

# SOCIAL | POLITICAL EXPERTISE

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## PRE-ELECTORAL OPINION SURVEY

# HAITI

### Final Report

Total Sample

**3,400 respondents**

Departments Covered

**10 departments**

Candidates Assessed

**20 personalities**

May 2026

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## 1. METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

### 1.1 Context and Justification of the Study

Conducting a pre-electoral opinion survey in Haiti in 2026 takes place within a particularly complex context. The country has been experiencing a multidimensional crisis for several years — security, institutional, and economic — that profoundly affects the conditions under which any field survey must be planned and executed. In the absence of regular elections since 2016, public opinion on electoral preferences has not been measured in a systematic and representative manner, creating an informational gap that this survey aims to partially fill.

The study was commissioned with the objective of producing a reference barometer on the voting intentions of Haitian citizens, measuring the relative popularity of twenty political personalities identified as likely candidates or potential contenders for the presidency of the Republic. It is intended for political actors, international partners, civil society organizations, and media wishing to have an empirical basis for analyzing the emerging electoral landscape.

### 1.2 Questionnaire Design

The questionnaire administered to respondents was intentionally short to maximize the completion rate in an environment where mistrust of surveyors can be high. It comprised three main components: a screening and consent section verifying respondent eligibility; a main voting intention question ("If presidential elections were held today in Haiti, among the following personalities, which one would you like to see leading the country?") with random rotation of candidate order; and a socio-demographic section covering gender, age group, education level, main sector of activity, and area of residence. The questionnaire was designed in French and translated into Haitian Creole, used as the primary language of administration in virtually all field interactions.

### 1.3 Sampling Strategy

The target population consists of all Haitian citizens of voting age (18 years and older) residing in the national territory. The total reference population is estimated at 11,867,000 inhabitants, with approximately 58% of adult population (~6,883,000 potential voters). The sample was constituted using proportional stratification by department, ensuring each geographic stratum is represented proportionally to its actual demographic weight. Allocation formula:  $n_{i} = (N_{i} / N) \times n$ , with rounding via the Largest Remainder Method.

| # | Department | Capital        | Weight | Population | Sample | %      |
|---|------------|----------------|--------|------------|--------|--------|
| 1 | Ouest      | Port-au-Prince | 34.0%  | ~4,035,000 | 1,156  | 34.00% |
| 2 | Artibonite | Gonaïves       | 16.0%  | ~1,899,000 | 544    | 16.00% |
| 3 | Nord       | Cap-Haïtien    | 9.9%   | ~1,175,000 | 337    | 9.91%  |
| 4 | Sud        | Les Cayes      | 8.0%   | ~949,000   | 272    | 8.00%  |
| 5 | Centre     | Hinche         | 7.2%   | ~854,000   | 245    | 7.21%  |
| 6 | Grand'Anse | Jérémie        | 6.5%   | ~771,000   | 221    | 6.50%  |
| 7 | Nord-Ouest | Port-de-Paix   | 5.9%   | ~700,000   | 200    | 5.88%  |
| 8 | Sud-Est    | Jacmel         | 5.5%   | ~653,000   | 187    | 5.50%  |
| 9 | Nord-Est   | Fort-Liberté   | 3.6%   | ~427,000   | 122    | 3.59%  |

|    |              |           |             |                    |              |             |
|----|--------------|-----------|-------------|--------------------|--------------|-------------|
| 10 | Nippes       | Miragoâne | 3.4%        | ~404,000           | 116          | 3.41%       |
|    | <b>TOTAL</b> |           | <b>100%</b> | <b>~11,867,000</b> | <b>3,400</b> | <b>100%</b> |

### 1.4 Data Collection

A network of 60 surveyors was mobilized to cover all ten departments (averaging 6 per department, with reinforced staffing in Ouest — 14 surveyors — and Artibonite — 8 surveyors). A two-day training was provided before fieldwork. Data collection was conducted between March and April 2026, over an effective period of six weeks. Surveys were conducted exclusively during daytime hours (8am–5pm). Data were collected on paper questionnaires, with centralized data entry in Port-au-Prince within 72 hours.

### 1.5 Quality Control

Each surveyor team was placed under a field supervisor (ratio 1:5–6). Supervisors physically verified 15% of questionnaires via phone callback or visit. During data entry, a double check was performed: first entry by one operator, systematic verification by a second on a 20% sample. The effective response rate across all initial contacts is estimated at 78%. The final file contains exactly 3,400 valid questionnaires.

### 1.6 Statistical Processing

Calibration weighting was applied on gender and age variables using the raking method (max bound: 3.0). The overall margin of error at national level is ±1.68 percentage points (95% confidence, n = 3,400). Departmental margins range from ±2.88 pp (Ouest) to ±9.10 pp (Nippes). Differences between candidates were subjected to bilateral Z tests ( $\alpha = 0.05$ ).

### 1.7 Methodological Limitations

Key limitations include: (i) incomplete geographic coverage in insecure zones of Ouest and Artibonite, requiring substitute segments; (ii) absence of an official electoral register; (iii) potential social desirability bias in politically polarized environments; (iv) snapshot-in-time results reflecting preferences as of March–April 2026; and (v) informal candidacies — not all twenty personalities have formally declared their candidacy.



capacity to still mobilize a substantial electoral base. He shows a relatively balanced distribution across the territory.

**D. Guy Philippe: the surprise of the field**

Guy Philippe establishes himself as the fourth national force with 211 votes (6.21%), a result driven by a dominant performance in Grand'Anse (44 votes, 19.9%) and strong showings in Centre (33, 13.5%), Nord-Est (21, 17.2%), and Nord-Ouest (18, 9.0%). His territorial footprint — top 3 in 4 departments — signals a cross-regional appeal that goes beyond a single stronghold.





**Nord-Ouest (Port-de-Paix) Sample: 200 | Pop: ~700,000 | Weight: 5.9%**

| Rank | Candidate            | Votes | % dept. | Visualization                            |
|------|----------------------|-------|---------|--|
| 1    | Etzer Emile          | 36    | 18.0%   | ██ |
| 2    | Jean Ernest Muscadin | 31    | 15.5%   | ██ |
| 3    | Michel Martelly      | 26    | 13.0%   | ██ |
| 4    | Martine Moise        | 22    | 11.0%   | ██ |
| 5    | Guy Philippe         | 18    | 9.0%    | ██ |

Nord-Ouest (200 respondents) sees Etzer Emile lead with 36 votes (18.0%). Jean Ernest Muscadin holds second place with 31 votes (15.5%), ahead of Michel Martelly (26, 13.0%). Martine Moïse achieves one of her best relative performances here with 22 votes (11.0%). Guy Philippe rounds out the top 5 with 18 votes (9.0%), reflecting his growing national footprint.

**Sud-Est (Jacmel) Sample: 187 | Pop: ~653,000 | Weight: 5.5%**

| Rank | Candidate            | Votes | % dept. | Visualization                            |
|------|----------------------|-------|---------|--|
| 1    | Etzer Emile          | 39    | 20.9%   | ██ |
| 2    | Michel Martelly      | 27    | 14.4%   | ██ |
| 3    | Jean Ernest Muscadin | 26    | 13.9%   | ██ |
| 4    | Jude Celestin        | 14    | 7.5%    | ██ |
| 5    | Dominique Dupuy      | 12    | 6.4%    | ██ |

Sud-Est (187 respondents) sees Etzer Emile remain first (39 votes, 20.9%). Michel Martelly (27, 14.4%) and Jean Ernest Muscadin (26, 13.9%) are virtually tied for second. Jude Celestin confirms his roots in the Jacmel region with 14 votes (7.5%), placing third locally.

**Nord-Est (Fort-Liberté) Sample: 122 | Pop: ~427,000 | Weight: 3.6%**

| Rank | Candidate            | Votes | % dept. | Visualization                            |
|------|----------------------|-------|---------|--|
| 1    | Etzer Emile          | 21    | 17.2%   | ██ |
| 2    | Guy Philippe         | 21    | 17.2%   | ██ |
| 3    | Jean Ernest Muscadin | 14    | 11.5%   | ██ |
| 4    | Michel Martelly      | 11    | 9.0%    | ██ |
| 5    | Dominique Dupuy      | 9     | 7.4%    | ██ |

Nord-Est (122 respondents) sees Etzer Emile and Guy Philippe tied at the top with 21 votes each (17.2%). Jean Ernest Muscadin follows with 14 votes (11.5%), ahead of Michel Martelly (11, 9.0%) and Dominique Dupuy (9, 7.4%). Despite the small sample, the tight competition between Emile and Philippe here signals Guy Philippe's solid regional footprint in the North.

**Nippes (Miragoâne) Sample: 116 | Pop: ~404,000 | Weight: 3.4%**



## 4. COMPARATIVE SYNTHESIS AND ELECTORAL MAPPING

### 4.1 Map of Departmental Dominances

| Department | 1st                          | 2nd                          | 3rd                          |
|------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Ouest      | Etzer Emile (31.0%)          | Michel Martelly (8.2%)       | Jean Ernest Muscadin (7.6%)  |
| Artibonite | Etzer Emile (15.1%)          | Cholzer Chancy (11.8%)       | Jean Ernest Muscadin (10.5%) |
| Nord       | Etzer Emile (24.9%)          | Dominique Dupuy (18.4%)      | Moise Jean Charles (11.6%)   |
| Sud        | Etzer Emile (33.1%)          | Jean Ernest Muscadin (20.2%) | Michel Martelly (8.5%)       |
| Centre     | Etzer Emile (17.1%)          | Michel Martelly (13.5%)      | Guy Philippe (13.5%)         |
| Grand'Anse | Etzer Emile (37.1%)          | Guy Philippe (19.9%)         | Jean Ernest Muscadin (16.7%) |
| Nord-Ouest | Etzer Emile (18.0%)          | Jean Ernest Muscadin (15.5%) | Michel Martelly (13.0%)      |
| Sud-Est    | Etzer Emile (20.9%)          | Michel Martelly (14.4%)      | Jean Ernest Muscadin (13.9%) |
| Nord-Est   | Etzer Emile (17.2%)          | Guy Philippe (17.2%)         | Jean Ernest Muscadin (11.5%) |
| Nippes     | Jean Ernest Muscadin (46.6%) | Etzer Emile (18.1%)          | Jocelerme Privert (12.9%)    |

### 4.2 Territorial Coverage Profile of Leading Candidates

| Candidate            | Top 3 in | Departments   |
|----------------------|----------|---|
| Etzer Emile          | 9/10     | Ouest, Artibonite, Sud, Centre, Grand'Anse, Nord-Ouest, Sud-Est, Nord-Est, Nippes |
| Jean Ernest Muscadin | 7/10     | Ouest, Artibonite, Sud, Grand'Anse, Nord-Ouest, Sud-Est, Nippes                   |
| Michel Martelly      | 6/10     | Ouest, Nord, Sud, Centre, Nord-Ouest, Sud-Est                                     |
| Guy Philippe         | 4/10     | Centre, Grand'Anse, Nord-Est, Nord-Ouest  |
| Dominique Dupuy      | 1/10     | Nord  |
| Jocelerme Privert    | 1/10     | Nippes  |
| Cholzer Chancy       | 1/10     | Artibonite  |

### 4.3 Second-Round Scenario: Indicative Projections

**Scenario 1 — Emile vs. Muscadin:** This duel remains the most probable given current scores. Etzer Emile would start as the clear favorite with 25.15% against 12.76%, but Jean Ernest Muscadin can count on strong strongholds (Nippes 46.6%, Sud 20.2%) and potential alliances with Cholzer Chancy (2.56%) and Youri Latortue (2.38%) — both widely established in Artibonite. A wildcard factor is Guy Philippe (6.21%), whose territorial base in Grand'Anse, Centre, Nord-Est, and Nord-Ouest could make him a decisive kingmaker in any second-round configuration.

**Scenario 2 — Emile vs. Martelly:** Michel Martelly's ability to mobilize his historical electorate (popular base, Carnival clienteles, former Tèt Kale networks) could allow him to close part of the gap. This scenario would place the dynamic in a logic of popularity versus competence, a classic electoral configuration in Haiti.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS AND ANALYTICAL RECOMMENDATIONS

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### 5.1 Key Findings

**1. Confirmed and reinforced lead for Etzer Emile:** With 25.15% of national voting intentions (855 votes) and a leading position in 9 of the 10 departments, Etzer Emile is the undisputed leader of this survey. His dominance is particularly marked in Grand'Anse (37.1%), Sud (33.1%), Ouest (31.0%), and Nord (24.9%), confirming a cross-cutting credibility that is rare in the current Haitian political landscape.

**2. Fragmented landscape:** The other 19 candidates share 74.85% of intentions, revealing a very fragmented political field. This fragmentation structurally favors the candidate with the broadest and most territorially homogeneous base — a profile that clearly fits Etzer Emile.

**3. Artibonite, a highly contested stronghold:** Artibonite (544 respondents) is the most competitive department. Etzer Emile leads (82 votes, 15.1%), but Cholzer Chancy (64, 11.8%), Jean Ernest Muscadin (57, 10.5%), and Youri Latortue (51, 9.4%) are closely packed. Chancy and Latortue together represent 23% of the Artibonite electorate — a coalition force that could weigh heavily in a second-round scenario.

**4. Female candidacies in waiting:** Maryse Narcisse (5.62%) and Martine Moïse (3.03%) open a space for female representation, but remain behind the male leaders. Their potential for growth will depend heavily on the campaign context.

### 5.2 Study Limitations

This survey constitutes a snapshot of opinion at a given moment. Results should be interpreted with the following precautions: (i) the variable security situation may have influenced local representativeness; (ii) formal candidacies have not yet been officially declared; (iii) the volatility of opinion in a crisis context is generally higher than in a stable environment.

### 5.3 Recommendations for Stakeholders

**For candidates:** It is imperative to translate survey popularity into real territorial organization. Haiti's electoral history shows that the survey leader is not always the election winner if their electoral machinery is insufficient.

**For institutional observers:** Organizing a repeated panel survey (3 to 4 waves) would allow measuring the evolution of trends and producing more robust projections as the election approaches.

**For international partners:** Departmental data can be used to guide electoral observation strategies and civil society support, prioritizing areas where competition is tightest (Nord, Artibonite) or local dynamics most complex (Nippes).

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## ABOUT SOCIAL AND POLITICAL EXPERTISE, INC.

Social and Political Expertise, Inc. is a firm specializing in political analysis, opinion polling, and strategic consulting, based in Port-au-Prince. The firm supports public institutions, international organizations, political parties, and private sector actors in their strategic decisions in Haiti and the region.

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