Middle East Public Opinion Survey

Lebanon 2024

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Professor at the College of International Relations, Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto, Japan, currently based at SOAS University of London as a visiting scholar. He obtained his MA degree (Middle East Politics) at the University of Durham, UK and Ph.D. degree (Area Studies) at Kyoto University, JAPAN. He has focused on Islam and Politics in the Arab Middle East, particularly in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine/Israel. He conducts various research projects concerning state-building, democratization, regional security and foreign policies in the Middle East. One of his recent publications is "Sectarian Fault Lines in the Middle East: Sources of Conflicts or Communal Bonds?" Routledge Handbook of Middle East Politics, London: Routledge, 2020 (co-author with Keiko SAKAI).

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Researcher at the Center for Strategic Studies, currently heading the Public Opinion Polls and Survey's Department. He obtained his MA degree (Statistics) and Ph.D. degree (Political Statistics) at the University of Kent, UK. He is also a part time lecturer at the University of Jordan. His main research interests are elections and election systems, the democratization process in the Middle East, political reform in the Arab world, refuges studies, crisis management. In particular, he focuses on public opinion towards reform, public perception on current issues, democratization, political participation.

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A. Synopsis

The purpose of "Middle East Public Opinion Survey (Lebanon 2024)" is to grasp how Lebanese citizens view the countries and organizations that influence Lebanese politics and society, and what are the issues of particular importance to them.

This survey was supported by Ritsumeikan University's AY2022-23 International Collaborative Research Promotion Program "Exploring Social Resilience of the Middle Eastern Countries under Crises: The Case of Jordan" and the JSPS KAKENHI Grant Numbers JP23H00043 and JP 22KK0018, in collaboration with the Center for Strategic Studies (CSS), the University of Jordan.

The data collection was conducted online by Cint. We created the questionnaire in Arabic language by using Qualtrics, which includes list and conjoint experimental sections.

This study was approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of Ritsumeikan University (approval no. Kinugasa-Human-2023-97).

In this report, we present the details of the online survey and the descriptive statistics of the survey results. Section B presents the details of the online survey. Section C and D then present the descriptive statistics of the survey results.

B. Sampling Method

The survey targeted Lebanese citizens aged from 18 to 65 years old. The data were collected by Cint using the questionnaire created in Qualtrics. The data collection started on 25 January and ended on 28 January 2024, after receiving 1,512 responses. The final number of responses was 1,507, in which gender and age quotas were adopted.

C. Questionnaire

Q1. To what extend do you like or dislike the following countries and organizations active in your country? (except for political activity)

(1) USA	(2) France	(3) Russia	(4) China	(5) Turkey
(6) Iran	(7) Saudi Arabia	(8) Syria	(9) Israel	(10) UN

	(1) I like very much	(2) I like	(3) Neutral	(4) I do not like	(5) I do not like very much	(6) I do not know	Total
1-1. USA.							
Number	611	255	347	129	70	26	1,438
%	42.5	17.7	24.1	9.0	4.9	1.8	100.0
1-2. France							_
Number	269	474	434	141	56	36	1,410
%	19.1	33.6	30.8	10.0	4.0	2.6	100.1
1-3. Germany	/						_
Number	170	391	682	111	28	36	1,418
%	12.0	27.6	48.1	7.8	2.0	2.5	100.0
1-4. Russia							_
Number	234	403	610	100	35	33	1,415
%	16.5	28.5	43.1	7.1	2.5	2.3	100.0
1-5. China							
Number	254	425	552	114	39	28	1,412
%	18.0	30.1	39.1	8.1	2.8	2.0	100.1
1-6. Turkey							
Number	266	307	473	213	117	38	1,414
%	18.8	21.7	33.5	15.1	8.3	2.7	100.1
1-7. Iran							
Number	362	424	425	126	54	24	1,415
%	25.6	30.0	30.0	8.9	3.8	1.7	100.0
1-8. Syria							
Number	319	329	451	195	96	33	1,423
%	22.4	23.1	31.7	13.7	6.7	2.3	99.9
1-9. Israel							
Number	141	321	444	179	289	34	1,408
%	10.0	22.8	31.5	12.7	20.5	2.4	99.9
1-10. UN							
Number	517	281	351	155	84	28	1,416
%	36.5	19.8	24.8	10.9	5.9	2.0	99.9

Q2. To what degree do you support the following political parties? Please rate your support on a scale of 0 to 100, with 0 meaning you do not support at all, and 100 meaning you strongly support.

	~10	~20	~30	~40	~50	~60	~70	~80	~90	~100	Total
1. Free Patriotic Movement											
Number	263	13	25	18	41	44	133	237	332	269	1,375
%	19.1	0.9	1.8	1.3	3.0	3.2	9.7	17.2	24.1	19.6	99.9

Number 250 18 34 23 44 51 121 203 317 318 1,379 % 18.1 1.3 2.5 1.7 3.2 3.7 8.8 14.7 23.0 23.1 100.1 3. Hizb Allah Number 236 15 19 27 49 55 114 199 351 314 1,379 % 17.1 1.1 1.4 2.0 3.6 4.0 8.3 14.4 25.5 22.8 100.2 4. Lebanese Force Number 246 16 14 15 21 29 126 191 365 342 1,365 % 18.0 1.2 1.0 1.1 1.5 2.1 9.2 14.0 26.7 25.1 99.9 5. Progressive Socialist Party Number 248 27 25 38 48 67 100 177 362 268 1,360 </th <th>0 4 114</th> <th></th>	0 4 114											
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Number 236 15 19 27 49 55 114 199 351 314 1,379 % 17.1 1.1 1.4 2.0 3.6 4.0 8.3 14.4 25.5 22.8 100.2 4. Lebanese Force Number 246 16 14 15 21 29 126 191 365 342 1,365 % 18.0 1.2 1.0 1.1 1.5 2.1 9.2 14.0 26.7 25.1 99.9 5. Progressive Socialist Party Number 248 27 25 38 48 67 100 177 362 268 1,360 % 18.2 2.0 1.8 2.8 3.5 4.9 7.4 13.0 26.6 19.7 99.9 6. Kata'ib Number 256 21 20 21 37 55 128 187 333 313 1,371 <td>%</td> <td>18.1</td> <td>1.3</td> <td>2.5</td> <td>1.7</td> <td>3.2</td> <td>3.7</td> <td>8.8</td> <td>14.7</td> <td>23.0</td> <td>23.1</td> <td>100.1</td>	%	18.1	1.3	2.5	1.7	3.2	3.7	8.8	14.7	23.0	23.1	100.1
% 17.1 1.1 1.4 2.0 3.6 4.0 8.3 14.4 25.5 22.8 100.2 4. Lebanese Force Number 246 16 14 15 21 29 126 191 365 342 1,365 % 18.0 1.2 1.0 1.1 1.5 2.1 9.2 14.0 26.7 25.1 99.9 5. Progressive Socialist Party Number 248 27 25 38 48 67 100 177 362 268 1,360 % 18.2 2.0 1.8 2.8 3.5 4.9 7.4 13.0 26.6 19.7 99.9 6. Kata'ib Number 256 21 20 21 37 55 128 187 333 313 1,371 % 18.7 1.5 1.5 1.5 2.7 4.0 9.3 13.6 24.3 22.8 <td>3. Hizb Allah</td> <td></td>	3. Hizb Allah											
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Number 246 16 14 15 21 29 126 191 365 342 1,365 % 18.0 1.2 1.0 1.1 1.5 2.1 9.2 14.0 26.7 25.1 99.9 5. Progressive Socialist Party Number 248 27 25 38 48 67 100 177 362 268 1,360 % 18.2 2.0 1.8 2.8 3.5 4.9 7.4 13.0 26.6 19.7 99.9 6. Kata'ib Number 256 21 20 21 37 55 128 187 333 313 1,371 % 18.7 1.5 1.5 1.5 2.7 4.0 9.3 13.6 24.3 22.8 99.9 7. Mustaqbal Number 219 24 30 31 39 55 125 156 357 325 1,361	%	17.1	1.1	1.4	2.0	3.6	4.0	8.3	14.4	25.5	22.8	100.2
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6. Kata'ib Number 256 21 20 21 37 55 128 187 333 313 1,371 % 18.7 1.5 1.5 1.5 2.7 4.0 9.3 13.6 24.3 22.8 99.9 7. Mustaqbal Number 219 24 30 31 39 55 125 156 357 325 1,361 % 16.1 1.8 2.2 2.3 2.9 4.0 9.2 11.5 26.2 23.9 100.1 8. Others Number 222 14 11 20 48 61 125 153 356 284 1,294	Number	248	27	25	38	48	67	100	177	362	268	1,360
Number 256 21 20 21 37 55 128 187 333 313 1,371 % 18.7 1.5 1.5 1.5 2.7 4.0 9.3 13.6 24.3 22.8 99.9 7. Mustaqbal Number 219 24 30 31 39 55 125 156 357 325 1,361 % 16.1 1.8 2.2 2.3 2.9 4.0 9.2 11.5 26.2 23.9 100.1 8. Others Number 222 14 11 20 48 61 125 153 356 284 1,294	%	18.2	2.0	1.8	2.8	3.5	4.9	7.4	13.0	26.6	19.7	99.9
% 18.7 1.5 1.5 1.5 2.7 4.0 9.3 13.6 24.3 22.8 99.9 7. Mustaqbal Number 219 24 30 31 39 55 125 156 357 325 1,361 % 16.1 1.8 2.2 2.3 2.9 4.0 9.2 11.5 26.2 23.9 100.1 8. Others Number 222 14 11 20 48 61 125 153 356 284 1,294	6. Kata'ib											
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Number 219 24 30 31 39 55 125 156 357 325 1,361 % 16.1 1.8 2.2 2.3 2.9 4.0 9.2 11.5 26.2 23.9 100.1 8. Others Number 222 14 11 20 48 61 125 153 356 284 1,294	%	18.7	1.5	1.5	1.5	2.7	4.0	9.3	13.6	24.3	22.8	99.9
% 16.1 1.8 2.2 2.3 2.9 4.0 9.2 11.5 26.2 23.9 100.1 8. Others Number 222 14 11 20 48 61 125 153 356 284 1,294	7. Mustaqbal											
8. Others Number 222 14 11 20 48 61 125 153 356 284 1,294	Number	219	24	30	31	39	55	125	156	357	325	1,361
Number 222 14 11 20 48 61 125 153 356 284 1,294	%	16.1	1.8	2.2	2.3	2.9	4.0	9.2	11.5	26.2	23.9	100.1
	8. Others	8. Others										
% 17.2 1.1 0.9 1.5 3.7 4.7 9.7 11.8 27.5 21.9 100.0	Number	222	14	11	20	48	61	125	153	356	284	1,294
	%	17.2	1.1	0.9	1.5	3.7	4.7	9.7	11.8	27.5	21.9	100.0

Q3. If the elections will be held tomorrow, will you go for voting?

	Number	%
Yes	1,039	71.6
No	413	28.4
Total	1,452	100.0

Q4. To what extent do you trust or distrust the following institutions?

	(1) Strongly trust	(2) Trust	(3) Neutral	(4) Distrust	(5) Strongly distrust	(6) I do not know	Total		
1-1. Presiden	t of Lebanon								
Number	641	271	257	126	111	38	1,444		
%	44.4	18.8	17.8	8.7	7.7	2.6	100.0		
1-2. Prime M	inister of Lebar	non							
Number	510	350	267	164	113	26	1,430		
%	35.7	24.5	18.7	11.5	7.9	1.8	100.1		
1-3. Lebanes	1-3. Lebanese parliament								
Number	521	319	295	150	123	23	1,431		
%	36.4	22.3	20.6	10.5	8.6	1.6	100.0		
1-4. Court									
Number	464	406	317	132	86	20	1,425		
%	32.6	28.5	22.2	9.3	6.0	1.4	100.0		
1-5. Military							_		
Number	625	404	295	63	30	14	1,431		
%	43.7	28.2	20.6	4.4	2.1	1.0	100.0		
1-6. Police	1-6. Police								
Number	510	440	315	100	50	17	1,432		

%	35.6	30.7	22.0	7.0	3.5	1.2	100.0		
1-7. Political F	Parties								
Number	481	312	284	163	167	25	1,432		
%	33.6	21.8	19.8	11.4	11.7	1.7	100.0		
1-8. Religious	1-8. Religious leaders								
Number	472	376	308	125	123	24	1428		
%	33.1	26.3	21.6	8.8	8.6	1.7	100.1		
1-9. Za'im	1-9. Za'im								
Number	480	299	277	155	194	27	1,432		
%	33.5	20.9	19.3	10.8	13.5	1.9	99.9		

Q5. When you are facing following problems, whom do you talk to? Among the options listed below from (1) to (10), choose to whom you talk the most frequently.

Q5-1. When you get robbed by a mugger

	Number	%
(1) Central government	80	5.5
(2) Mayor or parliament of your municipality	83	5.7
(3) Military	124	8.6
(4) Police	977	67.4
(5) Political party leader	51	3.5
(6) Za'im or Leader of your local community	15	1.0
(7) Religious leader	11	0.8
(8) Colleagues in the workplace	15	1.0
(9) Family and relatives	69	4.8
(10) Friends and neighbors	24	1.7
Total	1,449	100.0

Q5-2. When you have a trouble with family and relatives regarding inheritance of assets

	Number	%
(1) Central government	138	9.6
(2) Mayor or parliament of your municipality	178	12.4
(3) Military	81	5.7
(4) Police	525	36.6
(5) Political party leader	155	10.8
(6) Za'im or Leader of your local community	69	4.8
(7) Religious leader	72	5.0
(8) Colleagues in the workplace	18	1.3
(9) Family and relatives	172	12.0
(10) Friends and neighbors	25	1.7
Total	1,433	99.9

Q5-3. When you are looking for a job

	Number	%
(1) Central government	53	3.7
(2) Mayor or parliament of your	130	9.1

municipality		
(3) Military	67	4.7
(4) Police	132	9.2
(5) Political party leader	116	8.1
(6) Za'im or Leader of your local community	54	3.8
(7) Religious leader	47	3.3
(8) Colleagues in the workplace	288	20.1
(9) Family and relatives	303	21.2
(10) Friends and neighbors	242	16.9
Total	1,432	100.1

Q5-4. When you are in economically difficult situations

	Number	%
(1) Central government	90	6.3
(2) Mayor or parliament of your municipality	86	6.0
(3) Military	72	5.0
(4) Police	134	9.4
(5) Political party leader	388	27.1
(6) Za'im or Leader of your local community	61	4.3
(7) Religious leader	39	2.7
(8) Colleagues in the workplace	58	4.1
(9) Family and relatives	452	31.6
(10) Friends and neighbors	51	3.6
Total	1,431	100.1

Q5-5. When your area needs more roads, schools or hospitals

	Number	%
(1) Central government	242	17.0
(2) Mayor or parliament of your municipality	368	25.8
(3) Military	48	3.4
(4) Police	122	8.5
(5) Political party leader	411	28.8
(6) Za'im or Leader of your local community	102	7.1
(7) Religious leader	35	2.5
(8) Colleagues in the workplace	27	1.9
(9) Family and relatives	36	2.5
(10) Friends and neighbors	36	2.5
Total	1,427	100.0

Q5-6. When security situation become deteriorating

	Number	%
(1) Central government	106	7.4
(2) Mayor or parliament of your municipality	81	5.6
(3) Military	385	26.8

(4) Police	223	15.5
(5) Political party leader	416	29.0
(6) Za'im or Leader of your local community	64	4.5
(7) Religious leader	38	2.6
(8) Colleagues in the workplace	22	1.5
(9) Family and relatives	65	4.5
(10) Friends and neighbors	36	2.5
Total	1,436	99.9

Q6. To what extent do you support or do not support the ideologies listed below?

	(1) Strongly support	(2) Support	(3) Neutral	(4) Do not support much	(5) Do not support at all	(6) I do not know	Total
6-1. Arab cou	ntries must co	operate with e	each other to u	inify as one co	untry.		
Number	712	261	298	100	56	15	1,442
%	49.4	18.1	20.7	6.9	3.9	1.0	100.0
6-2. Lebanese	e must unite as	one nation, re	egardless of se	ctarian or eth	nic differences		_
Number	696	413	249	52	19	9	1,438
%	48.4	28.7	17.3	3.6	1.3	0.6	99.9
6-3. State and	politics shoul	d be managed	and conducte	ed in accordan	ce with Islamic	law.	
Number	461	324	396	79	146	31	1,437
%	32.1	22.5	27.6	5.5	10.2	2.2	100.1
6-4. The auth	ority of the sec	ctarian leaders	hip should be	respected and	political and	socio-economi	c
management	should be bas	ed on sectaria	n ties.				
Number	427	347	357	68	190	40	1,429
%	29.9	24.3	25.0	4.8	13.3	2.8	100.1
6-5. Individua	I freedom and	human rights	should fully be	respected.			
Number	704	330	284	77	30	13	1,438
%	49.0	22.9	19.7	5.4	2.1	0.9	100.0
6-6. Religion	should not be	involved with	the ordinary so	ocial and politi	cal activities.		
Number	609	369	304	68	62	27	1,439
%	42.3	25.6	21.1	4.7	4.3	1.9	99.9

Q7. Scenario expriment (split sample testing)

<u>Control</u>: Among the following communities or regions, which do you identify with the most strongly? Choose one from the communities or regions listed below.

	Number	%
(1) Islamic world (Muslim Society)	97	20.6
(2) Arab world	56	11.9
(3) Middle East	69	14.6
(4) Arab Mashriq (Bilad al-Sham)	74	15.7
(5) Lebanon	118	25.0
(6) Your sect	9	1.9
(7) Your prefecture	11	2.3
(8) Your town or village	38	8.1
Total	472	100.1

<u>Treatment (external threat situation)</u>: Among the following communities or regions, which do you identify with the most strongly, <u>when Israel becomes more aggressive politically and militarily?</u> Choose one from the communities or regions listed below.

	Number	%
(1) Islamic world (Muslim Society)	115	24.0
(2) Arab world	67	14.0
(3) Middle East	59	12.3
(4) Arab Mashriq (Bilad al-Sham)	91	19.0
(5) Lebanon	100	20.8
(6) Your sect	7	1.5
(7) Your prefecture	5	1.0
(8) Your town or village	36	7.5
Total	480	100.1

<u>Treatment (internal threat situation)</u>: Among the following communities or regions, which do you identify with the most strongly, <u>when the possibility of civil war outbreak increases?</u> Choose one from the communities or regions listed below.

	Number	%
(1) Islamic world (Muslim Society)	137	28.1
(2) Arab world	61	12.5
(3) Middle East	55	11.3
(4) Arab Mashriq (Bilad al-Sham)	76	15.6
(5) Lebanon	101	20.7
(6) Your sect	9	1.8
(7) Your prefecture	10	2.0
(8) Your town or village	39	8.0
Total	488	100.0

Q8. To what extent have you received benefit inducement such as local development, job placement, or money, from political parties or politicians you support?

	(1) Regularly	(2) Sometimes	(3) Neutral	(4) Only few times	(5) Not at all	(6) I do not know	Total
Number	482	178	356	95	303	24	1,438
%	33.5	12.4	24.8	6.6	21.1	1.7	100.1

Q9. List experiment

I'm going to read you a list of three/four situations in elections. Please tell me how many of these you have ever experienced. Please don't tell me which ones; only tell me how many.

- (1) Participated in the electoral gathering of a politician in your sect
- (2) Received a request to run for office from a politician in your sect
- (3) Received electoral lists from electoral campaign workers in your sect
- (4) Accepted bribes from a politician in your sect in exchange for a vote

Control Group:

	(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	Total
Number	121	264	291	89	765
%	15.8	34.5	38.0	11.6	100.0

Treatment Group:

	(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	Total
Number	115	70	390	89	83	747
%	15.4	9.4	52.2	11.9	11.1	100.0

Q10. Which of the following political alliance would you feel more sympathetic? N/A

Conjoint experiment (5 times)

Which of the following political alliance would you feel more sympathetic? We will offer several combinations that describe political alliance. These descriptions are purely hypothetical, meaning that they do not refer to specific political alliance. We will reiterate this process five times.

Attribute	Levels			
Constituent (4)	Political parties			
	Za'im			
	Business people			
	Civil society organizations			
Sect of the leader (4)	Sunni			
	Shia			
	Maronites			
	Druze			
Domestic policy (8)	Opposition to ta'ifiya			
	Autonomy of sectarian communities			
	Border control and security			
	Equal representation by district			
	Effective governance of the central government			
	Implementation of the national census			
	Equitable socio-economic development throughout Lebanon			
	Providing public goods on a sectarian basis, such as electricity, water, or			
	sanitation			
	Anti-corruption			
Foreign policy (5)	To strengthen solidarity with Palestine			
	To strengthen relations with the Syrian regime			
	To search for more assistance from Iran			
	To search for more investment from Saudi Arabia			
	To complete liberation of the occupied territories in the South			

Q11. Why are you sympathetic to your chosen political alliance? Please feel free to write down the reason. N/A

D. Demographical Data

D1. Sex (embedded in respondent ID)

Number		%
Male	739	48.9
Female	773	51.1
Total	1,512	100.0

D2. Age (embedded in respondent ID)

Age	Number	%
15-20	192	12.6
20-25	152	10.0
25-30	117	7.7
30-35	279	18.4
35-40	276	18.2
40-45	198	13.0
45-50	78	5.1
50-55	84	5.5
55-60	62	4.1
60-65	74	4.8
Total	1,512	99.4

D3. Educational background

	Number	%
(1) Illiterate	33	2.2
(2) Can read and write	26	1.8
(3) Primary school	50	3.4
(4) Secondary school	59	4.0
(5) High school	94	6.4
(6) Vocational school	77	5.2
(7) University	300	20.4
(8) University graduate	532	36.1
(9) Post-graduate	303	20.6
Total	1,474	100.1

D4. Occupation

	Number	%
(1) Worker	276	18.7
(2) Government employee	133	9.0
(3) Private employee	701	47.6
(4) Student	146	9.9
(5) House worker	80	5.4
(6) Unemployed	88	6.0
(7) Retired on pension	11	0.7
(99) Refused (Don't read)	38	2.6
Total	1,473	99.9

D5. Income

	Number	%
(1) Under US\$100	173	11.8
(2) US\$100~500	150	10.2
(3) US\$500~1,000	78	5.3
(4) US\$1,00~1,500	67	4.6
(5) US\$1,500~2,000	170	11.6
(6) Over US\$2,000	827	56.5
Total	1,465	100.0

D6. Sect

	Number	%
(1) Sunni	628	42.5
(2) Shia	148	10.0
(3) Maronites	138	9.3
(4) Druze	90	6.1
(5) Ismail	73	4.9
(6) Armenian	74	5.0
(7) Greek	58	3.9
(8) Protestant	54	3.6
(9) Minorities	35	2.3
(10) Multi-Sectarian	25	1.6
(11) Secularist	34	2.3
(99) Refused (Don't read)	118	8.0
Total	1,475	99.5