

Refugees in Jordan and Lebanon: Life on the Margins

Findings from the Arab Barometer

WAVE 4 REPORT ON SYRIAN REFUGEES

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Overview

The outbreak of civil war in Syria led to a mass exodus of refugees to neighboring countries and beyond. Many of these refugees fled to Jordan and Lebanon where they face a myriad of challenges, including of how to provide services for such a vast population increase. Overall, while Jordan has taken a number of steps to address some of the key challenges faced by refugees,¹ Lebanon has taken fewer steps. Perhaps this is due to Lebanon's unique history and fears that a large influx of refugees could change the country's fragile sectarian balance and even lead to a renewed civil conflict.² Against this background, the fourth wave of the Arab Barometer reveals that refugees in Jordan and Lebanon show different feelings about the degree to which they feel secure in their host country and how they the degree to which available services are meeting their needs.

Overall, the findings reveal significant differences in the degree to which Syrian refugees feel safe and secure in the two countries. For example, while a majority of refugees in Jordan (59 percent) are not very worried or not worried at all about being harassed or threatened in street, only 25 percent of refugees in Lebanon say the same. This result shows similarities with citizens of their host countries: while 58 percent of Jordanians are not very worried or not worried at all, only three-in-ten (29 percent) of Lebanese have such concerns. However, Lebanese tend to see Syrian refugees as a greater challenge to their country than Jordanians: 44 percent of Lebanese as opposed to 35 percent of Jordanian cite Syrian refugees as one of the two most important challenges that their countries face today.

Perceptions of Syrian refugees toward the quality of public services also diverge to a great extent. Although the vast majority in Jordan are satisfied or very satisfied with healthcare system (86 percent) and the education system (81 percent), only 53 percent of refugees in Lebanon say the same about the educational system, and just 28 percent in Lebanon are satisfied or very satisfied with healthcare system.

Economic conditions are even more challenging for refugees in both countries. Most face with difficulties in meeting their household expenses. However, Syrian refugees in Jordan are more likely to show greater optimism toward economic conditions than those living in Lebanon.

Notably, support for democracy remains strong among the refugee population in both countries, with 79 percent in Jordan and 85 percent in Lebanon agreeing or strongly agreeing democracy is better than other forms of government. At the same time, refugee communities in both countries define democracy based primarily on socioeconomic terms instead of political outcomes. Moreover, most believe that political reform should be instituted gradually instead of once (85 percent in Jordan and 80 percent in Lebanon).

The vast majority of refugees in both countries do not support any party in the Syrian Conflict (90 percent in Jordan and 73 percent in Lebanon). Additionally, relatively large percentages (31 percent in Jordan and 44 percent in Lebanon) want to emigrate from their host country. However, while refugees in Jordan tend to prefer

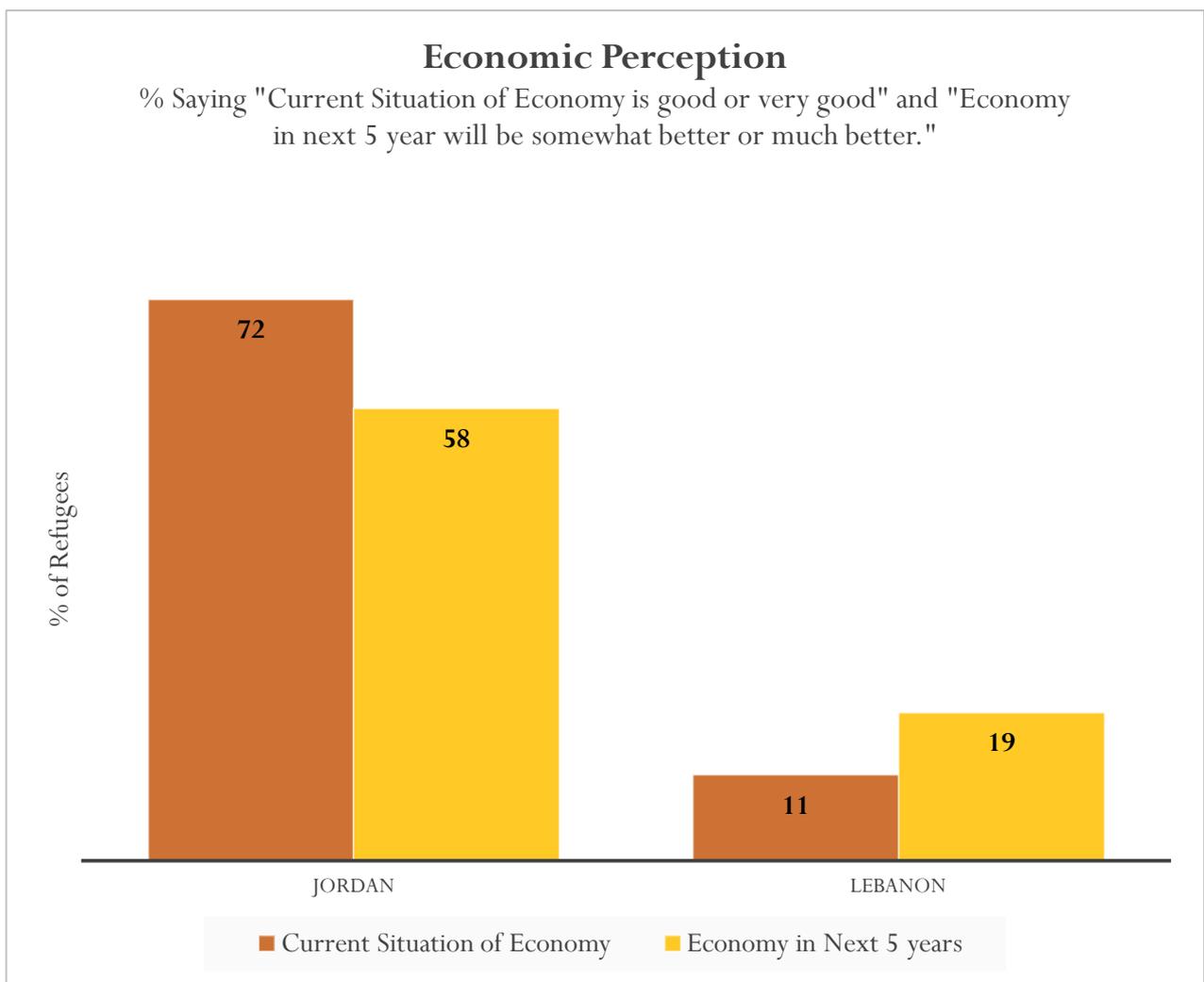
¹ UNHCR. 2016. "Access to Jobs Improving for Syrian Refugees in Jordan." New York: UNHCR, April 19.

² Ferris, Elizabeth, and Kemal Kirisci, *The Consequences of Chaos: Syria's Humanitarian Crisis and the Failure to Protect* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2016), 47.

the U.S. or Canada (51 percent) to emigrate, refugees in Lebanon are more likely to think of emigrating to Europe (59 percent).

The Economy

Syrian refugees in Jordan show greater optimism about the economic situation than those living in Lebanon. While the vast majority (72 percent) believe the economy of Jordan is good or very good, only 11 percent of refugees in Lebanon rate the economy of Lebanon as good or very good. Furthermore, more than half (58 percent) of refugees in Jordan believe the Jordanian economy will be somewhat better or much better in next five years, compared with just 19 percent of refugees in Lebanon who are optimistic about the future of the Lebanese economy. These findings go hand in hand with the local perceptions about the national economies and their futures.³

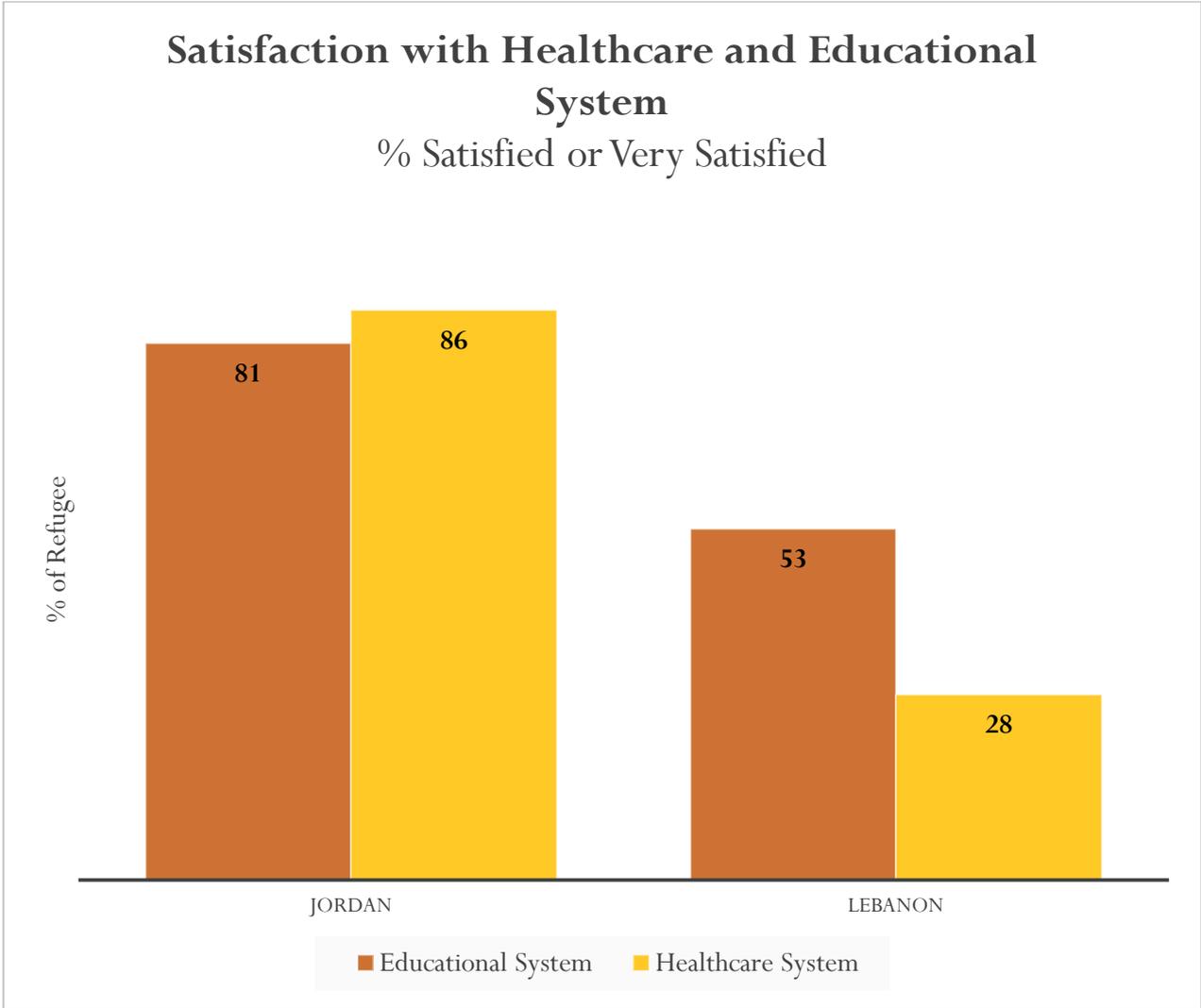


Although 33 percent of Syrian refugees in Jordan rate their current household economic situation as good or very good, only 5 percent in Lebanon say the same. However, when asked whether they have any difficulty to meet household expenses, the results are similar: only 13 percent of refugees in Jordan are able to cover their

³ For more information, please visit the Arab Barometer website (<http://www.arabbarometer.org/country-report>).

household expenses without notable difficulties compared with 7 percent refugees in Lebanon. Meanwhile, more than half of refugees in Jordan (56 percent) and roughly two-thirds in Lebanon (64 percent) say their household income does not cover their expenses and they face significant difficulties in meeting their basic needs.

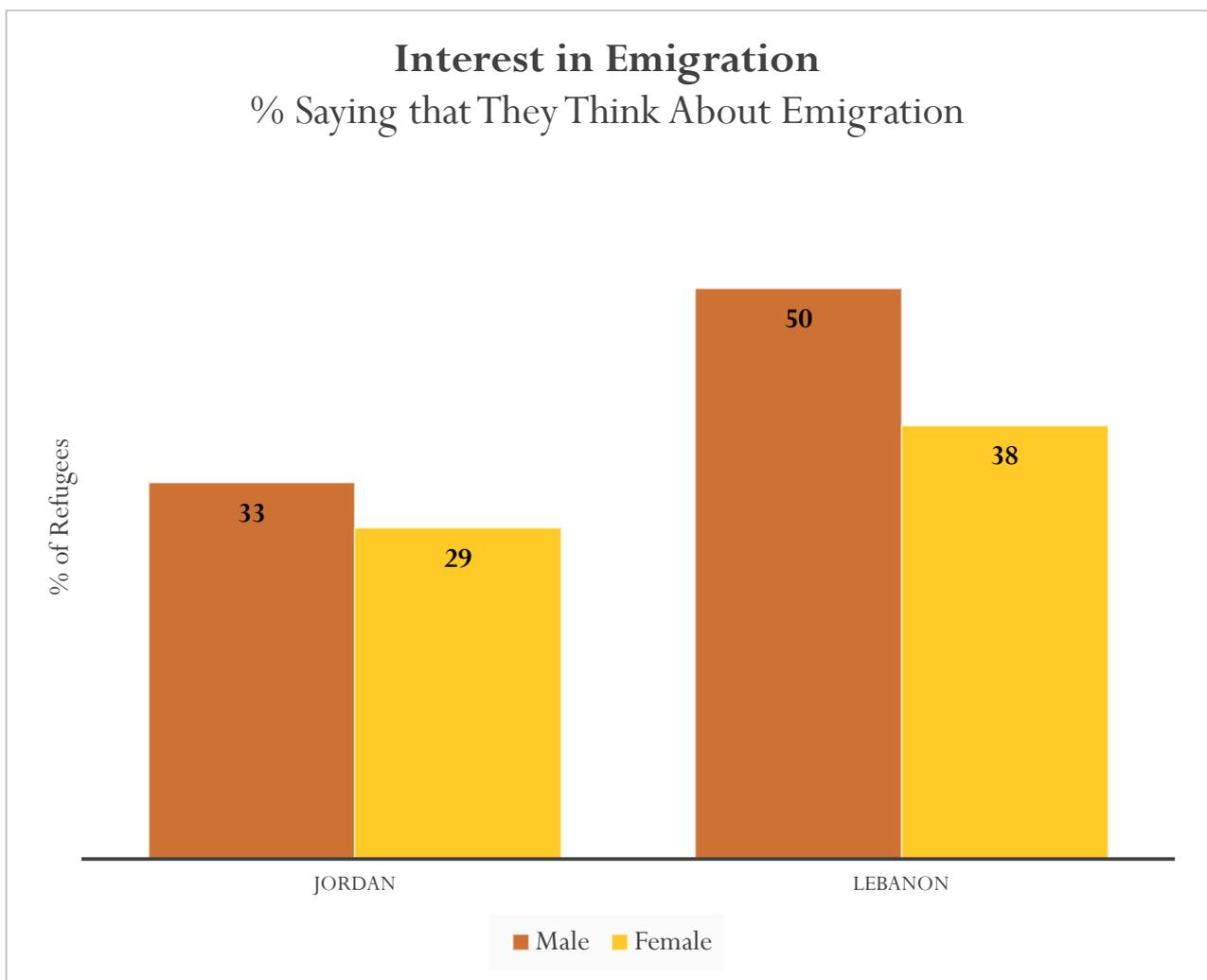
Similar differences are also found in levels of satisfaction with the quality of public services among citizens in each country: the vast majority of refugees in Jordan are satisfied or very satisfied with healthcare system (86 percent) and education system (81 percent), compared with just 53 percent of refugees in Lebanon who are satisfied or very satisfied with the educational system and 28 percent who are satisfied or very satisfied with healthcare system (See Appendix Table 1).



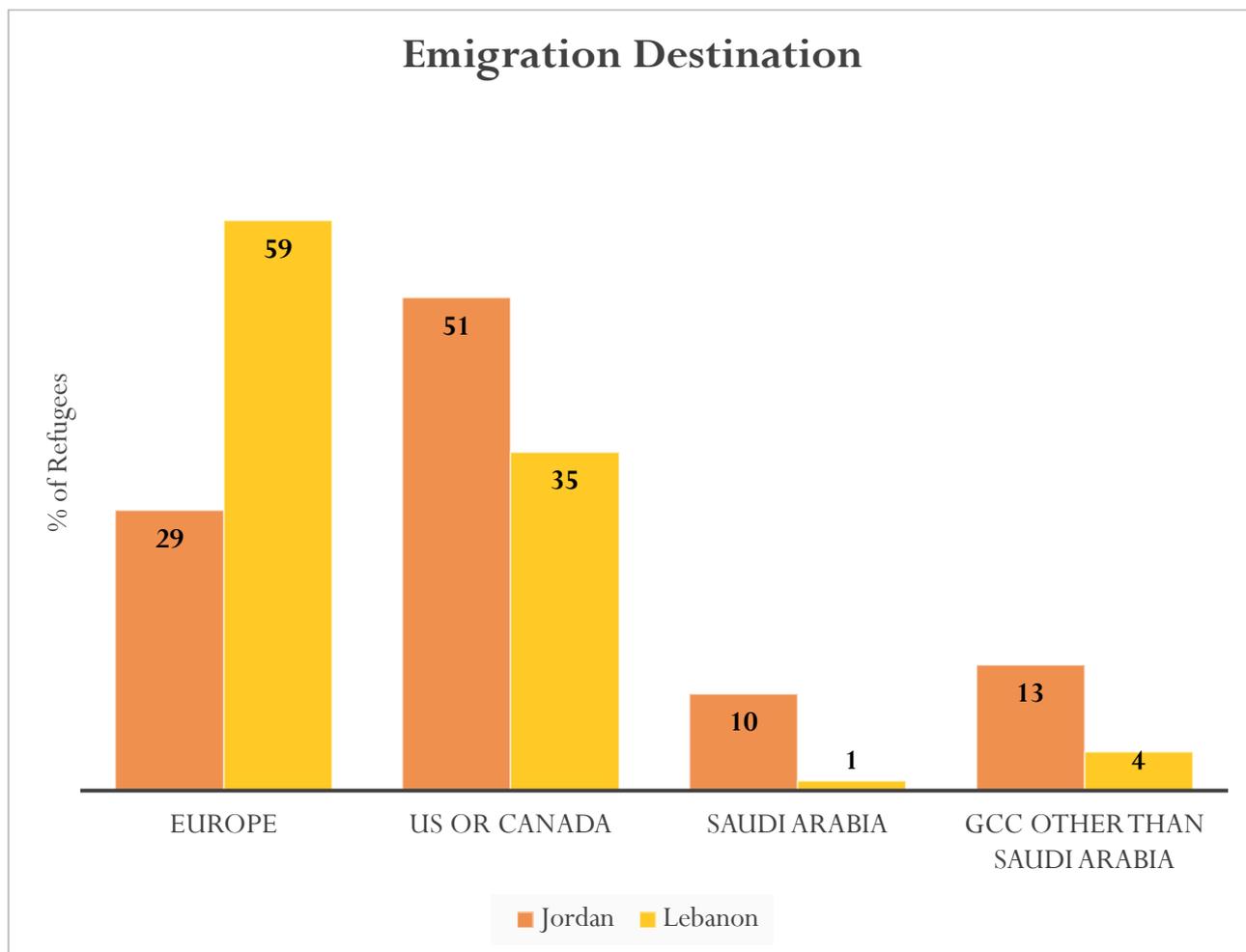
Nevertheless, most refugees in Lebanon and Jordan are worried about the possibility of not being able to provide a quality education for their children (72 percent in Jordan and 84 percent in Lebanon).

Emigration

Many Syrian refugees in Jordan and Lebanon say they are considering emigrating from their host country. Overall, a third (31 percent) in Jordan and 44 percent in Lebanon say that they think about emigrating. Similar to other Middle Eastern countries surveyed by the Arab Barometer, men are more likely to say they consider emigrating than women – 33 percent of men in Jordan and 50 percent of men in Lebanon say they want to emigrate, compared with 29 percent of women in Jordan and 38 percent of women in Lebanon. Among all those who are thinking about emigrating, a clear majority (82 percent) of refugees in Jordan cite economic reasons as the basis for moving from their host country. However, in Lebanon economic reasons as well as both economic and political reasons are cited by similar percentages (45 percent and 42 percent, respectively). These differences may be linked with the fact that different societal attitudes towards refugees as a result of national history manifested itself in refugees' perspectives.



Among those considering emigrating, refugees in Jordan are most likely to look to move to the U.S. or Canada (51 percent), followed by Europe (29 percent), a GCC country other than Saudi Arabia (13 percent) and Saudi Arabia (10 percent). Meanwhile, refugees in Lebanon being more likely to say they prefer emigrating to Europe (59 percent), followed by the U.S. or Canada (35 percent), a GCC country other than Saudi Arabia (4 percent) and Saudi Arabia (1 percent).



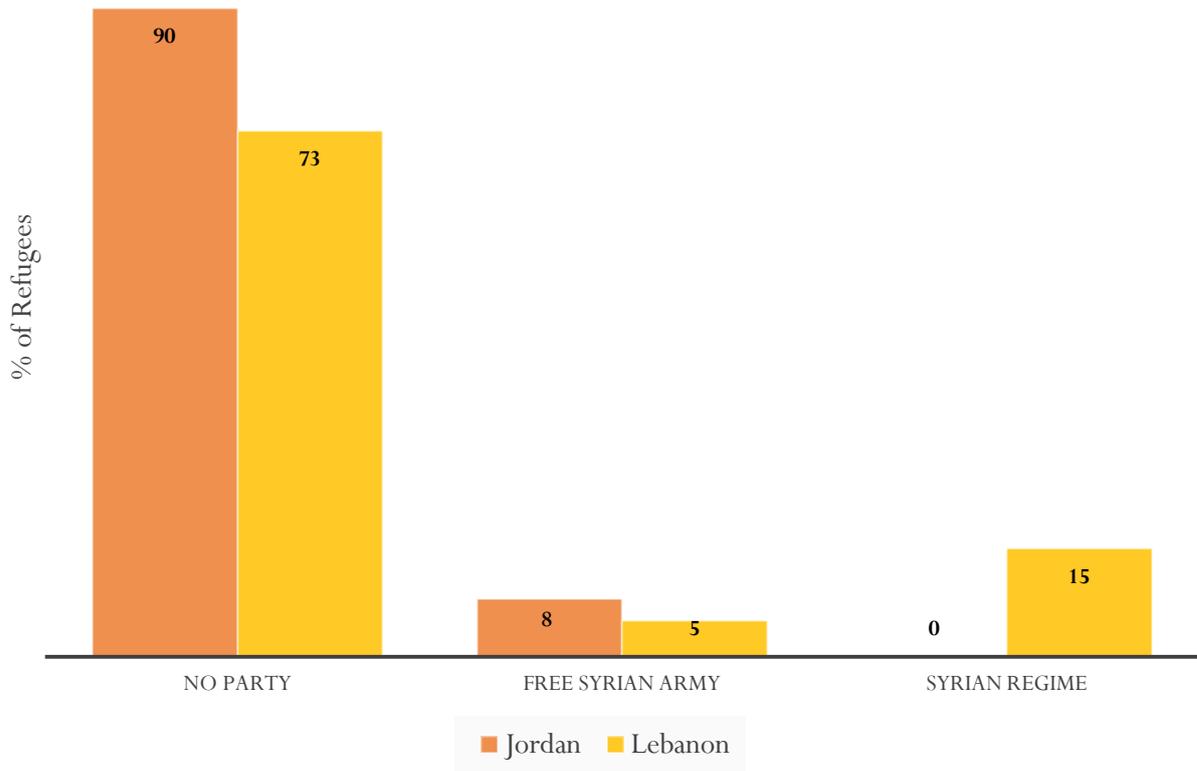
Security

Differences in attitudes toward immigrants in the host countries may be manifested in the extent that refugees in Lebanon and Jordan feel secure. To be precise, while the vast majority of refugees in Jordan (98 percent) says their personal and family safety and security are ensured or fully ensured, less than half of refugees in Lebanon (47 percent) say the same. However, many in the refugee community in both countries lack peace of mind in other routine daily interactions. Four-in-ten (41 percent) in Jordan and three-quarters (73 percent) in Lebanon are worried about being harassed or threatened on the street (See Appendix Table 2). Notably, women in Lebanon are more likely to be worried about such situation (79 percent of women vs 67 percent of men), even though there is no statistical difference between men and women in Jordan (42 percent of women vs 40 percent of men).

Opinions About Politics

Membership in organizations or formal groups is very low. Overall, 98 percent of refugees in both countries say they do not belong to any such groups. Furthermore, the vast majority in Jordan (90 percent) and Lebanon (73 percent) say that no party in Syria represents their political, social and economic aspirations. However, the most widely supported party in Jordan is the Free Syrian Army at 8 percent while the most preferred party in Lebanon is the Syrian regime at 15 percent (See Appendix Table 3).

Which of the existing Syrian parties is closest to representing your political, social and economic aspirations?



Alleviating Poverty

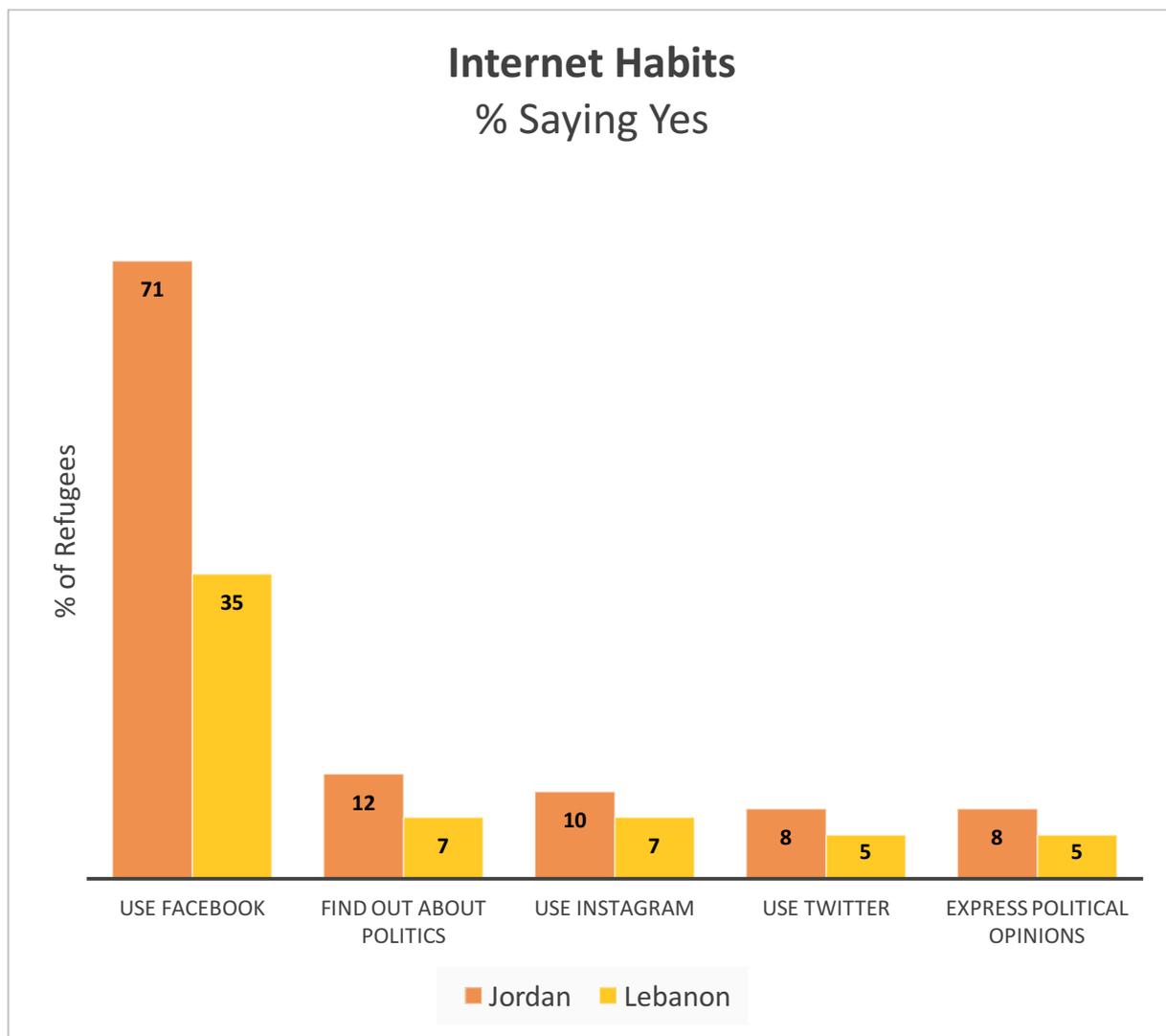
Although most Syrian refugees are struggling financially, their attitudes toward helping the poor vary between the two countries. While eight-in-ten in Jordan (79 percent) say they prefer helping poor, at a small or even a large cost to themselves, only 46 percent say the same in Lebanon. Meanwhile, 15 percent of refugees in Lebanon do not prefer helping the poor at all. In contrast, no refugee in the sample held this view in Jordan. Among those who want to help the poor, a considerable majority in Jordan (65 percent) say they want to help poor because God will reward them for it, and 22 percent say that they want to help people because it makes them sad to see people suffer. In Lebanon, close to half of Syrian refugees (44 percent) want to help poor because it makes them sad to see people suffer, and 33 percent want to help people because God will reward them for it. A majority in both countries (74 percent in Jordan and 63 percent in Lebanon) think the best way to reduce poverty is to encourage people to pay more *sadaqa* for charitable distribution. Meanwhile, only 7 percent in Jordan and 6 percent in Lebanon say that raising taxes is the best way, while 25 percent in Lebanon and 14 percent in Jordan who say neither raising taxes nor encouraging *sadaqa* is the best way.

The Media

Similar to populations in most other countries where the fourth wave of Arab Barometer was conducted, Syrian refugees in Jordan and Lebanon are not overly interested in politics. Only 18 percent in Jordan and 10 percent in Lebanon say they are interested or very interested in politics. Television is the most common medium to follow the political news: 53 percent in Jordan and 71 percent in Lebanon say they follow political news through television at least a few times a week. Meanwhile, the vast majority in Jordan (86 percent) and Lebanon (79 percent) say they don't ever follow political news through daily newspaper.

In both countries, few refugees have direct experience with trying to access censored media. More than half in Jordan (57 percent) and two-thirds in Lebanon (66 percent) say they have not tried to access censored media. While 4 percent in both countries say they are censored, 36 percent in Jordan and 28 percent in Lebanon report that they are not censored.

Syrian refugees in Lebanon are more likely to be online than refugees in Jordan. While 44 percent in Lebanon report they are online daily, 37 percent in Jordan claim say the same. Meanwhile, 51 percent in Jordan and 40 percent in Lebanon do not use the internet at all. Among those who report that they use internet, 12 percent in Jordan and 7 percent in Lebanon use internet to find out about political activities while only 8 percent in Jordan and 5 percent in Lebanon use internet to express their opinions about political issues. Refugees in Jordan are more likely to have a personal Facebook page (71 percent) than refugees in Lebanon (35 percent). While 10 percent in Jordan and 7 percent in Lebanon use Instagram, only 8 percent in Jordan and 5 percent in Lebanon use Twitter.

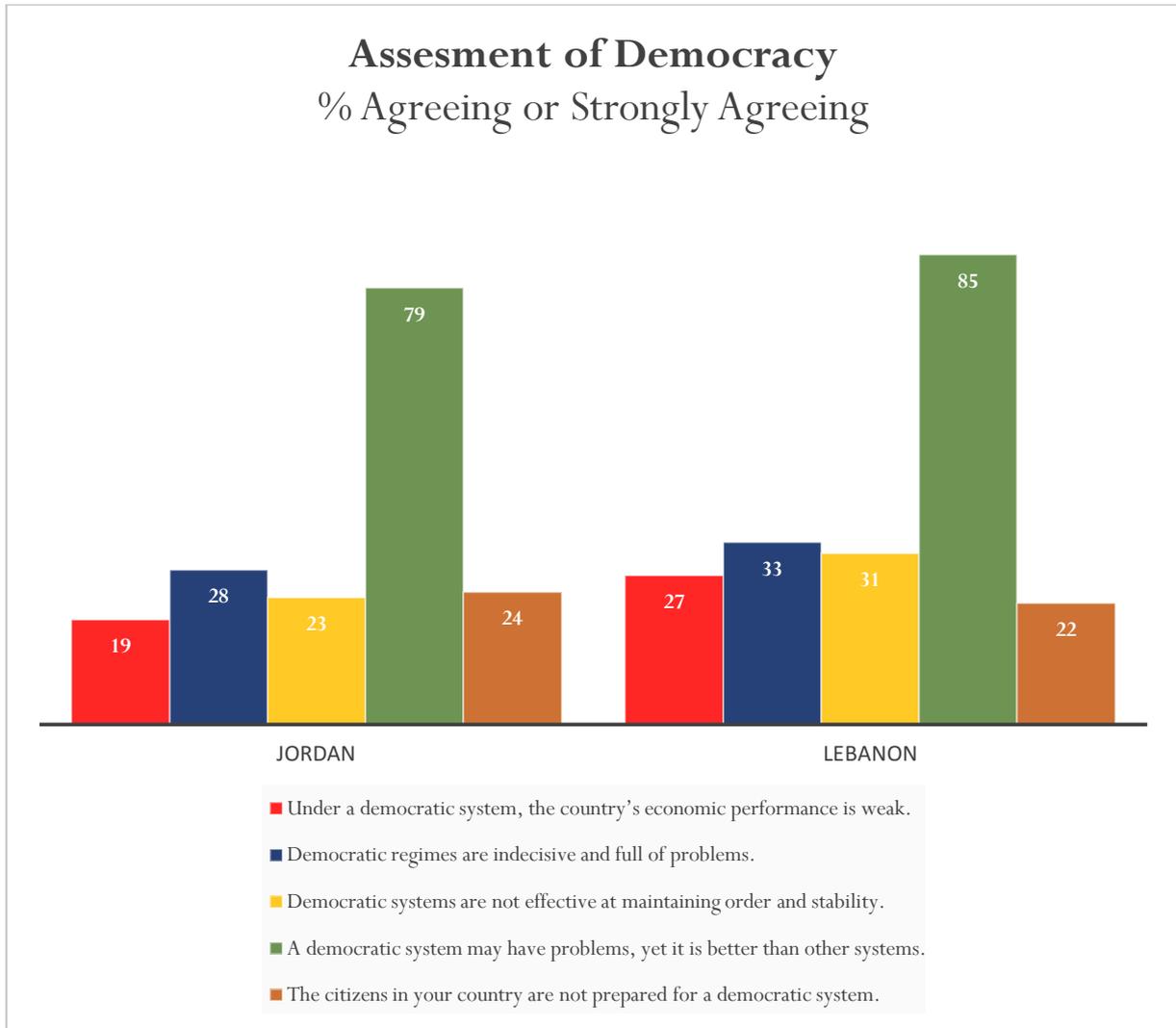


Democracy

Refugees in Jordan and Lebanon conceptualize democracy primarily in socioeconomic terms. Asked to choose the most essential characteristics of democracy from among several options, refugees in both countries tend to describe democracy as a system providing basic needs of citizens. When offered a set of statements, half in Jordan and 43 percent in Lebanon choose ‘the government ensures job opportunities for all’, compared with 26 percent in Jordan and 28 percent in Lebanon who choose ‘government ensures law and order’, and 13 percent in Jordan and 14 percent in Lebanon who cite media is free to criticize the government’s actions. Similarly, provided a different list of characteristics, about half of refugees (49 percent in Jordan and 47 percent in Lebanon) choose ‘basic necessities like food, clothes and shelter are provided for all’ while 13 percent in Jordan and 27 percent in Lebanon choose ‘the legislature has oversight over the government’ as the most essential characteristics of democracy. Further 23 percent in Jordan and 11 percent in Lebanon say it is the government providing its citizens with quality public services.

Similar to other countries where the fourth wave of Arab Barometer is conducted, the vast majority of Syrian refugees do not support radical reforms. Most (85 percent in Jordan and 80 percent in Lebanon) agree or strongly agree with the statement that political reform should be little by little instead of all at once.

The fourth wave of Arab Barometer reveals that many Syrian refugees in Jordan and Lebanon are not deeply committed to a democratic system. Overall, about half of refugees in Lebanon and Jordan (50 and 56 percent, respectively) say democracy is always preferable to any other government, followed by 25 percent in Lebanon and 23 percent in Jordan who say it does not matter what kind of government they have. However, despite the ambivalence of some refugees, most agree that, on the whole, democracy remains the best system. A clear majority of Syrian refugees in both countries (85 percent in Lebanon and 79 percent in Jordan) agree or strongly agree that a democratic system may have problems, yet it is better than other systems. Notably, close to quarter (24 percent in Jordan and 22 percent in Lebanon) agree or strongly agree that the citizens of their country are not prepared for a democratic system (See Appendix Table 6).



Perhaps because few Syrian refugees have significant experience with a democratic system, fears about the shortcomings of democracy are relatively limited. For example, just 33 percent in Lebanon and 28 percent in Jordan think that democratic regimes are indecisive and full of problems, while 31 percent in Lebanon and 23 percent in Jordan think that democratic systems are not effective at maintaining order and stability. Furthermore, 27 percent in Lebanon and 19 percent in Jordan agree or strongly agree under democratic system, the country's economic performance is weak.

Syrian refugees in Jordan and Lebanon holds diverse views about the most suitable form government. More than one third in both countries (35 percent in Jordan and 34 percent in Lebanon) consider a parliamentary system in which nationalist, left-wing, right-wing and Islamist parties compete in parliamentary elections as a suitable form

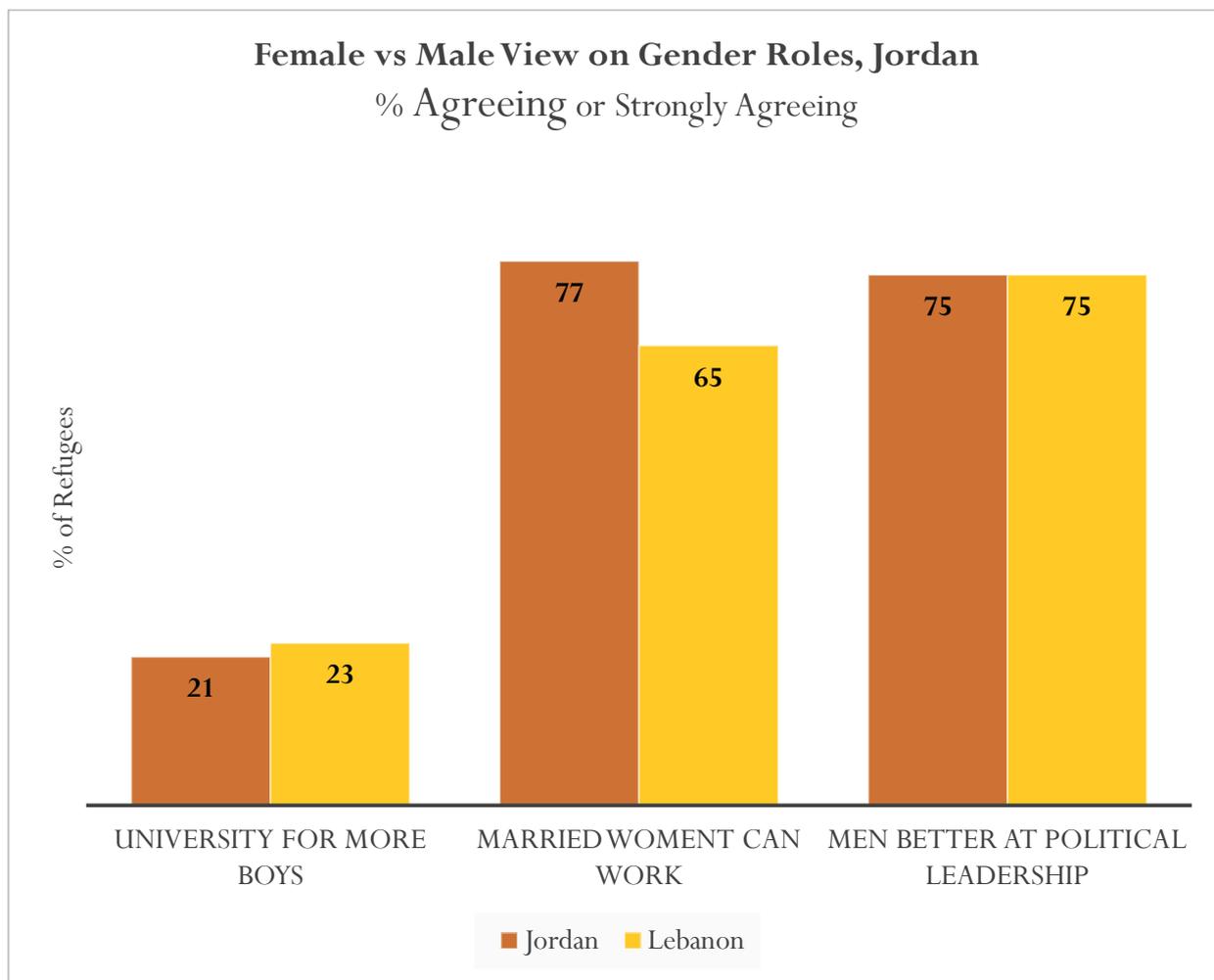
of government. However, 33 percent in both countries express that this type of government is not suitable at all, while 19 percent in Jordan and 6 percent in Lebanon say they do not know.

Meanwhile, 17 percent in Jordan and 5 percent in Lebanon find 'a parliamentary system in which only Islamic parties compete for parliamentary elections' a suitable form of government, whereas more than half in Jordan (53 percent) and a majority in Lebanon (66 percent) do not find that type of parliament suitable at all. At the same time, 16 percent in Lebanon and 14 percent in Jordan believe that a parliamentary system in which only non-religious parties compete would be suitable or very suitable, compared with only 11 percent in Lebanon and 9 percent in Jordan who believe that a political system governed by a strong authority which makes decisions without considering electoral results or the opinions of the opposition would be suitable or very suitable. Finally, 17 percent in both countries find a system that provides for the needs of its citizens without giving them the right to participate in the process suitable or very suitable (See Appendix Table 7).

Culture and Religion

Views about gender roles in both refugee communities show a wide range of similarities. A majority of refugees in Jordan (68 percent) and Lebanon (62 percent) agree or strongly agree that a woman can become president or prime minister of a Muslim country. Nevertheless, three-quarters of refugees in both countries say that men are better at political leadership than women, while 76 percent in Lebanon and 64 percent in Jordan agree or strongly agree that husbands should have final say in all decisions concerning the family.

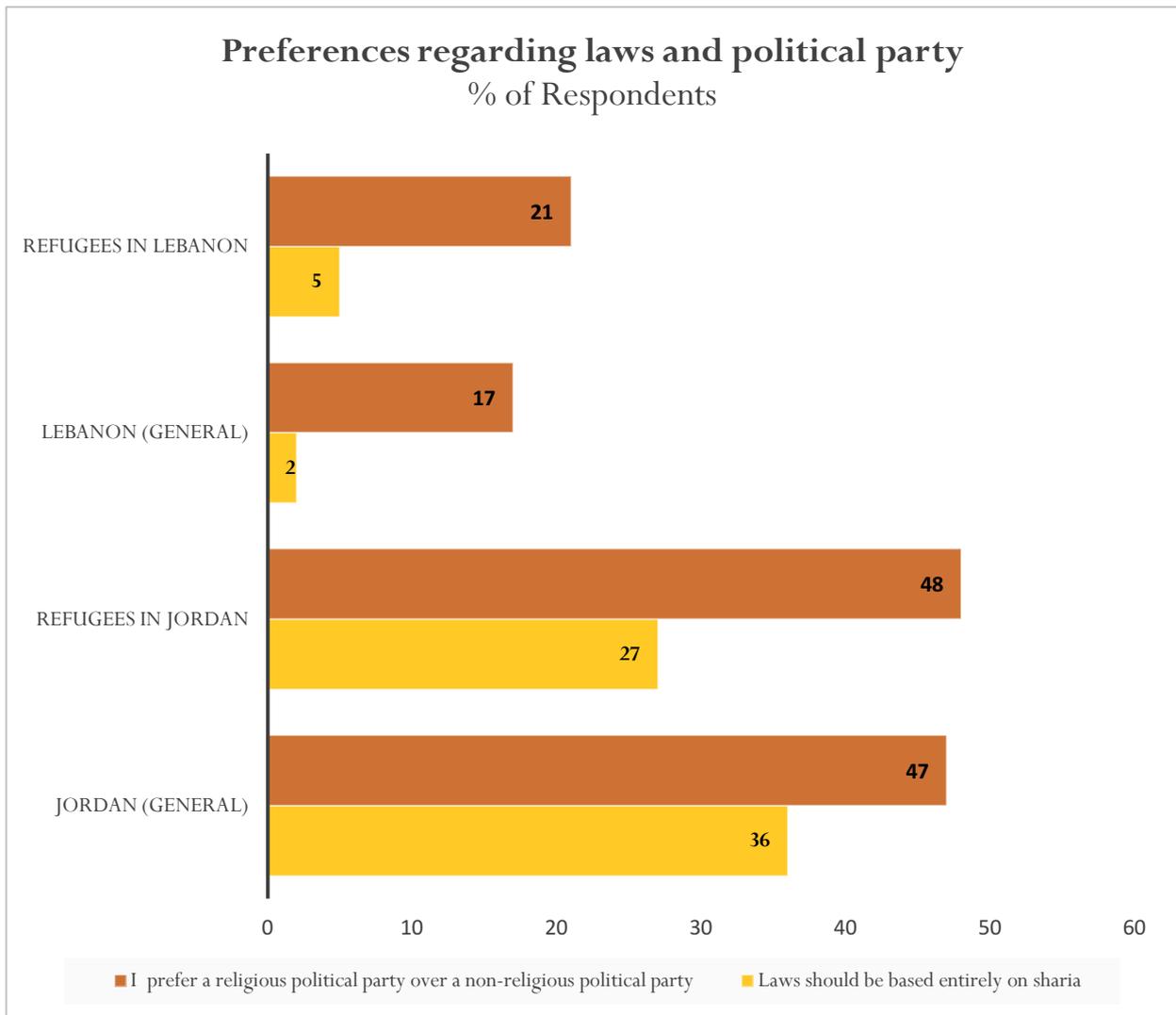
Furthermore, Syrian refugees in Jordan and Lebanon have similar perceptions about gender in regard to education, work and inheritance. Two-in-ten in both countries (23 percent in Lebanon and 21 percent in Jordan) agree or strongly agree that university education for males is more important than university education for females, which are similar levels compared with other countries where the fourth wave of the Arab Barometer is conducted. Furthermore, an overwhelming majority in Jordan (98 percent) and Lebanon (94 percent) agrees or strongly agrees that women and men should have equal inheritance rights, although it is possible that the 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. Meanwhile, more three-quarters in Jordan (77 percent) believe a married woman can work outside if she wishes, compared with 65 percent in Lebanon who agree or strongly agree with this statement (See Appendix Table 8).



Perhaps unsurprisingly, Syrian refugees in Lebanon and Jordan show similar biases with respect to religious differences than with respect to nationality or race. Asked whether they would like or dislike neighbors of particular backgrounds, 14 percent in Lebanon and 12 percent in Jordan say that they would somewhat dislike or strongly dislike neighbors of a different religion, and 26 percent in Jordan and 19 percent in Lebanon say that they would somewhat dislike or strongly dislike neighbors of a different sect of Islam. Meanwhile, notable differences in prejudice towards race and immigrant workers appear between two communities: only 4 percent in Jordan would somewhat dislike or strongly dislike neighbors of a different race or color, compared with 17 percent in Lebanon who hold this view. Furthermore, only 6 percent in Jordan would somewhat dislike or strongly dislike neighbors who are immigrants or foreign workers, while 14 percent of refugees in Lebanon say that they would somewhat dislike or strongly dislike living next to members of this group.

Views about the source on which laws should be based are not significantly different between two countries: 53 percent in Jordan and 47 percent in Lebanon state that laws should be equally based on sharia and the will of people. Additionally, while 27 percent of refugees in Jordan say that laws should be entirely based on sharia, only 5 percent in Lebanon share this view. Furthermore, 21 percent in Lebanon say laws should be entirely based on the will of people, compared with only 1 percent in Jordan. Notably, about half of refugees in Jordan (48 percent) agree or strongly agree with the statement 'I prefer a religious political party over non-religious political party' as opposed to only 21 percent in Lebanon who agree or strongly agree. Overall, refugees' support for sharia law and preference for Islamic parties show similarities with the view of the local residents. In that context, there may be two possible explanations: first, refugees may have adopted the values of their resident country or,

second, they may have chosen their destinations according to perceived proximity of their beliefs and the values of the destination country.⁴



In line with the findings given above, there are notable differences about the views about the role of religion in the country. Four-in-ten Syrian refugees in Jordan (41 percent) agree or strongly agree that religious practice is a private matter and should be separated from socioeconomic life, compared with 80 percent in Lebanon who hold this view. Meanwhile, one-third in Jordan (27 percent) agree or strongly agree that religious leaders should have influence over the government as opposed to 20 percent in Lebanon agreeing or strongly agreeing with such statement, and 33 percent in Jordan and 18 percent in Lebanon agree or strongly agree that the country is better off when religious people hold public positions in the state (See Appendix Table 10).

Additionally, most refugees in Lebanon (82 percent) and Jordan (78 percent) agree or strongly agree that banks in Muslim countries should not charge interest because it is forbidden in Islam, while 28 percent in Jordan and 18 percent in Lebanon agree or strongly agree that this rule should be relaxed to meet the demands of the modern economy.

A considerable majority of refugees in Lebanon (81 percent) and Jordan (56 percent) agree or strongly agree it is acceptable for male and female university students to attend classes together; while more than half in Lebanon (57

⁴ For more information, please visit the Arab Barometer website (<http://www.arabbarometer.org/country-report>).

percent) and 44 percent in Jordan believe while women should dress modestly, Islam does not require wearing a hijab.

Few refugees in Lebanon (29 percent) and Jordan (13 percent) agree or strongly agree democracy is a Western form of government that is not compatible with Islam.

International Relations

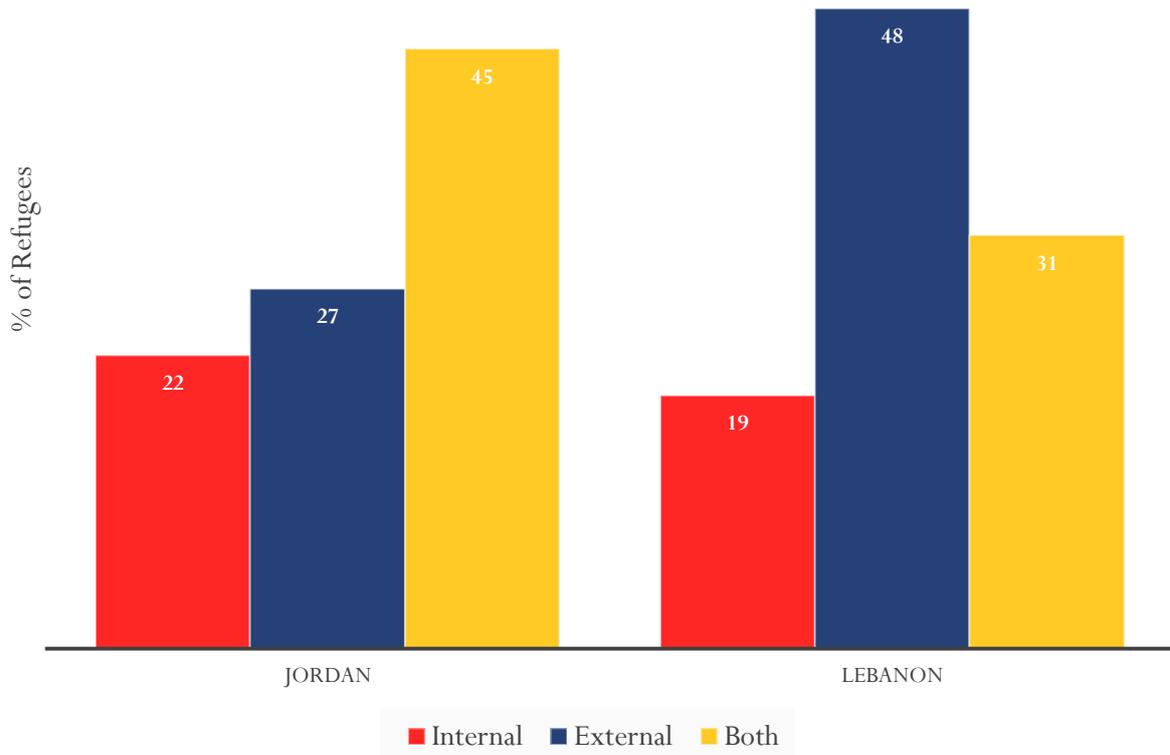
Generally, refugees in Jordan and Lebanon oppose foreign influences in the conflict in Syria. Most Syrian refugees in Jordan (74 percent) view Russian influence on the conflict bad or very bad, followed by the influence of the U.S. (52 percent) and the influence of the E.U. (49 percent). However, only a quarter of refugees in Jordan (26 percent) rate neighboring countries' intervention in the conflict as bad or very bad. In Lebanon, on the other hand, views about foreign influence are generally negative: about two-thirds (69 percent) find the U.S. and neighboring countries' influence on the conflict bad or very bad, followed by the influence of Russia (61 percent) and the influence of the E.U. (52 percent) (See Appendix Table 12).

When asked about the most positive thing that the United States could do for the Arab region, more than four-in-ten Syrian refugees in Jordan (44 percent) and Lebanon (43 percent) say the most positive thing would be for the United States not to get involved. However, 27 percent of refugees in Jordan think that the most positive thing would be to resolve Arab-Israeli conflict while 28 percent in Lebanon think it would be to promote economic development. Notably, refugees in both Jordan and Lebanon are divided on the question of whether American demands for reform are acceptable or not: In Jordan, 10 percent say they are acceptable, followed by 31 percent saying they are acceptable with conditions, 13 percent saying they are not acceptable on principle and 37 percent saying they are not acceptable because they are harmful to national interests. At the same time, in Lebanon, 9 percent say they are acceptable, followed by 34 percent saying they are acceptable with conditions, 25 percent saying they are not acceptable on principle and 30 percent saying they are not acceptable because they are harmful to national interests.

Regardless of the U.S. foreign policies, Syrian refugees in Jordan (53 percent) and Lebanon (61 percent) believe that Americans are good people. Meanwhile, half of refugees in Jordan (51 percent) and a majority in Lebanon (61 percent) agree or strongly agree that American and Western culture have positive aspects. Furthermore, Israel is most commonly seen as the greatest external threat by refugees in both Jordan (22 percent) and Lebanon (44 percent). Notably, while 34 percent of refugees in Jordan say they do not know which country represents the greatest threat, 15 percent believe that there is no country that poses a significant threat. Meanwhile, in Lebanon 18 percent say they do not know which country is the greatest threat to their country while 16 percent say Iran is the greatest threat.

Close to half of refugees in Jordan (45 percent) attribute the lack of development to both external and internal factors, with 22 percent blaming only internal factors and 27 percent blaming only external factors for the lack of development. By contrast, refugees in Lebanon are more likely to blame external factors for the lack of development (48 percent), while a third (31 percent) attribute lack of development to both external and internal factors and 19 percent attribute the lack of development to only internal factors.

Attribution for Blame of Lack of Development



Selected Demographics

Refugees in Jordan

A fifth of refugees in Jordan (21 percent) report that they work. Among those who work, 92 percent work in the private sector, and 8 percent say they work in sectors other than public or private sector. Among those who do not work, 61 percent are housewives, 29 percent are unemployed, and 4 percent are retired.

In terms of household possessions, only 6 percent of refugees in Jordan have at least one computer in their home, and less than 1 percent own a car within their family. Forty-five percent have a non-smart mobile phone and 50 have a smartphone with access to the internet.

Overall, 35 percent of refugees in Jordan describe themselves as religious, while 63 percent say they are somewhat religious. Just 2 percent say they are not religious.

Only 10 percent of the refugee families in Jordan are well-off enough that they are able to cover their expenses without notable difficulties or even well enough off that they are able to save (3 percent). A further 31 percent face some difficulties meeting expenses, and a majority (56 percent) reports facing significant difficulties to make ends meet. Most refugee families in Jordan (90 percent) do not receive any remittances from abroad. Only 4 percent report receiving remittances as frequently once a month. Further 4 percent receive them a few times a year, and 1 percent receive them once a year.

Refugees in Lebanon

Slightly less than half of refugees in Lebanon (47 percent) report that they work. Among those who work, 1 percent work in the public sector, and 94 percent in the private sector. Among those who do not work, 75 percent are housewives, 23 percent are unemployed.

In terms of household possessions, only 4 percent of refugees in Lebanon have at least one computer in their home, and 3 percent own a car within their family. A third have a non-smart mobile phone and 57 have a smartphone with access to the internet.

Overall, 34 percent of refugees in Lebanon describe themselves as religious, while 51 percent say they are somewhat religious. A further 15 percent say they are not religious.

Only 6 percent of the refugee families in Lebanon are well-off enough that they are able to cover their expenses without notable difficulties or even well enough off that they are able to save (less than 1 percent). A further 28 percent face some difficulties meeting expenses, and a majority (64 percent) reports facing significant difficulties to make ends meet. Most refugee families in Lebanon (93 percent) do not receive any remittances from abroad. Only 1 percent report receiving remittances as frequently once a month. Further 3 percent receive them a few times a year, and 2 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 Jordan, conducted from March 9 – 16, 2016, was led by Walid Al Khatib, and the survey in Lebanon, conducted from July 20 – August 16, 2016, was led by Rabih Habr. The surveys included 300 respondents randomly selected living amongst the general population in each country. The surveys were conducted face-to-face in the respondent's place of residence and has a margin of error of ± 6 percent respectively.

To date, the Arab Barometer has conducted 38 national surveys over four 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.

The Refugees in Jordan and in Lebanon Arab Barometer Report Appendix

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

Table 1: Satisfaction with Public Services

Jordan						
Item	Definitely satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Definitely dissatisfied	DK	Decline to Answer
Educational system	22.7	58.0	10.3	3.7	5.0	.3
Healthcare system	25.0	60.7	9.7	4.3	.3	-

Lebanon						
Item	Definitely satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Definitely dissatisfied	DK	Decline to Answer
Educational system	7.7	45.7	28.3	9.3	8.7	.3
Healthcare system	3.7	24.7	45.0	24.3	2.3	-

Table 2: Worries

Jordan							
Item	Very Much	Much	Not much	Not at all	Not applicable	DK	Decline to Answer
No Possibility to give children a good education	39.7	22.7	11.7	15.0	11.0	-	
A terrorist attack in your country	35.7	21.7	8.7	33.0	-	1.0	
Being harassed or threatened on the street	19.7	21.3	9.7	48.7	.3	.3	

Lebanon						
Item	Very Much	Much	Not much	Not at all	Not applicable	DK
No Possibility to give children a good education	63.7	20.7	9.3	3.0	2.3	1.0
A terrorist attack in your country	67.3	19.3	7.3	4.7	.7	.7
Being harassed or threatened on the street	52.7	20.7	12.0	13.0	1.0	.7

Table 3: Which of the existing Syrian parties is closest to representing your political, social and economic aspirations

	Jordan	Lebanon
No Party	90.3	72.7
Free Syrian Army	8.0	5.0
Syrian Regime	0	15.3

Table 4: Media Habits (for Political News)

Jordan			Lebanon		
Frequency	Television	Daily News Paper	Frequency	Television	Daily News Paper
Daily	31.0	.7	Daily	45.0	1.3
A number of times a week	22.3	1.3	A number of times a week	26.3	1.3
A number of times a month	5.7	1.3	A number of times a month	4.3	2.7
Rarely	18.0	9.3	Rarely	7.3	13.3
I don't follow it ever	22.7	86.7	I don't follow it ever	16.3	78.7
DK	.3	.7	DK	.3	2.3
Declined to Answer	-	-	Declined to Answer	.3	.3

Table 5: Internet Habits (Among Internet Users)

Jordan			
Item	Yes	No	DK
Find out about political activities	5.7	88.4	-
Express your opinion about political issues	7.5	92.5	-
Facebook user	71.2	28.8	-
Twitter user	7.5	92.5	-
Instagram user	9.6	29.7	.7

Lebanon			
Item	Yes	No	Decline to Answer
Find out about political activities	7.4	92.0	.6
Express your opinion about political issues	5.1	94.3	.6
Facebook user	34.7	64.8	.6
Twitter user	4.5	94.9	.6
Instagram user	6.8	92.6	.6

Table 6: Attitudes Toward Democracy

Jordan							
Item	SA	A	D	SD	DK	Refuse	
Under a democratic system, economic performance is weak	5.5	14.0	49.3	22.3	9.0	.3	
Democratic regimes are indecisive/full of problems	4.0	23.7	47.0	16.3	8.7	.3	
Democratic systems not effect at order/stability	3.7	19.7	47.7	19.3	9.3	.3	
A democratic system may have problems, but better than others	31.3	47.7	11.0	2.3	7.7	-	
Citizens in our country not prepared for democratic system	3.3	21.0	37.0	15.3	22.3	1.0	

Lebanon						
Item	SA	A	D	SD	DK	Refuse
Under a democratic system, economic performance is weak	6.7	20.3	45.0	21.0	7.0	-
Democratic regimes are indecisive/full of problems	8.7	24.7	40.3	21.7	4.7	-
Democratic systems not effect at order/stability	7.7	23.3	44.3	20.0	4.7	-
A democratic system may have problems, but better than others	29.0	56.3	7.7	2.7	4.3	-
Citizens in our country not prepared for democratic system	5.7	16.7	25.0	19.0	13.7	-

Table 7: Attitudes Toward Different Forms of Government (Suitability for Jordan or Lebanon)

Jordan							
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	20.0	15.0	11.7	33.3	19.0	1.0	
A parliamentary system in which only Islamist parties compete in parliamentary elections	5.7	11.0	10.7	52.3	19.3	1.0	
A parliamentary system in which only non-religious parties compete in parliamentary elections	6.0	8.3	65.7	19.0	1.0	-	
A political system governed by Islamic law in which there are no political parties or elections	6.7	10.3	11.3	56.3	14.3	1.0	
A government that provides for the needs of its citizens without giving them the right to participate in the political process	4.7	12.7	11.3	56.3	14.0	1.0	

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	11.3	23.0	26.3	32.7	6.3	.3
A parliamentary system in which only Islamist parties compete in parliamentary elections	.7	4.7	23.3	65.7	5.3	.3
A parliamentary system in which only non-religious parties compete in parliamentary elections	6.0	10.3	22.3	66.7	4.3	.3
A political system governed by Islamic law in which there are no political parties or elections	2.3	8.7	19.0	65.0	4.7	.3
A government that provides for the needs of its citizens without giving them the right to participate in the political process	4.7	12.7	14.3	63.7	4.3	.3

Table 8: Women's Roles and Rights

Jordan						
Item	SA	A	D	SD	DK	Refuse
A woman can become president or prime minister of a Muslim country	38.3	29.7	18.3	12.7	.7	.3
A married woman can work outside the home if she wishes	35.3	41.7	13.7	9.3	-	-
In general, men are better at political leadership than women	37.7	37.7	17.3	5.3	2.0	-
University education for males is more important than university education for females	9.3	11.3	39.0	40.3	-	-
Women and men should have equal inheritance rights	80.7	17.7	1.3	.3	-	-
Husbands should have final say in all decisions concerning the family	36.0	27.7	26.3	10.0	-	-

Lebanon

Item	SA	A	D	SD	DK	Refuse
A woman can become president or prime minister of a Muslim country	23.7	38.0	23.0	14.7	.7	-
A married woman can work outside the home if she wishes	27.0	38.0	19.0	15.7	.3	-
In general, men are better at political leadership than women	42.7	32.3	19.0	5.0	1.0	-
University education for males is more important than university education for females	6.7	16.0	49.7	27.0	.7	-
Women and men should have equal inheritance rights	49.3	45.0	2.3	2.0	1.3	-
Husbands should have final say in all decisions concerning the family	41.7	34.7	20.0	2.7	1.0	-

Table 9: Desirability of Potential Neighbors

Jordan

Item	Strongly Dislike	Dislike	Neither	Like	Strongly Like	DK	Refuse
People of a different religion	5.0	7.0	77.7	9.0	1.3	-	-
People of a different race or color	1.7	2.0	84.7	10.7	1.0	-	-
Immigrants or foreign workers	2.7	3.7	82.7	9.3	1.7	-	-
People of a different sect of Islam	12.7	13.0	63.7	8.7	1.7	.3	-

Lebanon

Item	Strongly Dislike	Dislike	Neither	Like	Strongly Like	DK	Refuse
People of a different religion	3.3	11.0	52.3	21.0	11.3	1.0	-
People of a different race or color	3.0	14.0	53.0	17.3	11.3	1.3	-
Immigrants or foreign workers	3.7	10.7	52.7	18.3	13.3	1.3	-
People of a different sect of Islam	6.0	13.0	47.0	19.3	13.3	1.3	-

Table 10: Religion and Public Life

Jordan						
Item	SA	A	D	SD	DK	Refuse
Religious leaders should not interfere in voters' decisions in elections	30.0	37.0	12.7	10.3	10.0	-
Your country is better off if religious people hold public positions in the state	8.0	25.3	35.0	21.0	10.3	.3
Religious clerics should have influence over the decisions of government	5.7	21.7	40.3	21.0	11.0	.3
Religious practice is a private matter and should be separated from socio-economic life	11.0	29.7	34.0	18.7	6.0	.7
Lebanon						
Item	SA	A	D	SD	DK	Refuse
Religious leaders should not interfere in voters' decisions in elections	29.0	45.7	17.3	7.3	.7	-
Your country is better off if religious people hold public positions in the state	5.3	12.7	45.7	35.3	.3	.7
Religious clerics should have influence over the decisions of government	5.3	14.3	50.3	28.3	1.3	.3
Religious practice is a private matter and should be separated from socio-economic life	40.3	39.3	16.3	3.7	.3	-

Table 11: Interpretations of Islam

Jordan						
Item	SA	A	D	SD	DK	Refuse
Democracy is a Western form of government that is not compatible with Islam	2.7	10.0	50.0	29.0	8.0	.3
Banks in Muslim countries must be forbidden from charging interest because this is forbidden by Islam	44.0	33.7	10.3	5.7	6.0	.3
It is acceptable in Islam for male and female university students to attend classes together	12.0	44.0	29.0	13.3	1.3	.3
A woman should dress modestly, but Islam does not require that she wears a hijab	19.0	25.0	34.0	21.3	.7	-
In order to meet the demands of the modern economy, banks should be allowed to charge interest	8.7	19.0	44.3	21.7	6.3	-

Lebanon							
Item	SA	A	D	SD	DK	Refuse	Refuse
Democracy is a Western form of government that is not compatible with Islam	9.0	20.3	45.7	18.3	6.7	-	
Banks in Muslim countries must be forbidden from charging interest because this is forbidden by Islam	28.3	53.7	9.0	4.7	4.3	-	
It is acceptable in Islam for male and female university students to attend classes together	29.7	51.0	11.7	6.3	1.3	-	
A woman should dress modestly, but Islam does not require that she wears a hijab	18.7	38.0	27.3	14.0	1.3	.7	
In order to meet the demands of the modern economy, banks should be allowed to charge interest	6.3	12.0	38.7	24.7	18.0	.3	

Table 12: Do you think the influence of the country given below on the conflict in Syria ...?

Jordan							
Country	Very positive	Somewhat positive	Neither positive nor negative	Somewhat negative	Very negative	DK	Refuse
The United States	5.7	7.7	21.0	20.0	32.0	13.3	.3
The European Union	6.7	10.0	23.0	19.7	29.0	11.3	.3
Neighboring Countries	12.3	26.7	25.3	14.3	11.3	9.7	.3
Russia	3.0	1.7	12.0	12.0	61.7	9.3	.3

Lebanon							
Country	Very positive	Somewhat positive	Neither positive nor negative	Somewhat negative	Very negative	DK	Refuse
The United States	2.3	5.7	15.7	19.0	49.7	5.3	2.3
The European Union	2.0	17.0	20.0	21.7	30.3	6.7	2.3
Neighboring Countries	1.0	7.3	15.3	32.3	26.7	5.0	2.3
Russia	5.3	12.3	13.7	19.3	41.7	5.3	2.3