

Lebanon: Five Years after the Arab Uprisings

Findings from the Arab Barometer

WAVE 4 LEBANON COUNTRY REPORT

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Overview

The fourth wave of the Arab Barometer was conducted in 2016, about five years after the Arab uprisings spread across the region and amidst ongoing regional challenges including Syrian civil war. A major implication of this conflict is the arrival of approximately one million Syrian refugees in Lebanon that have increased pressure on a government already struggling to provide basic public services and increase economic growth. Meanwhile, at the time of the survey, Lebanon had been without a president for two years, calling into question the capacity of political elites to govern effectively. Against this background, the fourth wave of the Arab Barometer reveals that Lebanese are becoming increasingly pessimistic about the country and its direction, and significant social and economic challenges still remain.

Even though the views of Lebanese about the state of their economy have actually improved since 2007, an overwhelming majority (90 percent) still perceive the country's economic situation is bad or very bad compared to 96 percent in 2007. Additionally, there is a clear dissatisfaction with government performance in providing public services, including its job of providing for the country's security in the aftermath of the 2016 terrorist attack in Qaa and broader regional instability. The army stands as the most trusted political institution, although confidence in the Lebanese armed forces tends to be lower than in other Arab countries surveyed. Meanwhile, the vast majority of Lebanese (94 percent) perceive significant corruption in their system and few (15 percent) believe the government is taking steps to crack down it. Distrust in government runs deep, with a majority (56 percent) saying public officials are aware of citizens' needs, but only 9 percent saying that politicians are concerned with their needs. Nevertheless, support for democracy remains strong despite a minor decline since 2007. Meanwhile, despite a myriad of problems, Lebanese remain more likely to prefer gradual reforms to radical reforms.

The two most important concerns cited by ordinary Lebanese are the economic situation and the challenge of Syrian refugees. Additionally, Lebanese are deeply worried about accessing quality public services. For example, nearly three-quarters (72 percent) are worried or deeply worried that there is no possibility to give their children a good education, and most are generally unsatisfied with the quality of health and education services.

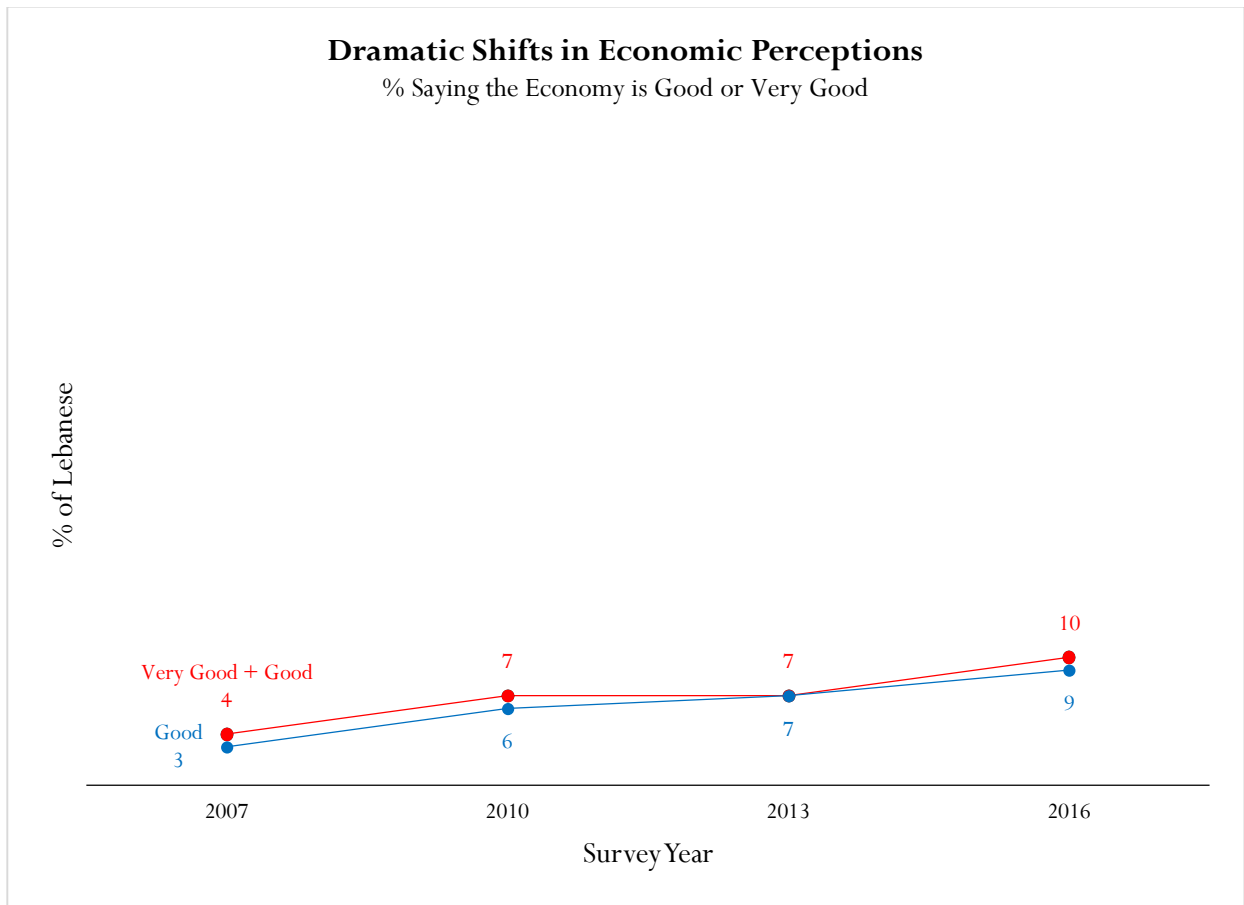
Lebanese prefer a parliamentary political system in which nationalist, left wing, right wing and Islamist parties compete in parliamentary elections. Furthermore, most believe that a woman can become President or Prime Minister of a Muslim country, even though half of the Lebanese think that men are better than women at political leadership.

Turning into international relations, on the whole Lebanese attitudes toward the European Union are more favorable than with other world powers, with 49 percent wanting future economic relations to be stronger with the E.U. Furthermore, many Lebanese want to see stronger ties with Russia (41 percent) and the United States (36 percent). At the same time, most Lebanese see external powers as having a negative or very negative influence on the development of democracy in Lebanon, and they are more likely to cite

external factors than internal factors as the most important cause behind a lack of development in the Arab world.

The Economy and Corruption

Very few Lebanese rate their country's current economic situation as good (9 percent) or very good (1 percent), compared with 91 percent who believe Lebanese economy is either bad (43 percent) or very bad (48 percent). Furthermore, a vast majority of Lebanese (86 percent) do not believe the economy is likely to get better during the next five years. Additionally, more than half of the Lebanese (59 percent) believe the economic situation was somewhat or much better five years ago.

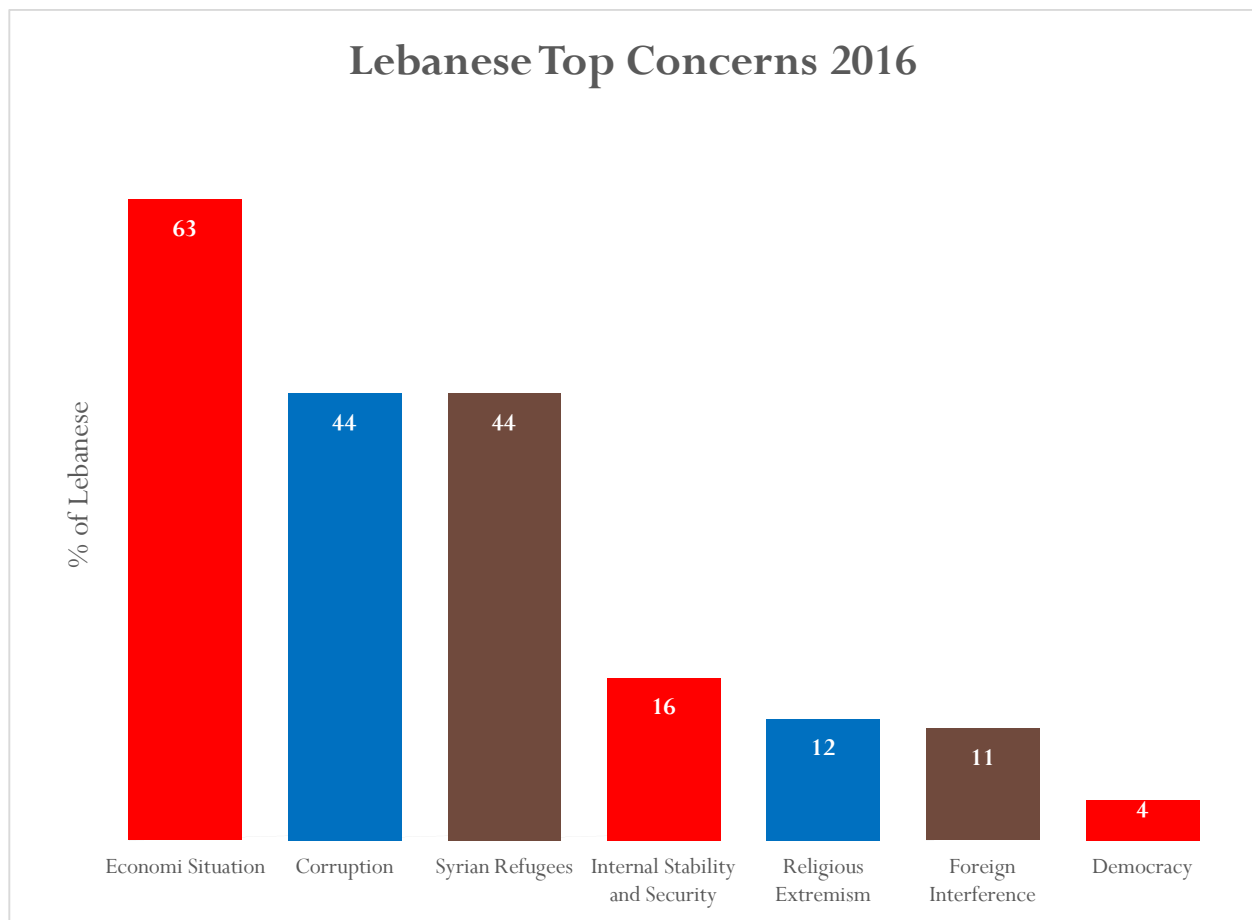


Despite concerns about the country's economic situation, Lebanese (47 percent) are likely to say their current household economic situation is good or very good.

Lebanese have serious concerns about their ability to access quality public services (see Appendix Table 2). For example, the vast majority of Lebanese (72 percent) are worried or very worried that there is no possibility to give their children a good education, even though 76 percent say they are satisfied or very satisfied with the educational system. However, the level of satisfaction with healthcare system is far lower than that of education system: only four-in-ten (41 percent) are satisfied (36 percent) or very satisfied (5 percent) with healthcare system. Furthermore, views about the government's performance improving public services show similar results: while fewer than half of Lebanese (47 percent) say the government is doing a good job in its efforts to address educational needs, three in ten (31 percent) say government is doing a good or very good job improving basic health services. By comparison, 39

percent say government is doing a *very* bad job improving basic health services, and 28 percent say government is doing *very* bad job addressing educational needs, which is a relatively higher rate of dissatisfaction compared with some of the other countries surveyed by the Arab Barometer, including Jordan, Palestine and Morocco.

Lebanese are deeply concerned about Lebanon's economic situation. Nearly two-thirds (63 percent) cite the economic situation as one of the two most crucial challenges Lebanon faces. Moreover, corruption and Syrian refugees are among Lebanese top concerns: nearly half of Lebanese (44 percent) cite both financial and administrative corruption and Syrian refugees as one of their country's two most pressing challenges. Other key concerns include internal stability and security (16 percent) and religious extremism (12 percent). By comparison, relatively few Lebanese rank foreign interference (11 percent) or the state of democracy (4 percent) as being among the country's two most important challenges.¹



There is near universal belief (94 percent) that corruption is found within the state agencies and institutions to a medium (18 percent) or large (76 percent) extent. Additionally, few Lebanese (15 percent) believe that the government is working to crack down corruption and root out bribes to a medium or large extent. Meanwhile, 30 percent say the government is cracking down to a small extent, and 55 percent say it is not doing anything at all about corruption.

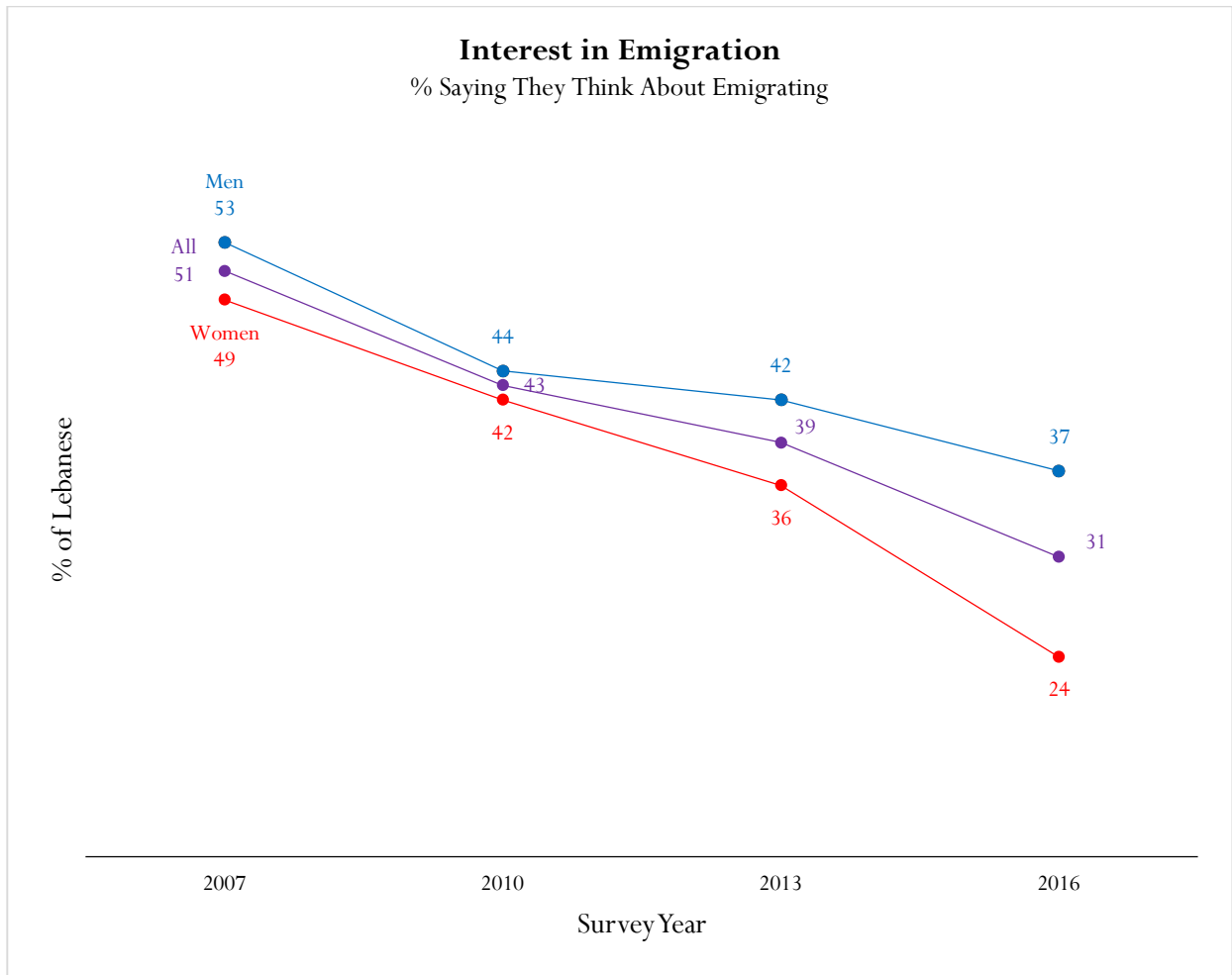
Unsurprisingly, personal experiences of corruption and unequal access to opportunities are also widespread. Eight in ten of Lebanese (81 percent) say that the use of *wasta* (personal connections or an intermediary) to get a job

¹ Since this data is the combination of two perceived issues recorded for each respondent, the percentages in the Table do not sum to 100 percent but 200 percent.

opportunity is extremely widespread, a further 17 percent say it is sometimes used. Moreover, 16 percent Lebanese say they have been required to receive a certificate of good behavior from the police in order to obtain a passport, identity card, or other document from local government institutions.

Emigration

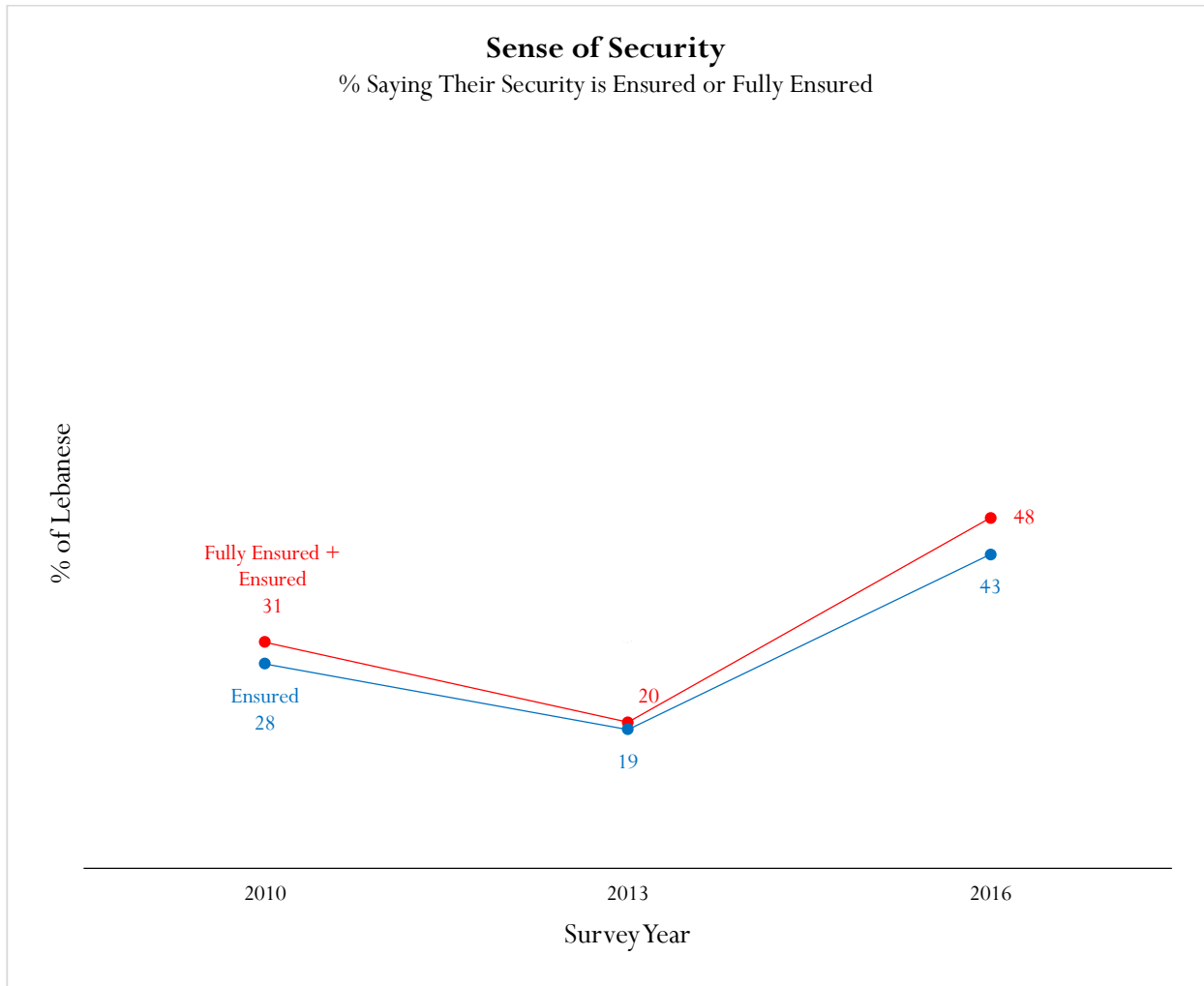
A third of Lebanese (31 percent) say that they are thinking about emigrating. Men are more likely to consider emigrating than women: 37 percent of men want to emigrate compared to 24 percent of women who want to do so. Notably, the desire of Lebanese to move abroad has decreased over the last decade, falling from 51 percent in 2006. Among those who do think about emigrating, a clear majority (92 percent) cite economic reasons (47 percent) or both economic and political reasons (45 percent) as the basis for moving abroad. Europe (50 percent) and the United States or Canada (31 percent) are most preferred destinations, followed by the GCC other than Saudi Arabia (12 percent) and Saudi Arabia (2 percent).²



² It should be noted that respondents could cite multiple desired destinations.

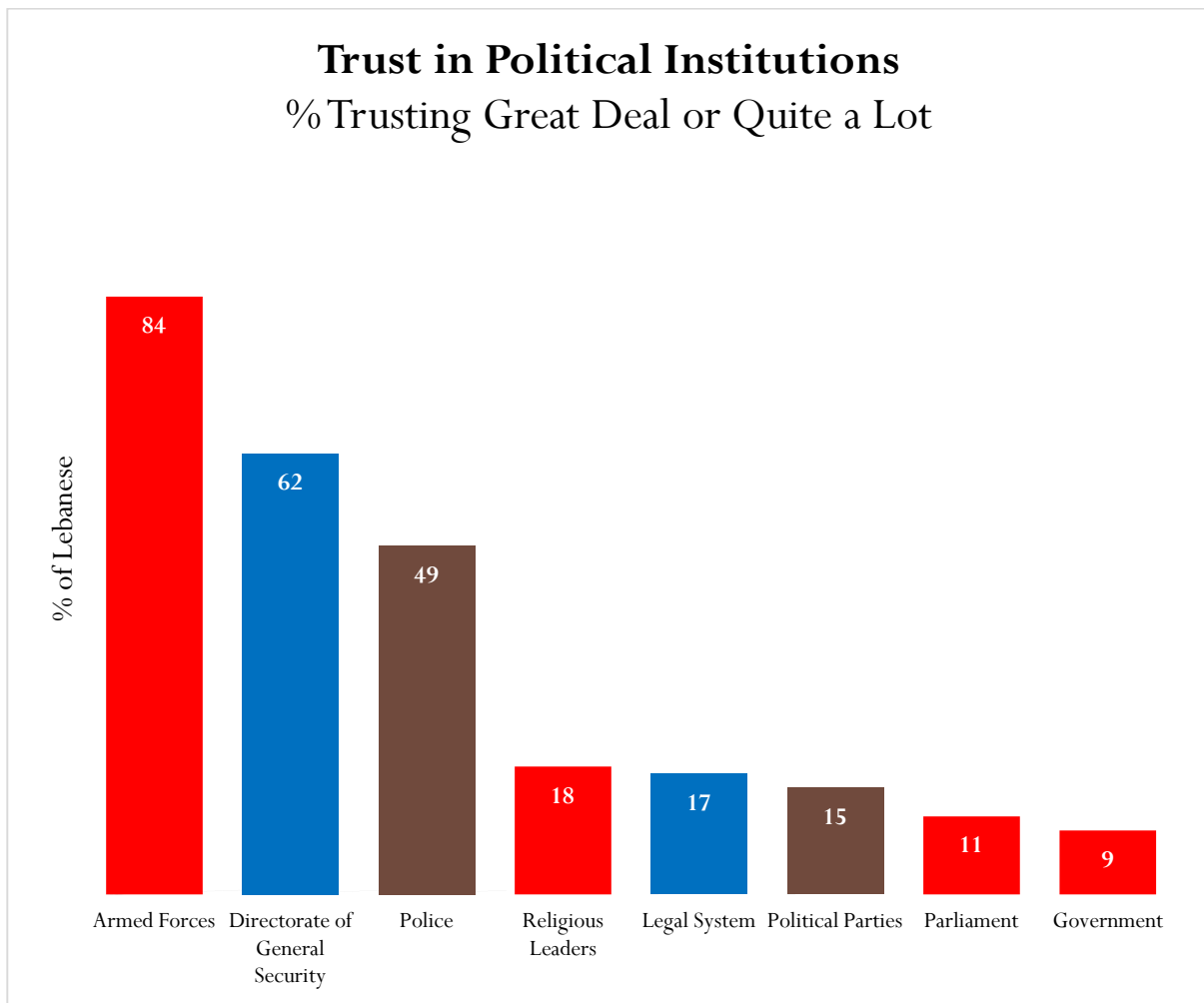
Security

Roughly half of the Lebanese (48 percent) feel their own personal as well as their family's security and safety are ensured or fully ensured, compared with 36 percent who say they are not ensured and 16 percent who say they are absolutely not ensured. Perhaps as a result, Lebanese do not feel comfortable in daily interactions: nearly three-quarters (71 percent) are worried or very much worried about being harassed or threatened on street, with 76 percent of women and 66 percent of men being worried or very worried about this possibility (see Appendix Table 2). Furthermore, Lebanese are concerned about the possibility of a terrorist attack in their country: the vast majority of Lebanese (88 percent) worry about a terrorist attack in their country, including 65 percent who say they are very worried about this possibility.



Trust in Political Institutions

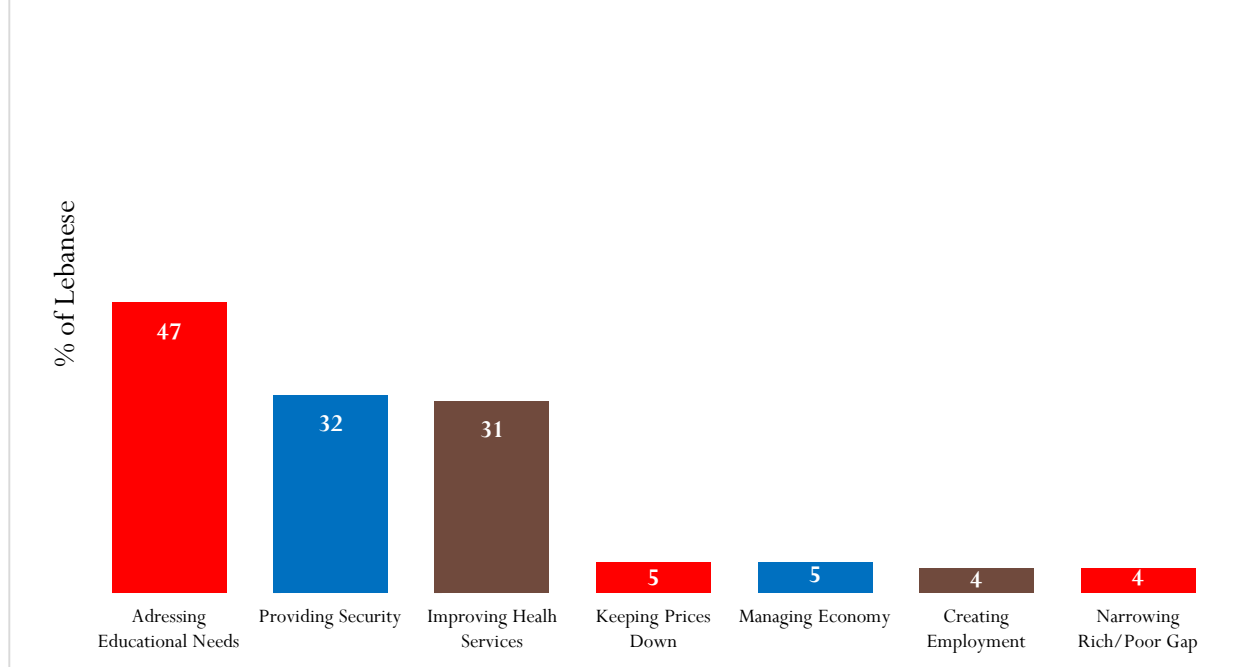
Lebanese have the higher trust in security forces than in political institutions. The vast majority of Lebanese (84 percent) trust the armed forces a great deal or quite a lot. Lebanese trust in the Directorate of General Security (62 percent) and the police (49 percent) are relatively higher than the trust in political institutions. Parliament and the government are the least trusted of a range of political institutions: just 11 percent of Lebanese trust the parliament (with 67 percent who do not trust parliament *at all*) and only 9 percent of Lebanese trust government (with 72 percent who do not trust government *at all*). Similarly, few Lebanese trust politicians. Asked to rank politicians' honesty on a 7-point scale (with 7 being the most honest), a clear majority of Lebanese (85 percent) rated politicians' honesty at a 3 or below.



Most Lebanese don't think they are being treated equally by government: a clear majority (69 percent) say that they are treated equally to a limited extent or not at all. Furthermore, more than half of Lebanese (56 percent) believe that the government is aware of citizens' needs but only 9 percent believe that political leaders are concerned with the needs of ordinary citizens. Meanwhile, only 14 percent believe the state is undertaking far-reaching reforms.

Satisfaction with Government Performance

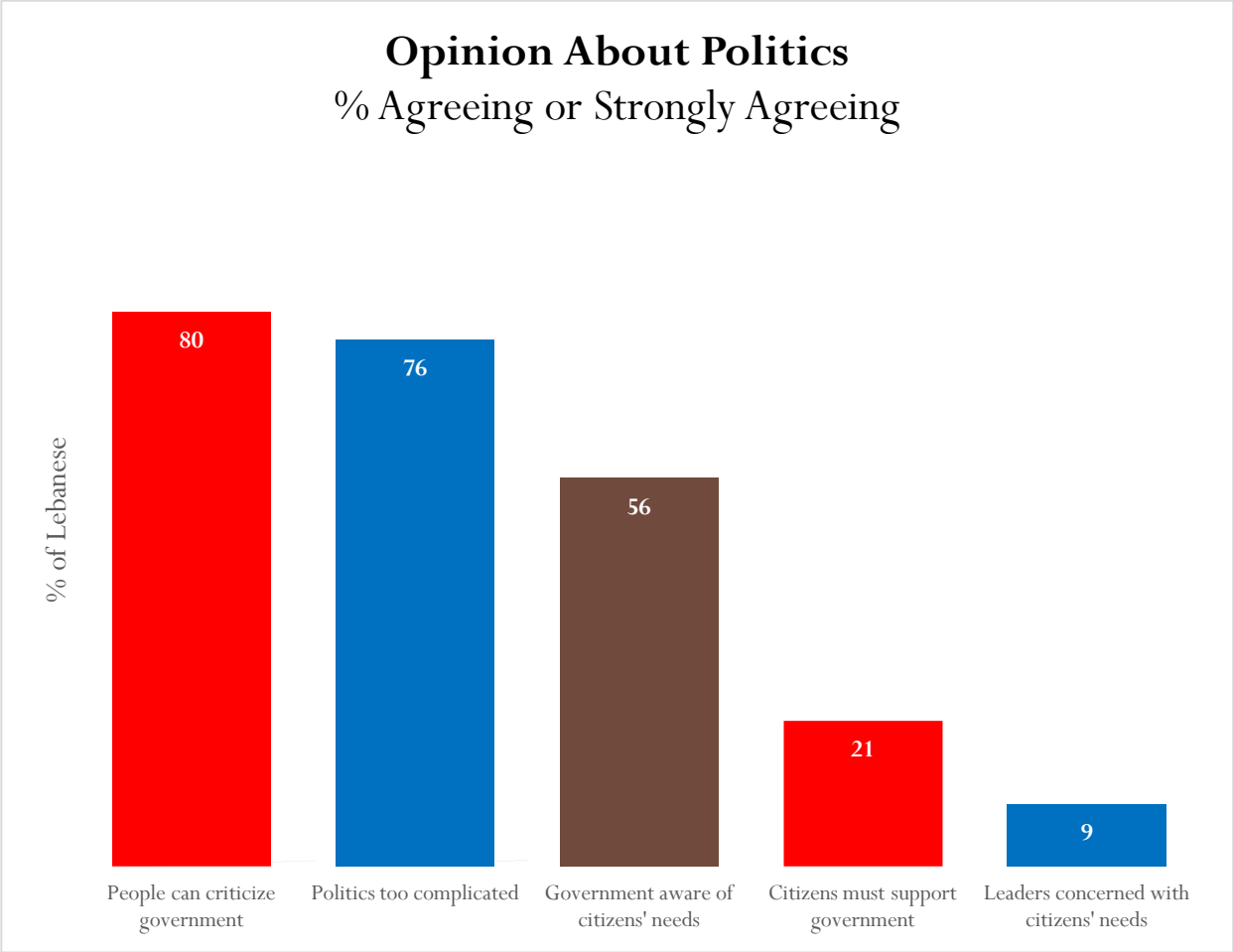
% Saying Good or Very Good



Among all policy issues, Lebanese are most pleased with the job the government is doing addressing educational needs. Nearly half (47 percent) are satisfied or very satisfied with government efforts in this area, although this is far lower than in many other countries surveyed by the Arab Barometer. Meanwhile, only a third are satisfied or very satisfied with government performance of providing security (32 percent) or improving health services (31 percent) (see figure above and Appendix Table 4). However, they are far less satisfied with government performance related to economic matters: just 5 percent say the government is doing a good job managing economy or keeping prices down. By comparison, more than half of Lebanese (57 percent) say the government is doing a *very* bad job managing economy, and 59 percent say government is doing *very* bad job keeping prices down. Moreover, only 4 percent of Lebanese think that government is doing a good or very good job creating employment and narrowing the gap between the rich and the poor (compared to 62 percent who think that government is doing *very* bad job creating employment opportunities or narrowing the gap between the rich and the poor).

Opinions About Politics

Two in ten (21 percent) agree or strongly agree with the idea that you must support the government even if you disagree with it. A large majority (80 percent) say that citizens can criticize the government without fear. Meanwhile, Lebanese find the political process to be confusing: three-fourths (76 percent) agree (34 percent) or strongly agree (42 percent) with the statement “sometimes, politics are so complicated that I cannot understand what is happening”.



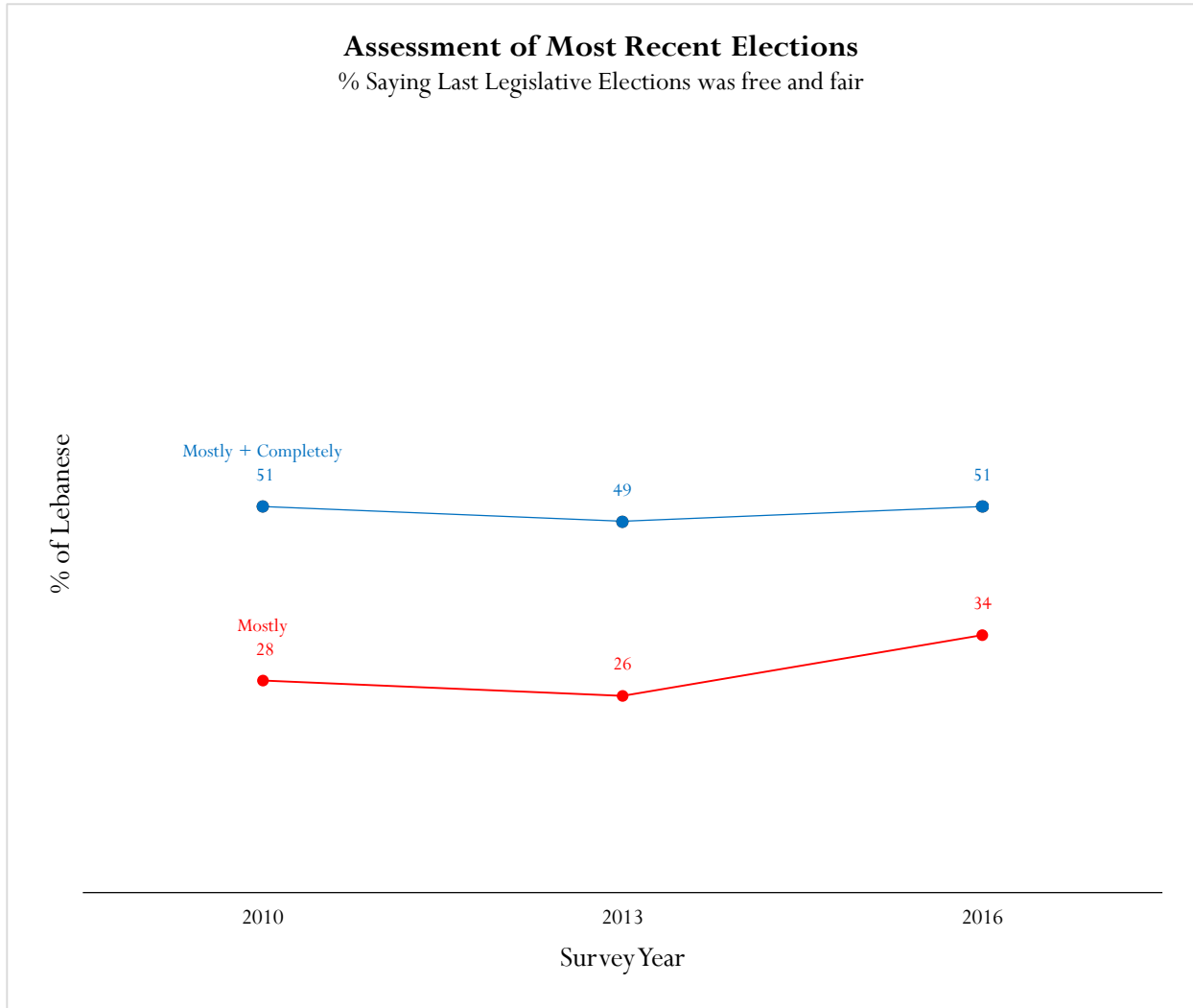
Alleviating Poverty

Lebanese are interested in helping the poor, even at a personal cost to themselves. About a quarter (26 percent) say they would help the poor even at a large personal cost and a further 46 percent saying they would do it a small cost. Four in ten (39 percent) say that they want to help poor because it makes them sad to see people suffer. Another half say they want to help poor because they enjoy making those more unfortunate happy (28 percent) or God will reward them for their generosity (20 percent). Meanwhile, more than half of Lebanese (58 percent believe the best way to help the poor is by encouraging *sadaqa*, or private charity while only 17 percent believe raising taxes is the best way. Meanwhile, 18 percent say that neither increasing taxes to help poor through social spending nor encouraging *sadaqa* is the best way to help the poor.

Elections and Parliament

Since the parliamentary elections that were scheduled to be held in 2014 were postponed until 2018, questions asking respondents about their views of the most recent parliamentary elections refer to the 2009 parliamentary elections. Answers to questions about the most recent parliamentary elections in this wave of the survey can therefore be compared to the results from wave 3 to examine consistency of responses as distance from the election increases.

In the 2016 survey, 51 percent of Lebanese say that they voted in the last parliamentary elections and further 15 percent say that they attended a campaign meeting or rally. Evaluations of the elections were mixed: 17 percent said the last parliamentary elections were completely free and fair; 34 percent said they were free and fair with minor problems; 12 percent said they were free and fair with major problems; and 24 percent said they were not free or fair. Meanwhile, 12 percent say they do not know enough to evaluate the quality of the last elections. These figures show a constant assessment of the most recent elections compared with the 2013 and 2010 surveys.



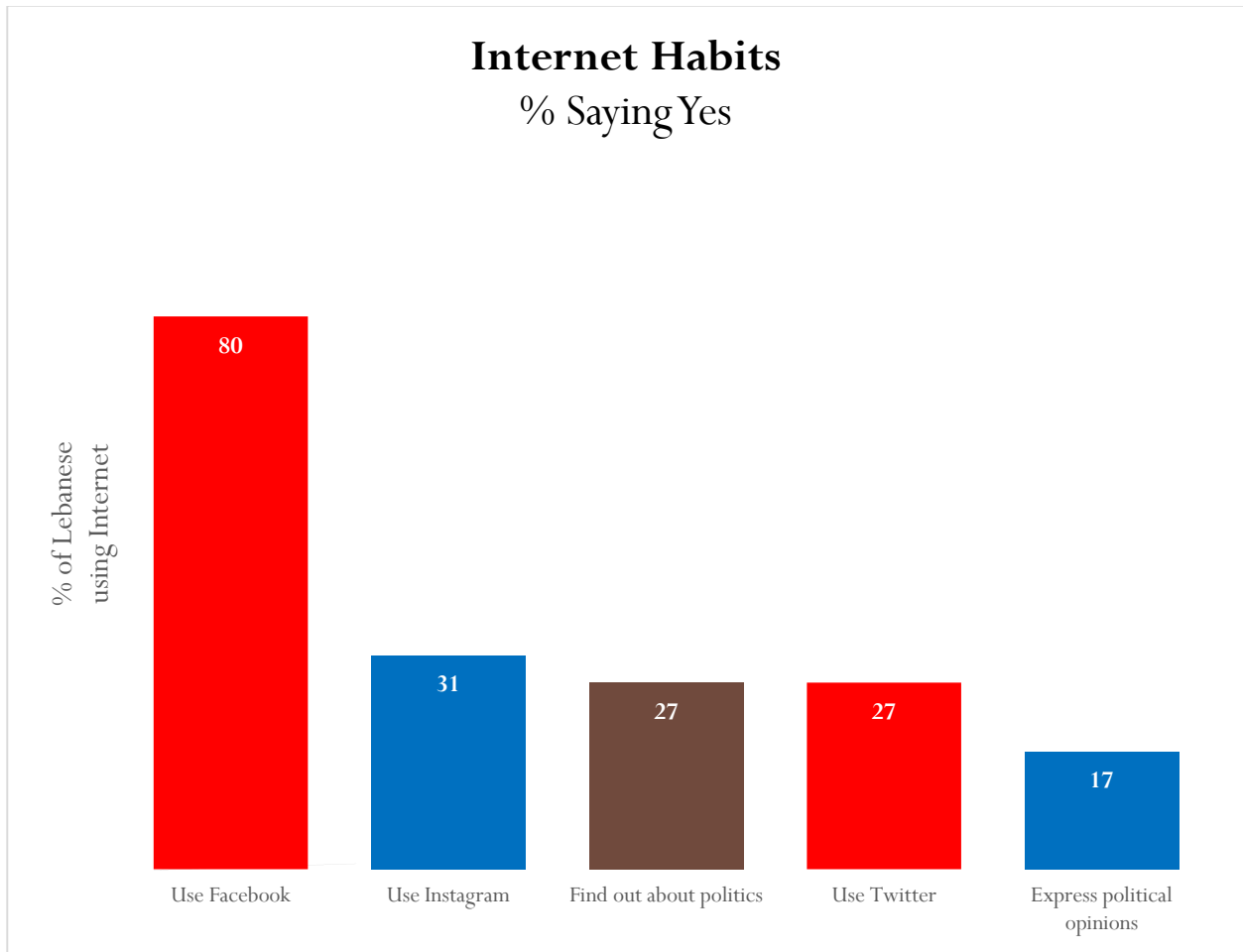
The Media

Like most Arab publics, Lebanese are largely disinterested in politics. Overall, 71 percent say they have little or no interest in politics, compared with only 8 percent say they are very interested. Television is the primary medium Lebanese use to follow political news: while 73 percent of Lebanese watch television to follow political news daily or a number of times in a week, only 9 percent say that they follow political news daily or a number of times in a week through newspaper.

Few Lebanese have direct experience with trying to access censored media. More than half of Lebanese (53 percent) believe that the media they might want to access such newspapers, magazines, or foreign books are *not* forbidden by

the government and/or its agencies. However, 37 percent say that they have not tried while 10 percent say that they are censored.

Lebanese are more likely to be online than publics in many other countries surveyed by Arab Barometer. More than two thirds (69 percent) are online either daily or throughout the day. By comparison, only 17 percent do not use the internet at all. Among those who use the internet, a third of Lebanese (29 percent) say they have used it to find out about politics while 17 percent have used it to express political opinions. The vast majority of Lebanese internet users have Facebook accounts (80 percent), but far fewer are on Instagram (31 percent) or Twitter (27 percent).

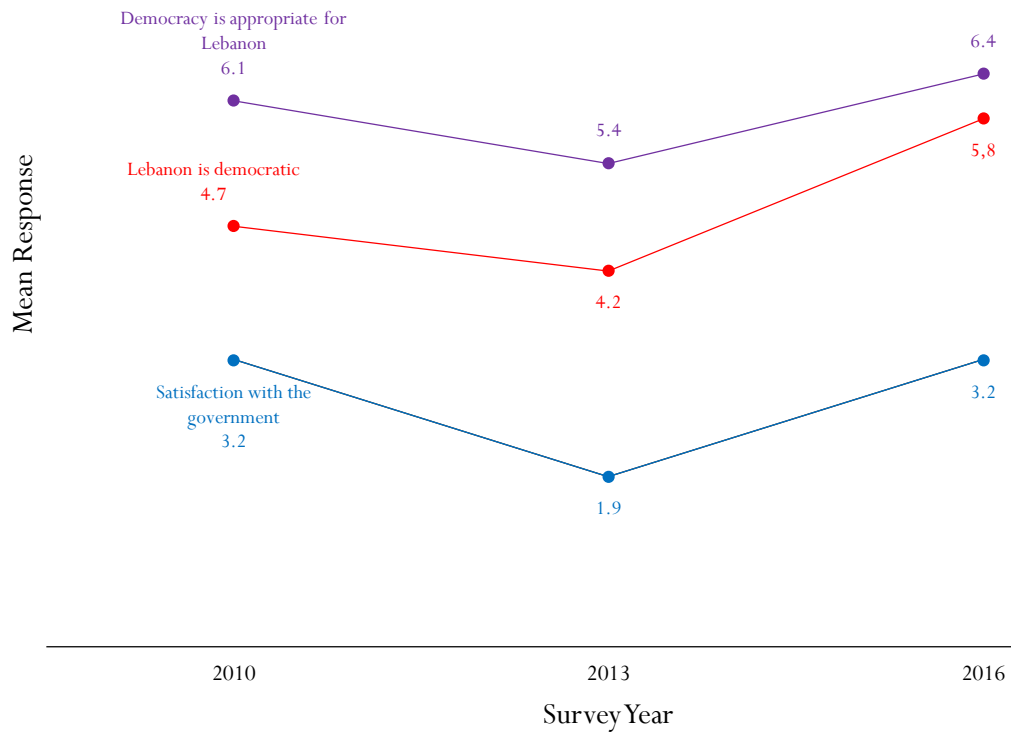


Democracy

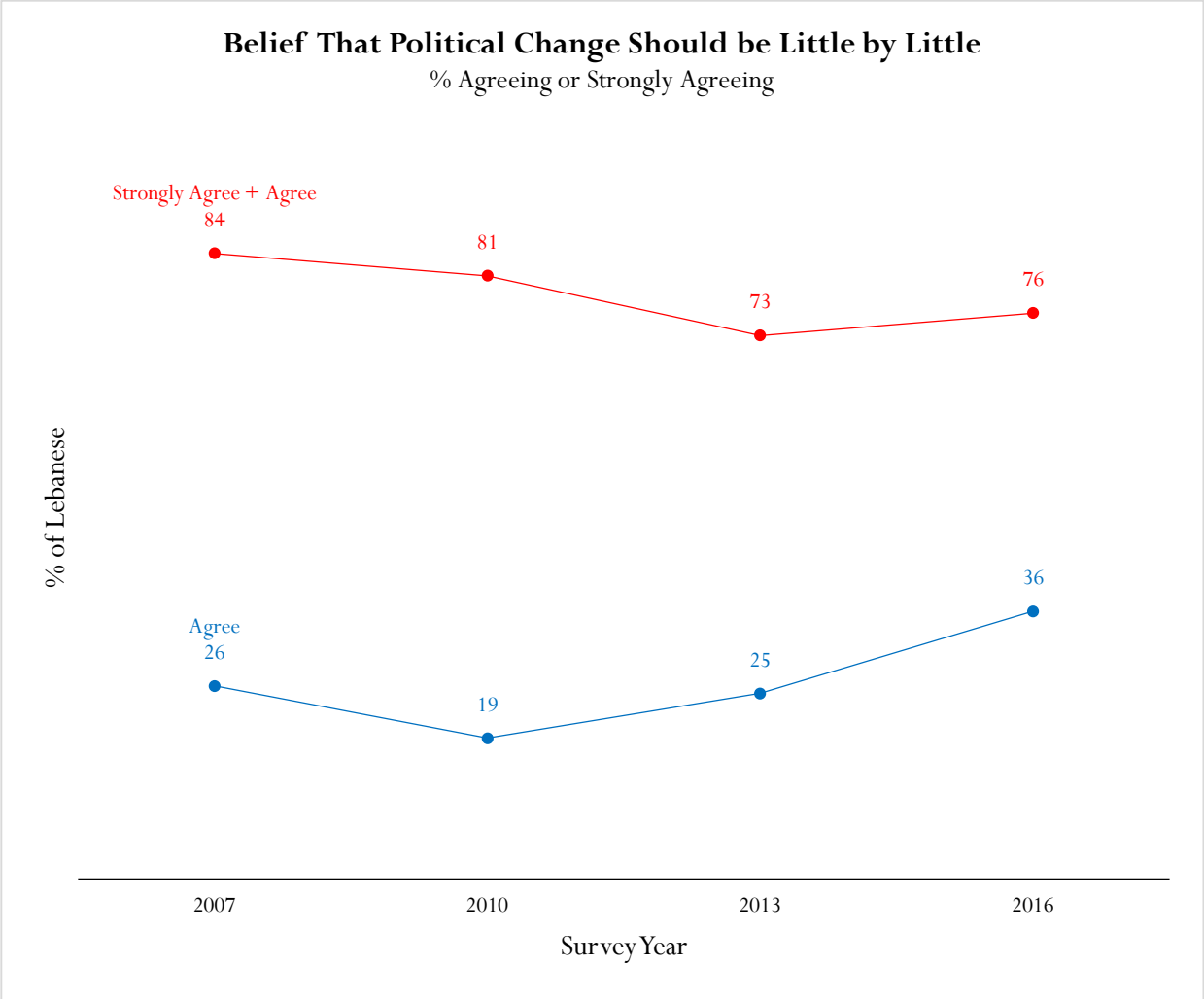
Similar to findings from previous waves of the Arab Barometer, few Lebanese are members of political parties (12 percent) or any other formal organizations (10 percent). Furthermore, few Lebanese have attended a political meeting or signed a petition in the last three years (18 percent) or participated in a protest in the last three years (7 percent). Around half of those who have participated in a protest or demonstration have done so more than once.

Using a 10-point scale, Lebanese believe their country is moderately democratic, with a mean score of 5.8. Using similar scales, they are more likely to say that democracy is appropriate for their country (mean of 6.4), but they are deeply dissatisfied with the government (mean of 3.2). See Appendix Table 10 for a full breakdown of responses.

Assessment of Democracy of Lebanon & Government On a Scale 0-10



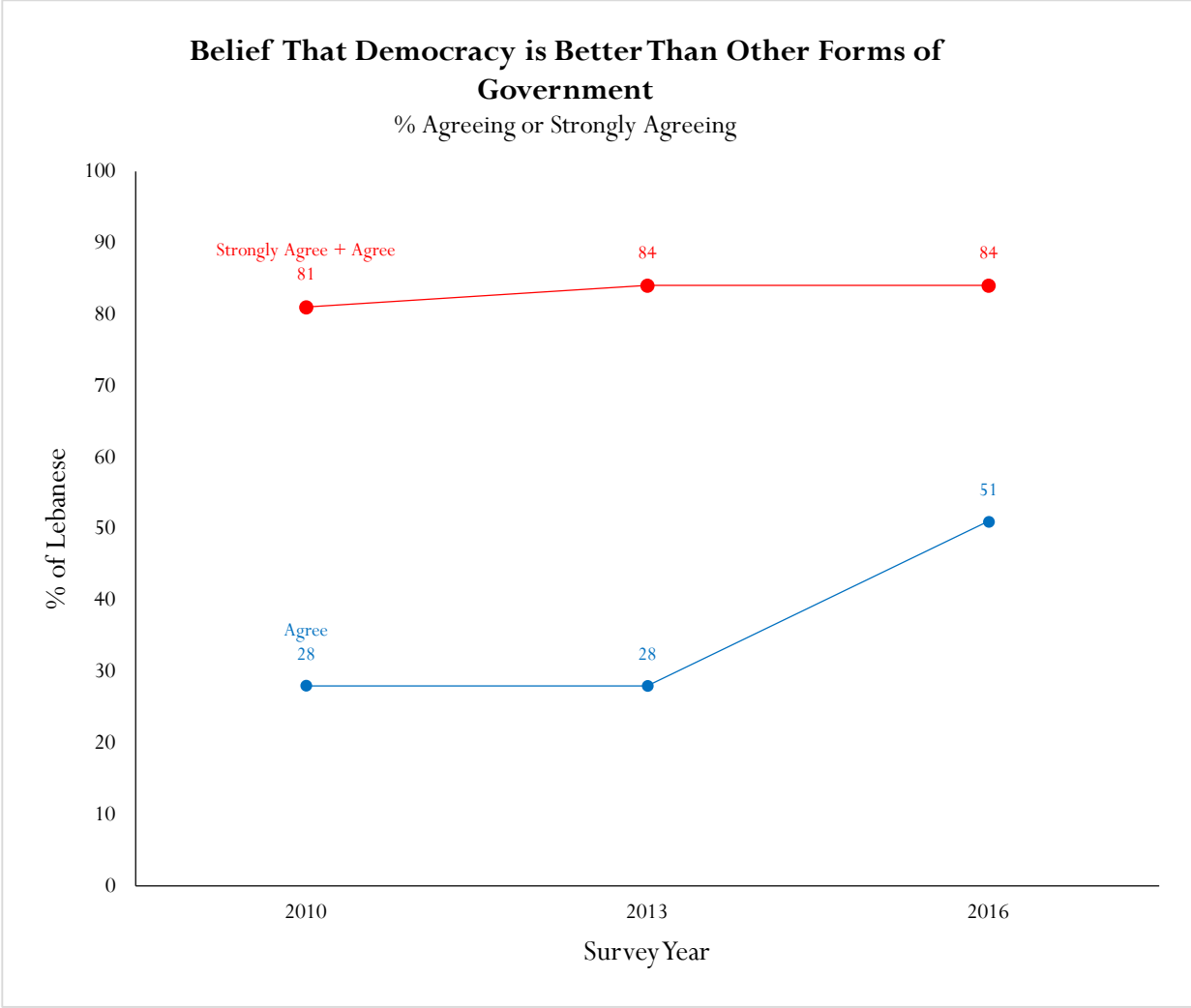
As prior waves of the survey have also found, most Lebanese (76 percent) support gradual over radical political reform (36 percent strongly agree and a further 40 percent agree).



Lebanese are most likely to conceptualize democracy in socioeconomic terms. Asked to choose the most essential characteristic of democracy from among several options provided, 35 percent choose “basic necessities like food, clothes, and shelter are provided for” and another 33 percent choose “government provides people with quality public services,” while only 23 percent choose “the legislature has oversight of government,” and 9 percent choose “people are free to organize political groups”. Two similar questions with different options produced similar results.

Despite varied conceptions about the meaning of democracy, Lebanese tend to support democracy (see Appendix Table 11). A large majority (84 percent) strongly agree or agree that while a democratic system may have problems, it is better than other political systems, which has increased steadily since 2011. However, when asked about the absoluteness of democracy being the most preferable system, support for democracy appears a bit weaker. Two-thirds state that their opinion on democracy is closest to the statement, “Democracy is always preferable to any other kind of government.” A further 20 percent believe “under some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable”, and 14 percent believe that it does not matter for them what kind of government Lebanon has.

Concerns about certain weaknesses of a democratic system are somewhat limited. For example, only 32 percent of Lebanese agree or strongly agree with a statement that democratic regimes are not effective at providing order and stability, 34 percent agree or strongly agree that economic performance is weak in democratic systems and similarly 34 percent agree or strongly agree that democratic regimes can be indecisive and full of problems. Furthermore, the same percentage (34 percent) agree or strongly agree that “citizens in our country are not prepared for a democratic system.”



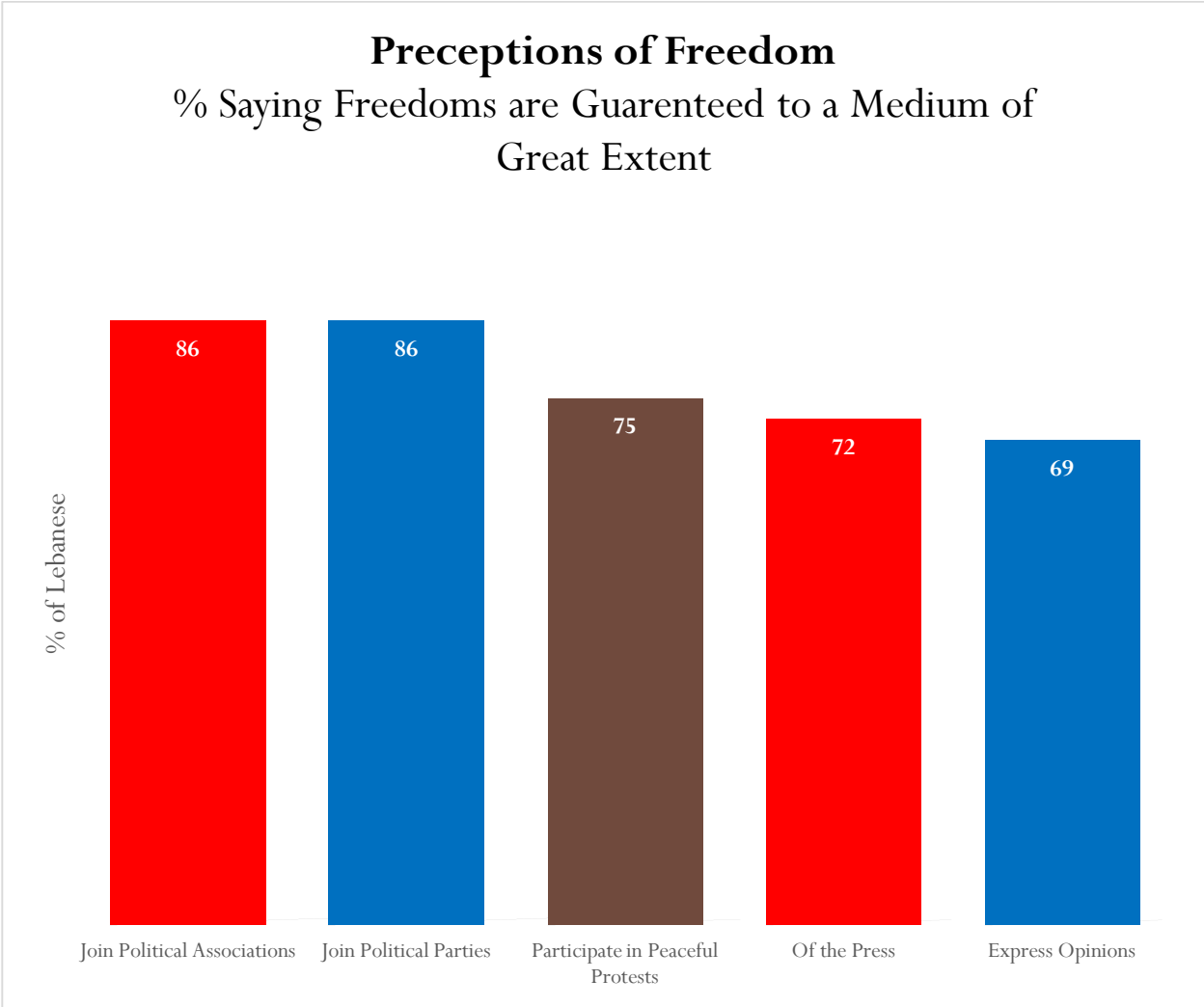
There is no specific form of government that majority of Lebanese consider as the most suitable form of government for Lebanon (see Appendix Table 12). More than third of Lebanese (37 percent) believe that “a parliamentary system in which nationalist, left-wing, right-wing, and Islamist parties compete in parliamentary elections” is a very suitable or suitable form of government for Lebanon, compared with 41 percent who say it is not suitable at all. Nearly a third (29 percent) find a parliamentary system in which only non-religious parties compete in parliamentary elections as suitable or very suitable, whereas more than half (53 percent) say it is not suitable at all.

Other possible forms of government garner less support, but there is significant variation. Notably, 13 percent believe a system that provides for the needs of its citizens without giving them the right to participate in the process is suitable, compared with 68 percent who believe it is not suitable at all. In contrast, 10 percent believe that a political

system governed by a strong authority which makes decisions without considering electoral results or the opinions of the opposition is suitable or very suitable. Furthermore, 5 percent of Lebanese believe a system governed by Islamic law in which there are no political parties or elections is suitable.

Civil Liberties

Most Lebanese (69 percent) believe they are free to express their political opinions to a great or medium extent. Moreover, a clear majority (86 percent) believe that they are free to join political associations and political parties. Meanwhile, three-fourths believe that they are free to participate in peaceful protests and demonstrations to a medium or great extent, and further 72 percent believe that the press is free to a medium or great extent. These findings reflect prior survey results as well as observations of Lebanese that confirm its relatively free press and freedom of association (see Appendix Table 14).



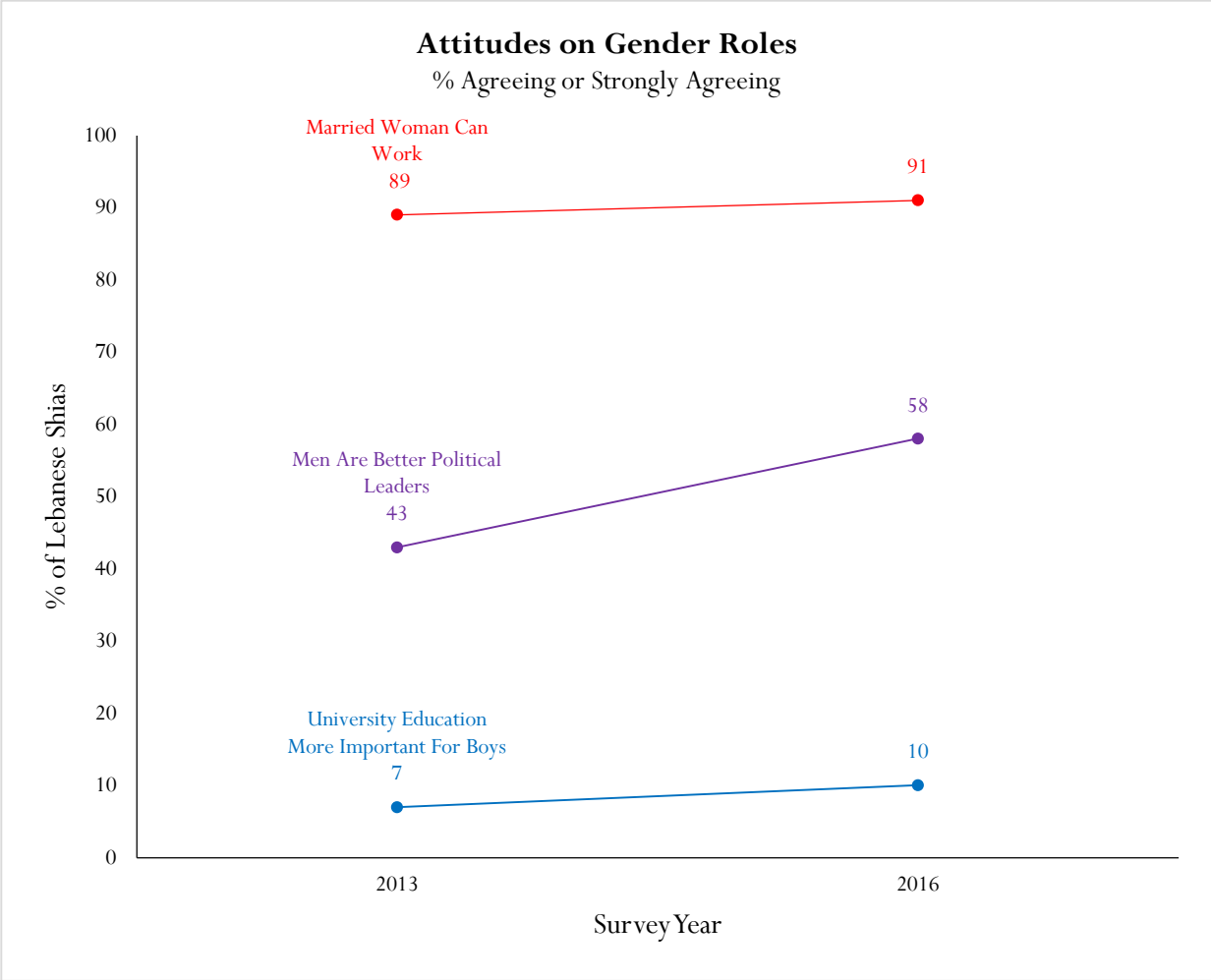
Culture and Religion

The complex sectarian composition of Lebanon yields a mix of views about culture and religion that tend to vary with denominational affiliation. Accordingly, the views of the three main groups – Shia Muslims, Sunni Muslims, and Christians – are examined separately on these topics.

Shia Muslim Population

As in previous waves, the survey found a wide range of views on women's rights and roles (see Appendix Table 15). Most Lebanese Shia Muslims (81 percent) agree or strongly agree that a woman can become president or prime minister of a Muslim country, although about six in ten (58 percent) believe that men are better at political leadership than women. As opposed to other countries surveyed by the Arab Barometer, fewer than half (46 percent) agree or strongly agree that husbands should have final say in all decisions concerning the family (27 percent agree, 19 percent strongly agree).

There is greater variance on views about education, work, and inheritance. Most Lebanese Shia Muslims value education, including higher education, for both genders, with only 7 percent agreeing and 3 percent strongly agreeing that university education for males is more important than university education for females. Meanwhile, most Shia Muslims agree (58 percent agree, 33 percent strongly agree) that a married woman can work outside the home if she wants. An overwhelming majority of Shia Muslims (91 percent) agree or strongly agree that women and men should have equal inheritance rights, although it is possible that respondents interpreted this question to mean equal access to the inheritance rights afforded to them under traditional interpretations of Islamic law, in which men inherit twice as much as women.



On average, Lebanese Shias harbor stronger prejudice with respect to immigrants than with respect to race, nationality, or religious differences (see Appendix Table 16). Asked whether they would like or dislike neighbors of particular backgrounds, 39 percent say they would dislike or strongly dislike neighbors who were immigrants or foreign workers. By comparison, 19 percent say they would dislike or strongly dislike neighbors of a different race or color, while only 17 percent say they would dislike or strongly dislike neighbors of a different sect of Islam. Notably, concerns about the religiosity of a possible spouse for a close family member weigh more heavily than concerns about his or her socioeconomic status: while 47 percent say a suitor not praying would constitute a large or moderate obstacle to marriage, 35 percent say that a suitor being from an incompatible social class would represent such an obstacle.

To a greater extent than most countries surveyed by the Arab Barometer, Lebanese on the whole believe that laws should primarily be based on the will of the people, including Shias. A quarter (26 percent) say the will of the people should be the sole basis for the country's laws. Additionally, about a third (30 percent) believe that laws should be based mostly on the will of the people. Meanwhile, only 5 percent believe that laws should be based entirely on the sharia. The complex sectarian composition of the country may, at least in part, be responsible for these views.

Similarly, an overwhelming majority of Lebanese Shias (83 percent) believe that religious practice is only a private matter separated from socioeconomic life (34 percent agreeing and 49 percent strongly disagree, see Appendix Table

17). At the same time, although few Lebanese Shias believe that religious leaders should have influence over the government (21 percent agree or strongly agree) or that the country is better off when religious people hold public positions in the state (12 percent agree or strongly agree), these levels are significant increases from 2013.

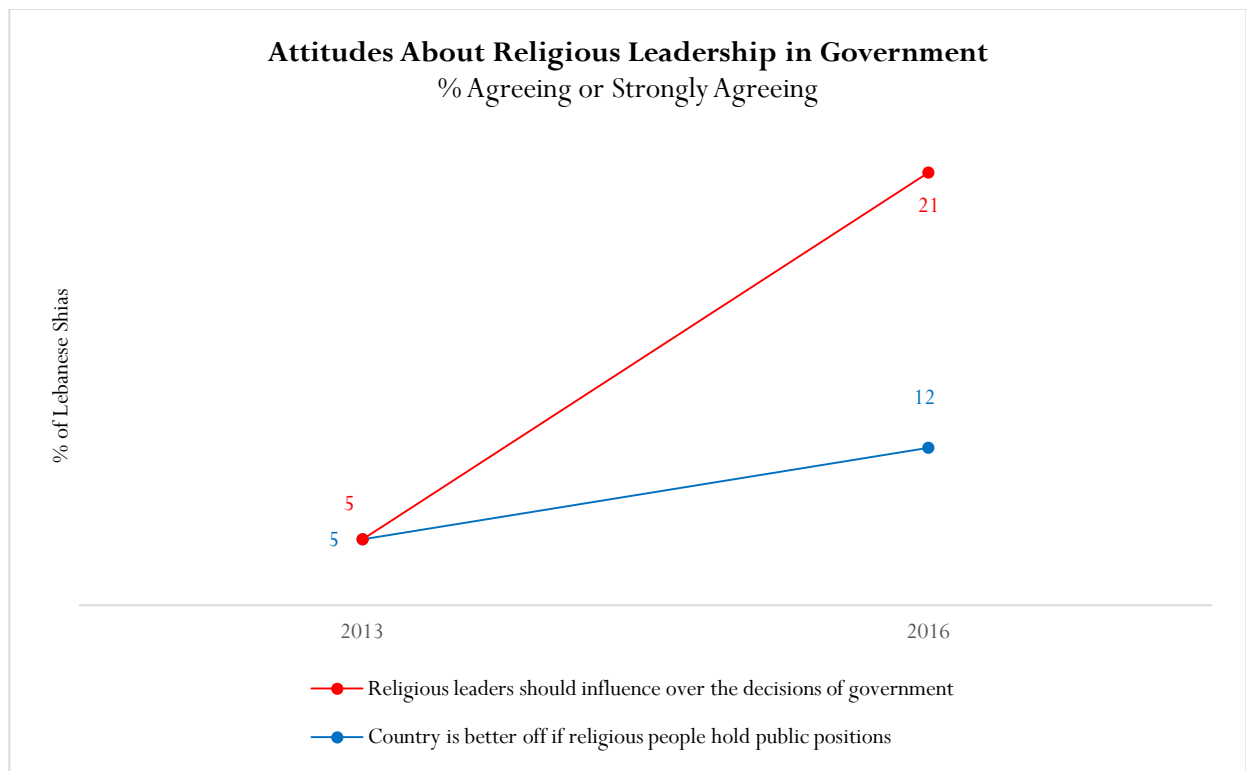


Table 18 in the Appendix presents attitudes on additional questions relating to the intersection of religion and public life. Most Lebanese Shias agree or strongly agree that banks in Muslim countries should not charge interest because it is forbidden in Islam (74 percent), whereas four-in-ten (42 percent) agree or strongly agree that this rule should be relaxed to meet the demands of the modern economy.

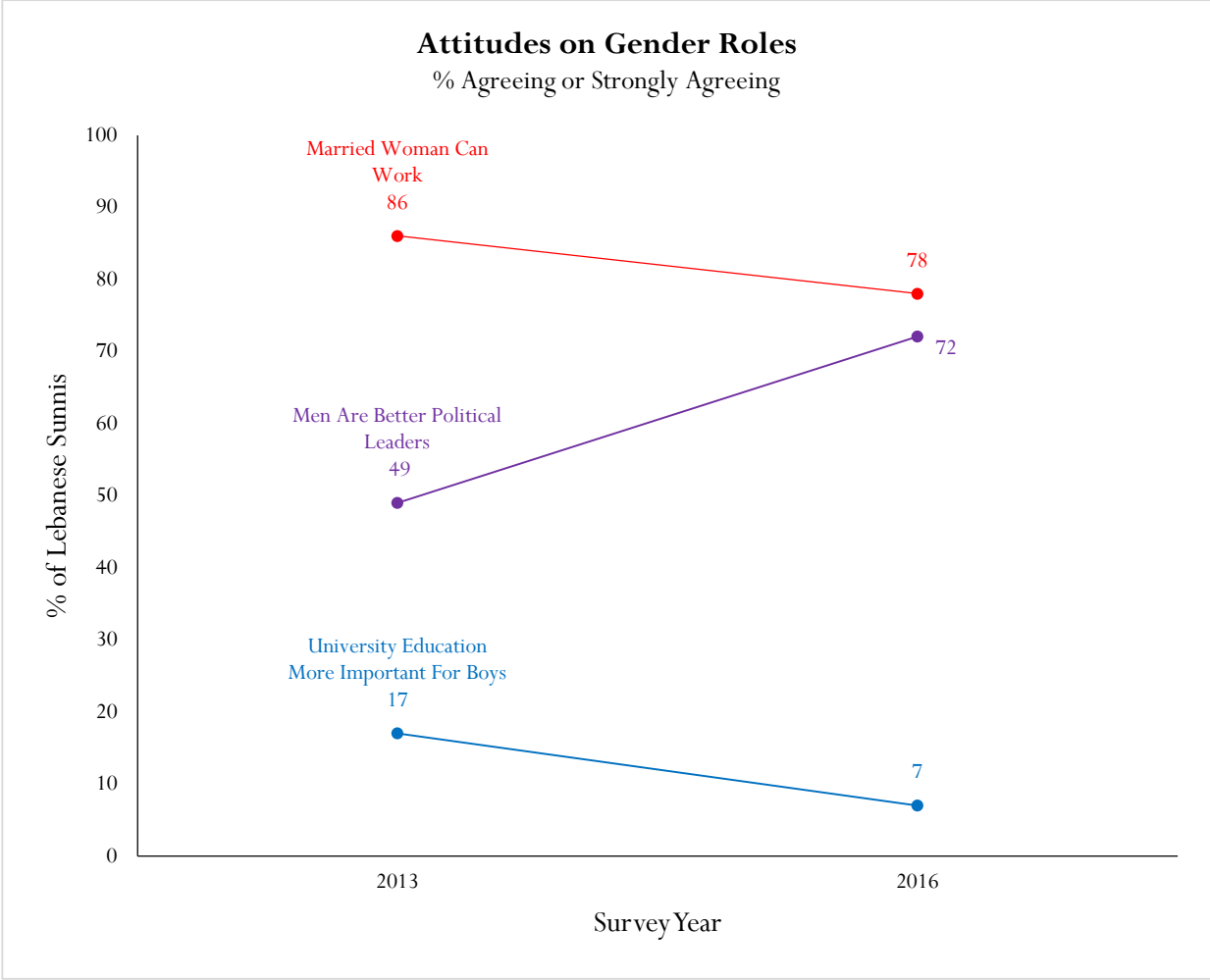
Nine-in-ten (91 percent) agree or strongly agree that it is acceptable for male and female university students to attend classes together and two third believe that while women should dress modestly, Islam does not require wearing a hijab (65 percent).

A majority of Lebanese Shias disagree or strongly disagree that democracy is a Western form of government that is not compatible with Islam (92 percent).

Sunni Muslim Population

Lebanese Sunni Muslims hold complex views on women's rights and roles. About two-thirds of Sunni Muslims (65 percent) agree or strongly agree that a woman can become president or prime minister despite the fact that most (72 percent) agree or strongly agree that men are better at political leadership than women. Similar to Sunni Muslims in other countries surveyed by the Arab Barometer, six-in-ten (22 percent strongly agree 38 percent agree) believe that husbands should have absolute saying on the decisions concerning the family.

Views about education, work and inheritance reveal similarities with other sects in Lebanon: Most Sunni Muslims value education, including higher education, for both genders, with only 5 percent agreeing and 2 percent strongly agreeing that university education for male is more important than university education for females. Meanwhile, eight-in-ten Sunni Muslims (78 percent) agree or strongly agree that a married woman can work outside the home if she wants. Furthermore, an overwhelming majority of Sunni Muslims (96 percent) agree or strongly agree that women and men should have equal inheritance rights, although, as in the Shia case, it is possible that respondents interpreted this question to mean equal access to the inheritance rights afforded to them under traditional interpretations of Islamic law, in which men inherit twice as much as women.



Similar to Shia population, Lebanese Sunnis harbor stronger prejudice with respect to immigrants than with respect to race, nationality, or religious differences (see Appendix Table 16). Asked whether they would like or dislike neighbors of particular backgrounds, four-in-ten (41 percent) say they would dislike or strongly dislike neighbors who were immigrants or foreign workers. On the other hand, 22 percent say they would dislike or strongly dislike neighbors of a different sect of Islam, while 21 percent say they would dislike or strongly dislike neighbors of a different race or color. Notably, concerns about the religiosity of a possible spouse for a close family member weigh similar to concerns about his or her socioeconomic status: while 35 percent say a suitor not praying would constitute a large or moderate obstacle to marriage, 32 percent say that a suitor being from an incompatible social class would represent such an obstacle.

Furthermore, Sunnis in Lebanon have divergent views regarding the base on which laws should be established. About one third (32 percent) say the will of the people should be the sole basis for the country’s laws. Additionally, 15 percent believe that laws should be based mostly on the will of the people. Meanwhile, four in ten (42 percent) believe that laws should be based equally on sharia and the will of people. Only 4 percent believe that laws should be based entirely on the sharia.

Similar to other sects and religions, an overwhelming majority of Lebanese Sunnis (91 percent) believe that religious practice is only a private matter separated from socioeconomic life (38 percent agreeing and 53 percent strongly disagree, see Appendix Table 17). At the same time, few Sunnis believe that the country is better off when religious people hold public positions in the state (18 percent agree or strongly agree) or that religious leaders should have influence over the government (17 percent agree or strongly agree).

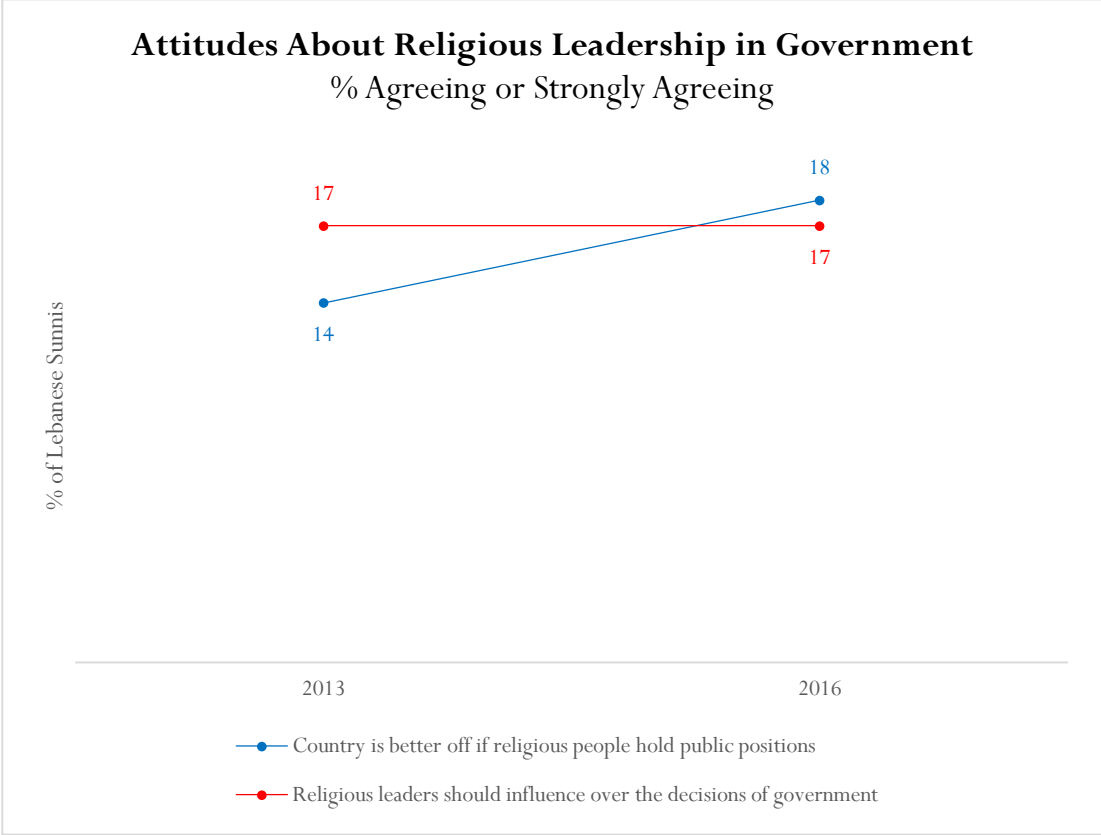


Table 18 in the Appendix presents attitudes on additional questions relating to the intersection of religion and public life. Most Lebanese Sunnis agree or strongly agree that banks in Muslim countries should not charge interest because it is forbidden in Islam (88 percent). Furthermore, four in ten agree or strongly agree that this rule should be relaxed to meet the demands of the modern economy.

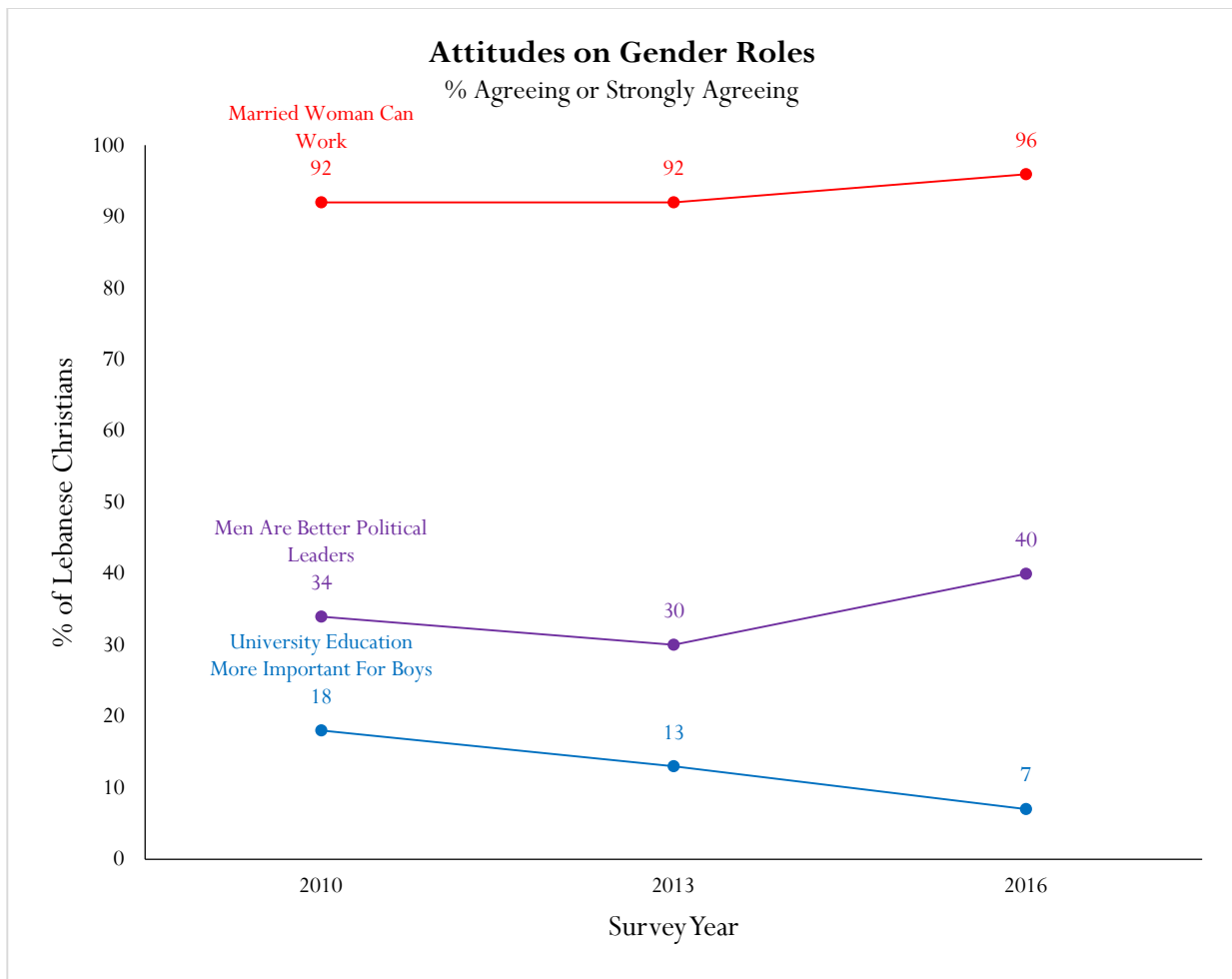
Nine in ten (88 percent) agree or strongly agree that it is acceptable for male and female university students to attend classes together; and that while women should dress modestly, Islam does not require wearing a hijab (59 percent).

More than half of Lebanese Sunnis disagree or strongly disagree that democracy is a Western form of government that is not compatible with Islam (54 percent).

Christian Population

Christians in Lebanon hold somewhat different views on women's rights and roles in the society compared with Muslims in Lebanon. A vast majority of Lebanese Christians (80 percent) agree or strongly agree that a woman can become president or prime minister. Furthermore, only four-in-ten Christians in Lebanon believe that men are better at political leadership than women and the same percentage agree or strongly agree that husbands should have absolute saying on the decisions concerning the family.

However, views about education, work and inheritance go hand in hand with the other sects in Lebanon. Few Lebanese Christians (4 percent agreeing and 3 percent strongly agreeing) believe that university education for male is more important than university education for females. Furthermore, the vast majority (96 percent) agrees or strongly agrees that a married woman can work outside the home if she wants. Meanwhile, 96 percent believe that women and men should have equal inheritance rights.



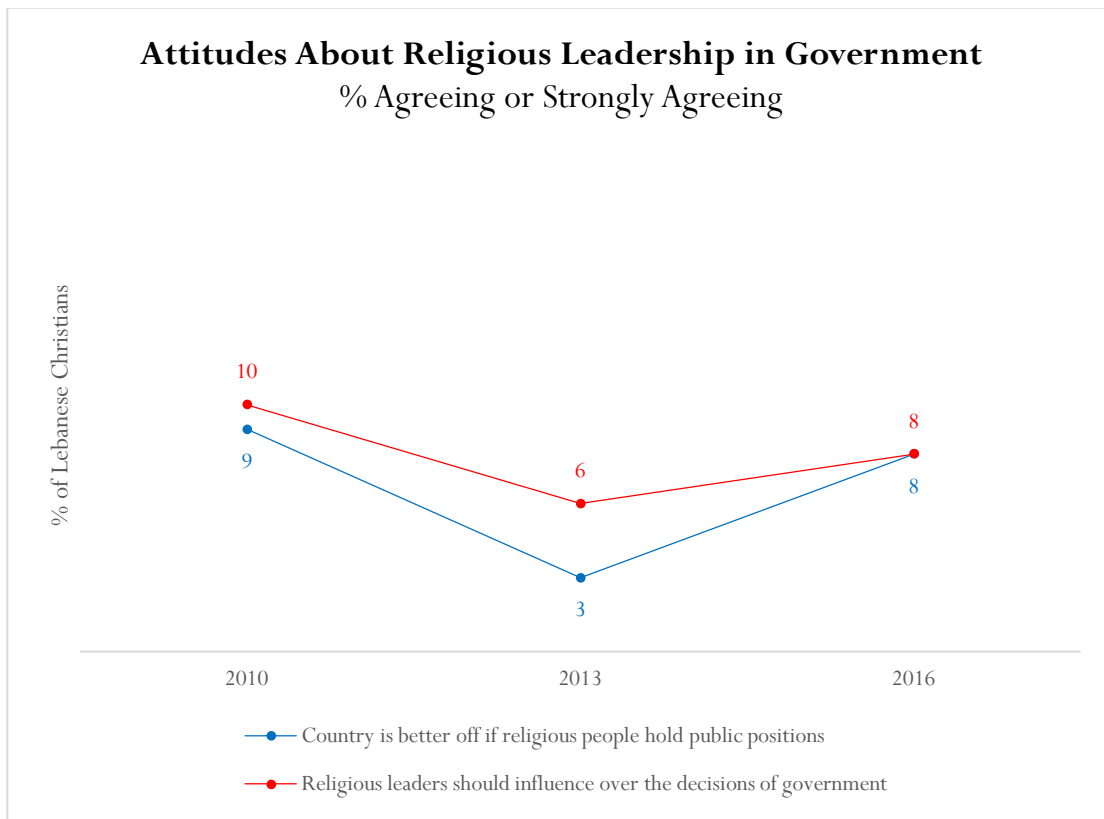
Similar to other sects in Lebanon, Christians harbor stronger prejudice with respect to immigrants than with respect to race, nationality, or religious differences (see Appendix Table 16). Asked whether they would like or dislike neighbors of particular backgrounds, about one third (37 percent) say they would dislike or strongly dislike neighbors who were immigrants or foreign workers. On the other hand, 18 percent say they would dislike or strongly dislike neighbors of a different race or color, while 13 percent say that they would dislike or strongly dislike neighbors of

different religions. Furthermore, concerns about the religiosity of a possible spouse for a close family member weigh more heavily than concerns about his or her socioeconomic status: while 32 percent say a suitor not praying would constitute a large or moderate obstacle to marriage, 25 percent say that a suitor being from an incompatible social class would represent such an obstacle.

Lebanese Christians believe that laws should primarily be based on the will of the people. About seven-in-ten (69 percent) say the will of the people should be the sole basis for the country's laws. Additionally, one fourth (26 percent) believe that laws should be based mostly on the will of the people. Meanwhile, no Christian believes that laws should be based entirely on the sharia.

Similarly, an overwhelming majority of Lebanese Christians (90 percent) believe that religious practice is only a private matter separated from socioeconomic life (33 percent agreeing and 57 percent strongly disagree, see Appendix Table 17). At the same time, few Lebanese Christians believe that religious leaders should have influence over the government (8 percent agree or strongly agree) or that the country is better off when religious people hold public positions in the state (8 percent agree or strongly agree).

A less than half of Lebanese Christians disagree or strongly disagree that democracy is a Western form of government that is not compatible with Islam (44 percent).



International Relations

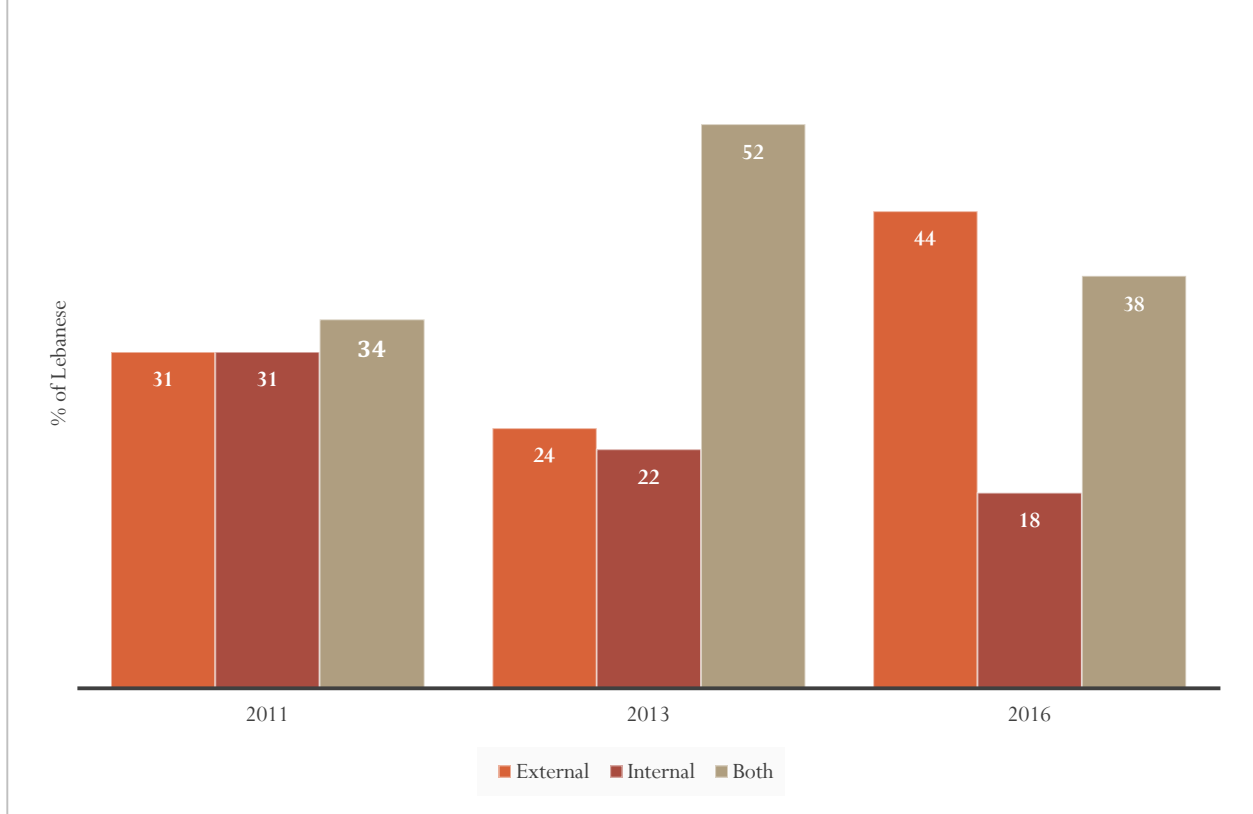
Asked what direction they would like to see future economic relations with other countries take (see Appendix Table 19), Lebanese want to see stronger economic relations with the European Union (49 percent) and Russia (41 percent). Fewer Lebanese also want to have stronger relation with other countries such as the United States (36 percent), Iran (31 percent), Saudi Arabia (27 percent) and Turkey (25 percent). Additionally, many Lebanese simply want economic relations between Lebanon and major specific economic partners to remain same: the European Union (35 percent), Russia (33 percent), the United States (32 percent), Turkey (32 percent), Saudi Arabia (30 percent), and Iran (25 percent). On the other hand, four-in-ten say they want the economic relations to become weaker with Saudi Arabia (43 percent), Iran (43 percent), and Turkey (41 percent).

Most Lebanese believe that major powers have had either negative or very negative effects on the development of democracy in Lebanon (see Appendix Table 20). Neighboring countries and the United States most commonly perceived as having a negative or very negative influence on the development of democracy (75 percent and 62 percent, respectively).

When asked about the most positive thing that the United States could do for their country, 37 percent of Lebanese believe that the most positive thing would be for the United States to not to get involved. The next most commonly cited actions are promoting economic development (26 percent) and resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict (23 percent). Lebanese are divided on the question of whether American demands for reform are acceptable or not: 9 percent say they are acceptable, 36 percent say they are acceptable with conditions, 21 percent say they are unacceptable on principle, and 33 percent say they are unacceptable because they are harmful to Lebanon's national interests. Lebanese are relatively likely, however, to say that, regardless of U.S. foreign policies, most ordinary Americans are good people: 76 percent agree, while 21 percent disagree. At the same time, the majority (81 percent) agree or strongly agree that American and Western culture have positive aspects. After Israel (42 percent), Syria is seen as the greatest threat to stability for Lebanon (23 percent).

Lebanese generally think it is a good thing that the world is getting more connected: 71 percent say it is very or somewhat good, while 17 percent say they are neutral, and 12 percent say it is somewhat or very bad. Lebanese are more likely to blame external factors (44 percent) for the lack of development in the Arab world, compared with 38 percent who blame both external and internal factors, and 18 percent who blame internal factors. Most likely, the involvement of foreign powers in the conflict in Syria (and elsewhere) accounts for the dramatic increase in those blaming external factors for the region's lack of development between 2013 and 2016.

Attribution for Blame of Lack of Development



At the same time, a clear majority of Lebanese agree or strongly agree (85 percent) that Western interference is an obstacle to reform in Lebanon. An even higher proportion (93 percent) agree or strongly agree that interference from Arab and Islamic countries within the region is an obstacle to reform in Lebanon.

Additionally, Lebanese are concerned about growing sectarian division across the region: 55 percent are concerned to a great extent, and 32 percent to a medium extent.

Select Demographics

A majority of Lebanese over age 18 report that they work (64 percent). Among those who work, 9 percent work in the public sector, and 88 percent in the private sector (with 3 percent reporting “other” or refusing to answer).

Among those who do not work, just under half (49 percent) are housewives, about a fifth (23 percent) are students, and roughly a fifth (18 percent) are unemployed.

In terms of household possessions, 68 percent of Lebanese have at least one computer in their home, and 72 percent own a car within their family. A quarter of Lebanese (26 percent) have a non-smart mobile phone and 70 percent have a smartphone with access to the internet.

Three in ten describe themselves as religious (29 percent), while 48 percent say they are somewhat religious. Just 24 percent say they are not religious.

More than half of Lebanese families are well-off enough that they are able to cover their expenses without notable difficulties (47 percent) or even well enough off that they are able to save (13 percent). A further 32 percent face some difficulties meeting expenses, and 8 percent report facing significant difficulties to make ends meet. Most Lebanese families (90 percent) do not receive any remittances from abroad. Only 3 percent report receiving remittances as frequently once a month, 4 percent receive them a few times a year, and 3 percent receive them once a year.

About the Survey

The Arab Barometer is a public opinion survey conducted in partnership between academics and survey experts in the Arab world, the United States and Europe. The survey in Lebanon, conducted from July 20 – August 16, 2016 was led by Rabih Habr of Statistics Lebanon. The survey included 1,200 respondents randomly selected from all 6 governorates across the country. The survey was conducted face-to-face in the respondent's place of residence and has a margin of error of ± 3 percent.

To date, the Arab Barometer has conducted 38 national surveys over three waves including more than 45,000 interviews in 15 Arab countries. The fourth wave includes 9 countries and more than 11,000 interviews. For more information about the project, please visit www.arabbarometer.org.

Lebanon Arab Barometer Report Appendix

Comment of Abbreviations: SA= Strongly Agree, A= Agree, D= Disagree, SD= Strongly Disagree, DK= Don't Know

Table 1: Trust in Political Institutions

Statement	A Great Deal Trust	Quite a lot of Trust	Not very much trust	No trust at all	Don't Know	Refused
Government (Council of Minister)	3.7	4.8	19.6	71.8	-	.1
Courts and legal system	4.8	12.4	29.1	53.3	.2	.3
The elected council of representatives (the parliament)	5.0	5.6	21.6	67.3	.3	.2
Police	19.8	29.2	25.7	25.1	.3	.1
Directorate of General Security	29.2	33.3	22.8	14.7	.1	.1
Armed Forces	59.8	23.9	9.8	6.3	.1	-
Religious leaders	4.8	12.8	36.3	45.8	.3	.1
Political parties	2.9	11.7	25.7	59.0	.7	.1

Table 2: Worries

Item	Very Much	Much	Not much	Not at all	Not applicable	DK
No Possibility to give children a good education	40.6	31.1	15.1	10.3	2.8	.2
A terrorist attack in your country	65.0	23.4	6.3	4.7	.5	.1
Being harassed or threatened on the street	45.5	25.2	16.1	12.4	.8	-

Table 3: Satisfaction with Public Services

Item	Definitely satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Definitely dissatisfied	DK	Decline to Answer
Educational system	15.4	60.1	16.6	7.6	.3	.1
Healthcare system	4.9	36.0	34.2	24.1	.8	.1

Table 4: Satisfaction with Government Performance

Item	Very Good	Good	Bad	Very Bad	Not government's role	DK	Decline to Answer
Managing the economy	.3	5.0	36.2	57.4	1.0	.2	-
Creating employment opportunities	.3	3.8	30.9	62.3	2.3	.1	.2
Narrowing rich/poor gap	.8	3.3	27.8	61.8	5.6	.5	.3
Improving basic health services	3.1	28.2	28.6	39.0	.7	.3	.2
Keeping prices down	.1	4.8	32.6	59.3	2.8	.3	.2
Providing security	6.2	25.3	25.8	41.3	1.2	-	.2
Addressing educational needs	11.3	35.7	23.8	28.3	.5	.1	.4

Table 5: Top Concerns

	Top Concern 1	Top Concern 2
Economic Situation	63.0	20.6
Financial and administrative corruption	23.7	2.1
Democracy	1.7	11.3
Internal stability and security	4.3	7.4
Foreign interference	3.4	8.2
Religious extremism	3.3	45.4
Other	.7	.6
No other challenge	-	2.7
Refused	-	1.8

Table 6: Government Responsiveness

Item	SA	A	DA	SD	DK	Refused
Gov't aware of citizens needs	24.5	31.5	25.1	18.5	.3	.3
Pol. Leaders concerned with ordinary citizens	1.3	7.3	37.0	54.1	.2	.2
Politics are so complicated I can't understand	34.4	41.4	15.4	8.1	.6	.3

Table 7: Views Toward Political and Fellow Citizens: 7- Point Thermometers

Item	Politicians (Unintelligent/ Intelligent)	Politicians (Dishonest/Honest)	Citizens (Unintelligent/ Intelligent)	Citizens (Dishonest/ Honest)
1	9.9	47.2	7.8	9.5
2	8.4	22.4	7.2	10.2
3	8.3	15.8	8.8	11.9
4	12.0	7.8	19.9	25.3
5	26.9	3.5	23.0	21.9
6	18.4	1.3	18.4	16.8
7	15.9	1.8	14.8	4.2
Not Concerned	-	-	-	-
DK	.1	.1	.2	.2
Refused	-	.1	-	-

Table 8: Media Habits (for Political News)

Frequency	Television	Daily News Paper
Daily	46.7	4.4
A number of times a week	26.6	4.7
A number of times a month	8.3	10.4
Rarely	11.8	27.6
I don't follow it ever	6.5	52.1
DK	.1	.7
Refused	.1	.2

Table 9: Internet Habits (Among Internet Users)

Item	Yes	No	DK	Refuse
Find out about political activities	29.1	70.4	.2	.3
Express your opinion about political issues	16.5	83.1	.2	.2
Facebook user	80.0	19.4	.1	.5
Twitter user	27.4	71.8	.2	.6
Instagram user	30.9	68.2	.3	.6

Table 10: Democracy 10-Point Thermometers (% of Lebanese Giving Each Response)

Rating (0-10)	Extent to which Lebanon is democratic	Extent to which democracy is appropriate	Satisfaction with the government
1	3.9	3.8	19.8
2	5.7	4.8	15.3
3	7.4	7.6	10.8
4	9.6	8.3	6.2
5	17.8	14.9	6.5
6	15.3	11.4	2.7
7	16.2	12.9	2.4
8	12.2	15.6	.8
9	3.3	8.2	.5
10	3.7	10.8	1.9
Not Concerned	-	-	-
DK	.2	.2	.1
Refused	-	-	-

Table 11: Attitudes Toward Democracy

Item	SA	A	D	SD	DK	Refuse
Under a democratic system, economic performance is weak	10.3	23.3	34.3	30.8	1.3	.1
Democratic regimes are indecisive/full of problems	9.4	24.3	34.5	30.6	1.0	.2
Democratic systems not effect at order/stability	9.4	22.2	37.6	29.5	1.3	.1
A democratic system may have problems, but better than others	32.9	51.1	10.5	4.8	.6	.1
Citizens in our country not prepared for democratic system	8.3	25.7	42.5	22.9	.6	.1

Table 12: Attitudes Toward Different Forms of Government (Suitability for Lebanon)

Item	Very Suitable	Suitable	Somewhat Suitable	Not Suitable at All	DK	Refuse
A parliamentary system in which nationalist, left-wing, right wing, and Islamist parties compete in parliamentary elections	17.4	19.8	21.1	40.8	.8	.2
A parliamentary system in which only Islamist parties compete in parliamentary elections	1.3	3.6	11.2	82.9	.8	.3
A political system governed by a strong authority which makes decision without considering electoral results or the opinions of the opposition	3.3	6.3	13.7	76.0	.8	.1
A parliamentary system in which only non-religious parties compete in parliamentary elections	16.0	13.1	17.5	52.8	.5	.1
A political system governed by Islamic law in which there are no political parties or elections	1.5	3.3	10.3	84.1	.8	.1
A government that provides for the needs of its citizens without giving them the right to participate in the political process	5.7	7.3	18.3	68.0	.6	.1

Table 13: How Guaranteed are Freedoms to Express Opinions?

Item	Great Extent	Medium Extent	Limited Extent	Not Guaranteed	DK	Refused
Freedom to express opinions	25.7	43.7	20.9	9.8	-	-
Freedom of the press	26.2	45.4	19.8	8.5	.1	.1
Freedom to join political parties	53.4	32.3	9.2	4.8	.1	.2
Freedom to participate in peaceful protests and demonstrations	37.5	37.0	14.9	10.6	-	-
Freedom to join civil associations and organizations	55.5	30.8	8.7	5.1	-	-

Table 14: Perceptions of Guarantees of Freedoms
(% who say they are guaranteed to a medium or great extent)

	2013	2016	Change
To join a political party	76.7	85.7	+9.0
Of the press	68.1	71.6	+3.5
Of expression	61.7	69.4	+7.7
To peacefully demonstrate	72.0	74.5	+2.5

Table 15: Women's Roles and Rights

Item	SA	A	D	SD	DK	Refuse
A woman can become president or prime minister of a Muslim country	33.9	43.2	16.7	5.9	.3	.1
A married woman can work outside the home if she wishes	48.3	42.1	7.6	1.9	-	.1
In general, men are better at political leadership than women	18.3	34.2	31.3	15.9	.3	.1
University education for males is more important than university education for females	2.9	5.0	41.7	50.1	.3	-
Women and men should have equal inheritance rights	56.2	38.5	3.7	1.5	-	.2
Husbands should have final say in all decisions concerning the family	15.2	30.9	40.9	12.6	.3	.2

Table 16: Desirability of Potential Neighbors

Item	Strongly Dislike	Dislike	Neither	Like	Strongly Like	DK	Refuse
People of a different religion	3.2	10.7	58.8	13.4	13.8	-	.1
People of a different race or colour	4.7	13.8	57.7	10.8	12.9	.1	.1
Immigrants or foreign workers	17.6	19.9	46.0	7.2	9.2	.1	.1
People of a different sect of Islam	3.8	10.4	55.8	12.8	17.0	-	.2

Table 17: Religion and Public Life

Item	SA	A	D	SD	DK	Refuse
Religious leaders should not interfere in voters' decisions in elections	40.5	40.8	9.3	9.2	.2	-
Your country is better off if religious people hold public positions in the state	2.8	8.6	40.8	47.6	.3	-
Religious clerics should have influence over the decisions of government	2.3	11.5	42.0	44.1	.1	-
Religious practice is a private matter and should be separated from socio-economic life	48.7	39.6	9.3	2.3	.3	-

Table 18: Interpretations of Islam

Item	SA	A	D	SD	DK	Refuse
Democracy is a Western form of government that is not compatible with Islam	11.8	23.8	38.6	21.1	4.6	.2
Banks in Muslim countries must be forbidden from charging interest because this is forbidden by Islam	26.0	49.1	16.0	4.4	4.4	.1
It is acceptable in Islam for male and female university students to attend classes together	47.4	45.6	5.0	1.3	.4	.3
A woman should dress modestly, but Islam does not require that she wears a hijab	32.3	37.4	21.1	7.8	1.1	.3
In order to meet the demands of the modern economy, banks should be allowed to charge interest	25.8	36.5	25.9	7.0	4.5	.3

Table 19: Do you prefer that future economic relations between your country and (country X)?

Country	Become stronger	Remain same	Become weaker	DK	Refuse
The United States	36.0	31.8	31.6	.5	.2
Saudi Arabia	26.7	30.0	42.6	.7	.1
Iran	30.8	25.1	42.7	1.3	.1
Turkey	25.4	32.3	40.8	1.1	.3
The European Union	48.6	35.3	14.6	1.0	.2
Russia	40.8	33.0	25.2	1.0	.1

Table 20: Perceptions of Other Countries' Influence on Development of Democracy in Lebanon

Country	Very positive	Somewhat positive	Neither positive nor negative	Somewhat negative	Very negative	DK	Refuse
The United States	3.9	12.3	21.5	26.7	35.2	.4	.1
The European Union	6.8	21.3	30.9	19.3	20.8	.9	.1
Neighbouring Countries	.4	3.2	21.3	32.3	42.3	.5	.1
Russia	8.2	17.0	36.2	18.1	19.1	1.3	.2