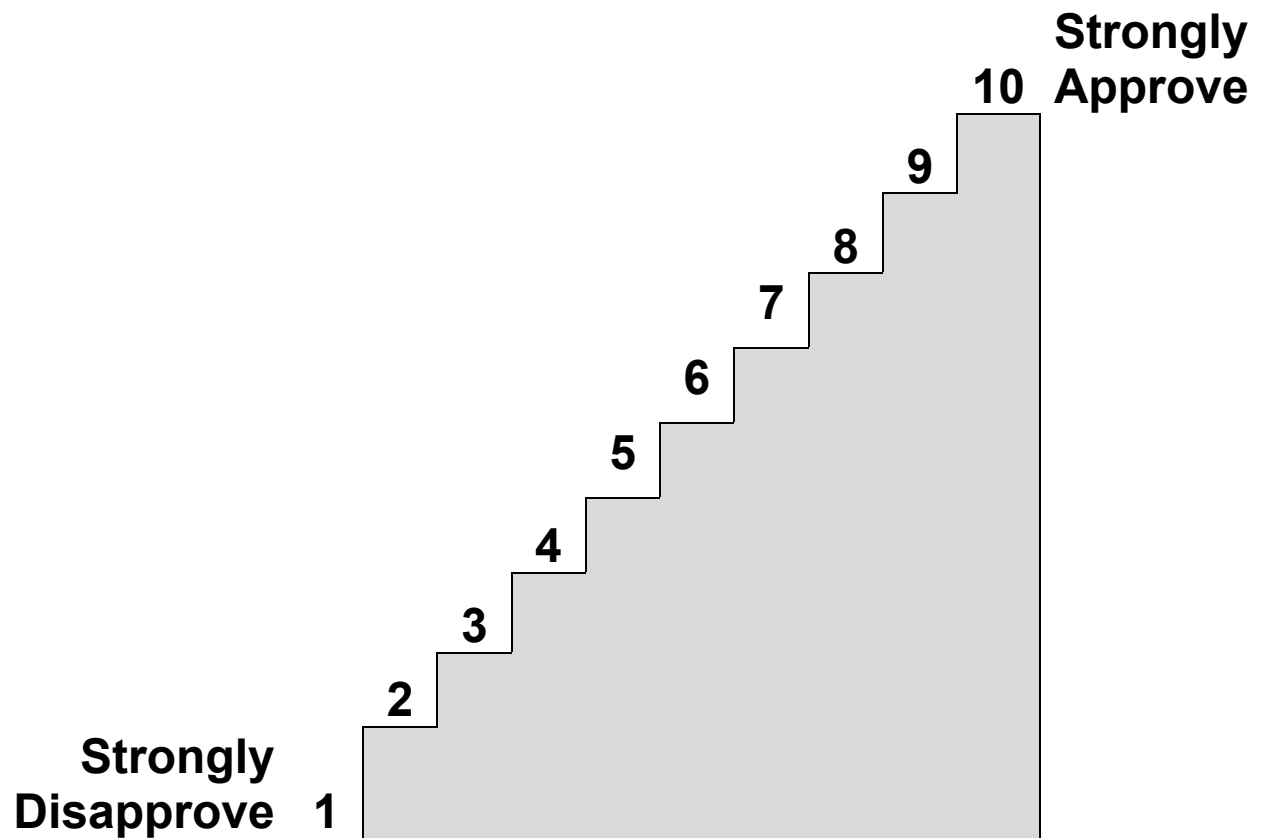


Card N

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Environment is priority					Economic growth is priority	



Card D



Card H

Brazil

China

South Korea

United States

India

Japan

Mexico

Russia

Singapore

Venezuela



Card F

- (00) No income
- (01) Less than 5,000 gourdes
- (02) 5,000 – 9,000 gourdes
- (03) 9,001 – 11,000 gourdes
- (04) 11,001 – 12,500 gourdes
- (05) 12,501 – 14,000 gourdes
- (06) 14,001 – 15,000 gourdes
- (07) 15,001 – 16,000 gourdes
- (08) 16,001 – 17,500 gourdes
- (09) 17,501 – 19,500 gourdes
- (10) 19,501 – 23,000 gourdes
- (11) 23,001 – 28,000 gourdes
- (12) 28,001 – 36,500 gourdes
- (13) 36,501 – 45,500 gourdes
- (14) 45,501 - 55,500 gourdes
- (15) 55,501 – 70,000 gourdes
- (16) More than 70,000 gourdes

Card ED

[Do NOT show to interviewee]

ED. How many years of schooling have you completed?
 _____ Year _____ (primary, secondary, university) = _____ total number of years
[Use the table below for the code]

00. None

Primary	Secondary	University
01 Pre-School	08 Sixième / 7 A.F.	15 University 1
02 Preparatory 1 / 1 A.F.	09 Cinquième / 8 A.F.	16 University 2
03 Preparatory 2 / 2 A.F.	10 Quatrième / 9 A.F.	17 University 3
04 Elementary 1 / 3 A.F.	11 Troisième	18+ University 4 and more
05 Elementary 2 / 4 A.F.	12 Seconde	
06 Intermediate 1 / 5 A.F.	13 Rhéto	
07 Intermediate 2 / 6 A.F.	14 Philo	
(888888) Don't know [DON'T READ]	(988888) No answer [DON'T READ]	



Card Q3C

[Do NOT show to interviewee]

Q3C. What is your religion, if any? [DO NOT read alternatives]

[If the respondent says that he/she has no religion, probe to see if he/she should be located in option 4 or 11]

[If interviewer says “Christian” or “Evangelical”, probe to verify if he is catholic (option 1), Pentecostal (option 5) or non-pentecostal evangelical (option 2). If he is unsure, select (2)].

(01) Catholic

(02) Protestant, Mainline Protestant or Protestant non-Evangelical (Christian; Calvinist; Lutheran; Methodist; Presbyterian; Disciple of Christ; Anglican; Episcopalian; Moravian).

(03) Non-Christian Eastern Religions (Islam; Buddhist; Hinduism; Taoist; Confucianism; Baha'i).

(05) Evangelical and Pentecostal (Evangelical; Pentecostals; Church of God; Assemblies of God; Universal Church of the Kingdom of God; International Church of the Foursquare Gospel; Christ Pentecostal Church; Christian Congregation; Mennonite; Brethren; Christian Reformed Church; Charismatic non-Catholic; Light of World; Baptist; Nazarene; Salvation Army; Adventist; Seventh-Day Adventist; Sara Nossa Terra).

(06) LDS (Mormon).

(07) Traditional Religions or Native Religions (Santería, Candomblé, Voodoo, Rastafarian, Mayan Traditional Religion; Umbanda; Maria Lonza; Inti; Kardecista, Santo Daime, Esoterica).

(10) Jewish (Orthodox; Conservative; Reform).

(12) Jehovah's Witness.

(04) None (Believes in a Supreme Entity but does not belong to any religion)

(11) Agnostic, atheist (Does not believe in God).

(77) Other

(888888) Don't know **[DON'T READ]**

(988888) No answer **[DON'T READ]**



Color Palette



The AmericasBarometer

The AmericasBarometer is a regional survey carried out by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP). LAPOP has deep roots in the Latin America and Caribbean region, via public opinion research that dates back over four decades. Its headquarters are at Vanderbilt University, in the United States. The AmericasBarometer is possible due to the activities and support of a consortium of institutions located across the Americas. To carry out each round of the survey, LAPOP partners with local individuals, firms, universities, development organizations, and others in 34 countries in the Western Hemisphere. These efforts have three core purposes: to produce objective, non-partisan, and scientifically sound studies of public opinion; to build capacity and strengthen international relations; and to disseminate important findings regarding citizens' experiences with, assessments of, and commitment to democratic forms of government.

Since 2004, the AmericasBarometer has received generous support from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Vanderbilt University. Other institutions that have contributed to multiple rounds of the survey project include Ciudadanía, Environics, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Tinker Foundation, and the United Nations Development Programme. The project has also benefited from grants from the U.S. National Science Foundation (NSF), the National Center for Research in Brazil (CNPq), and the Open Society Foundation. Collaborations with university partners who sponsor items on the survey also sustain the project. In this most recent round, those contributors included Dartmouth, Florida International University, the University of Illinois, the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, the Universidad Católica Andrés Bello in Venezuela, and several centers at Vanderbilt University.

The 2016/17 AmericasBarometer was carried out via face-to-face interviews in 27 countries across the Latin America and Caribbean region, and via the internet in Canada and the U.S. All samples are designed to be nationally representative of voting-age adults and electronic devices were used for data entry in all countries. In all, more than 43,000 individuals were interviewed in this latest round of the survey. The complete 2004-2016/17 AmericasBarometer dataset contains responses from over 250,000 individuals across the region. Common core modules, standardized techniques, and rigorous quality control procedures permit valid comparisons across individuals, subgroups, certain subnational areas, countries, supra-regions, and time.

AmericasBarometer data and reports are available for free download from the project website: www.LapopSurveys.org Datasets from the project can also be accessed via "data repositories" and subscribing institutions at universities across the Americas. Through such open access practices and these collaborations, LAPOP works to contribute to the pursuit of excellence in public opinion research and ongoing discussions over how programs and policies related to democratic governance can improve the quality of life for individuals in the Americas and beyond.

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