Lebanon in the Syrian Quagmire
Fault-Lines, Resilience and Possible Futures

by

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Outline

What are we trying to do?

I. Conceptual Framework

II. Why the Syrian War will Last and impact on Lebanon

III. Weaknesses of the Lebanese System

IV. Lebanese Strengths and Resilience

V. Comparing Future Scenarios
“In a country like ours, composed of minorities that are already approximately equal and equally jealous of their rights, where no single element can hope to constitute a dominant majority, where there can be no question of a dictatorial regime – the only possible peace is one arrived at by consent, based on understanding and cooperation, on a state of equilibrium.” (1941)

1. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK
What is “Sectarian, Ethnic, Communal”?

- Group with shared sense of identity (cultural tradition, language, religion, historical narratives etc.) reinforced by social relations of kinship that tends to be stable (Geertz 1967)

- Formation of social groups and emergence of communal identities as responses to economic and political conditions, and hence as inherently dynamic (Horowitz 1985 and Anderson 2006)

- Historical events can strengthen or even create a sense of communal identity. Political actors, often with interests of their own, may manipulate or even initiate such sentiment (P.R. Brass, 1997)

- Group identities determined by the ways in which membership is defined, acknowledged and denied, and how relations to non-members are negotiated (Taylor & Spencer 2004, Massey, 1998)

- Why ethnic groups can act collectively to provide public goods? (i) preferences – the extent to which groups have similar preferences; (ii) technology -- the ease with which they work together; and (iii) strategic interactions: the way in which non-cooperation is more easily sanctioned. Habyarimana et al (2009).
Governing multi-group societies: What do we learn from Lebanon?

• Need a rational framework to understand how ethnicity can interact with politics

• NIE (eg. North et al 2013), Limited Order Access equilibria: the result of a successful coalition of oligarchs:
  – ensure peace by monopolizing use of violence
  – extract rents while minimizing restrictions to economic activity

• Model can explain the evolution, adaptability, and predicament of the Lebanese state
  – In equilibrium, citizens stuck in their community – even if ideally, a majority prefers a citizenship model!
  – Horizontal and vertical contestations produce transitions and adaptations, even civil wars
  – A strong state = risk of capture by a group, leading to insecurity!
Why we can have “rational” wars? (North et al 2013)

• Full information + rational expectations = no war. There are better ways of sharing a pie than to destroy it!

• Rational wars can happen under various conditions, incl.: Inability of player to commit to securing a negotiated agreement

This can be applied to civil war in Syria:

• Third player is the discontented Syrian majority, fired up by the AS, rebels

• Both the regime, and the Islamic opposition, have a tacit agreement to fight it in order to secure their future

• Move from an equilibrium wt one, towards an equilibrium wt two oligarchs
  • But need for players first to secure a border, then to unify their ranks, before being able to form a credible coalition

Virtual and Unable to Outbid Spoils of War
Keep fighting to Increase Spoils
Alawite Rulers/Syrian Ruling Elite
Islamist Insurgents
Center (Discontented Syrian Majority)
Interpreting recent changes in Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq

• The Lebanon settlement originate with a “national pact”, connected to the politization of 2 camps pre-independence.
  – Civil war largely due to contestation of oligarchs from below in the context of internal and external imbalances
  – Taif agreements recreates the model under Syrian tutelage and a Saudi-Western umbrella
  – 2005 Cedar revolution does not change this, but the AS in Syria puts the traditional model in question

• Syria and Iraq initial settlement based on praetorian minorities – a legacy of the de-colonization process.
  – Base of regimes became narrower based over time as a result of economic failures
  – Settlement exploded wt US intervention in Iraq and AS in Syria - in both cases, oligarchs wt their back to the wall fight back (unlike Egypt, Tunisia)
  – Slow move towards consensual model in Iraq (federalism wt power and wealth sharing) in context of oil economy
2. WHY THE SYRIAN WAR WILL LAST – IMPLICATIONS FOR LEBANON
A fragmented field internally

A multi-front war and a magnet for foreign fighters
• Pro-regime: Hezbollah from Lebanon, brigades from Iraq
• Insurgents: About 110,000 fighters, including 7,000 foreigners from over 50 countries

Many players
• Mushrooming of war entrepreneurs split about 1,600 distinct insurgent groups
• Infighting among different local opposition factions/foreign jihadists
• Violence broke the resolve of Syria’s unarmed, localized and leaderless uprising
No International/Regional Agreement on Way Out in Syria 
external support fires up the war

External players adjust support to prevent the military defeat of clients

- Iran: Syria the lifeline for Hezbollah
- Regional support: discord among divides the opposition
  - Fallout between Qatar and KSA/UAE
  - Dispute between KSA and Turkey (over Muslim Brotherhood)
  - KSA: Numerous power centers
- Israel: conflict bleeds enemies (Luttwak)
- West: International intervention in Syria too costly and public disinterest as opposition(s) victory unattractive
- Russia: Syria is its last outpost in the ME
- Dim prospects for diplomatic track: US and Russian relations all time low
The Dynamics of prolonged conflict

Shifting borders

High level of violence

Attract foreign rents & keep center at bay

Once borders stabilize, conflict moves within the border until a unified coalition that can safeguard peace emerges

Fighting for the border
A border is established

Rebels fight it out among themselves until a workable coalition emerges representing 'Sunni' interests

Coalition of oligarchs sharing the pie
Internationally sponsored agreement
Outlines of an internal border starting to appear

Assad and loyalist forces: Red
Jabhat al Nusra: Dark Gray
Islamic State of Iraq and Syria: Black  Israel: Blue
Hezbollah: Dark Yellow
Free Syrian army: Light Green
Kurdish areas: Light Yellow
Rise of War Economy leads to Emergence of New Elites & Prolongation of the War

War has decimated the Syrian economy with half of its 23 million people living in poverty.

Staggering unemployment levels = many (Youth) forced to join regime or opposition militias to survive (a generation lost)

Economy led by profiteers/militias: Control of land routes, border crossings and oil fields for war effort and profit

Cantons led by War Lords

Power of local warlords depends on continuation of the war. Intermittent battles within will only ease as emerging oligarchs consolidate power to secure more rents.
Similar to Lebanon’s civil war – the 1980s as the decade of the warlords

By the late 70s, armed militias stopped fighting each other, consolidating borders and established close ties for better control and coordination of spoils (1985-1990)

• Ten militias controlled cantons and illegal ports: arms and foreign trade, including drug trafficking, contraband commercial goods, livestock (USD 6 billion in narcotics produced)

As illicit business grew, cooperation between militias increased

Militias came to own large (business enterprises)

(Post Taif) militias changed to political parties and with them their welfare agencies and social networks, which serve as rents to their clients

Such a process is still embryonic in Syria but fighting for control of revenue on-going .. (eg. reports of government-Nusra deal on export of oil)
Implication for Lebanon

- Sunni and Shia groups perceive Syrian conflict as existential and see themselves as an integral part of the regional struggle.
  - The refugees influx complicates security and the economy.
- The new regional order has also profound influence in Lebanon.

Emergence of a “Shia Crescent”

Saudis fear an Iranian “Shiite Crescent”, threatening GCC and domestic stability.

- Remove Syria from Iranian orbit thereby weakening its proxies in Lebanon and Iraq.
- US-Iranian negotiations seems threatening and lead to more will to fight in Syrian war and in Lebanon.
3. FAULT LINES IN THE LEBANESE POLITICAL SYSTEM
Evolution of Settlements since 1989

- **Pax Syriana** (1989-2005): Syrian – KSA alliance wt international support
- **2004-11**: Turbulence - attempt at reforming
- **Taif**: Change of the guard in Damascus & invasion of Iraq as SA attempts to split Syria from Iran
- **Rupture in internal settlement with Syrian uprising**

- **Oslo Accord 1993**
- **Assassination of PM Rafik Hariri 2005**
- **Taif Accord 1989**
- **A change of the guard in Damascus: Comes to Power 2000 -**
- **Kuwait War 1991**
- **Israel's War on Lebanon July 2006**
- **UN SCR 1559: Syria Out (Sept. 2004)**
- **Syrian Uprising February 2011 - ?**
- **Pax Syriana begins**
- **9/11**
- **Cedar Revolution March 2005: Citizenship Model? Syria withdraws**
- **US Invasion of Iraq 2003: Syria drawn to Iran**
- **Hezbollah Takes over Beirut by force followed by Doha Accord May 2008**
- **Hezbollah Publicly Declares Military Intervention in Syria (2013)**
- **Secret US-Iranian Negotiations in Oman November 2013**
The Cedar Revolution – a lost opportunity

National reaction to the murder of Rafik Hariri was an opportunity to move towards a broad coalition and a citizenship model.

Undermined by regional power politics (Syria and Saudi Arabia) and elite rivalry

Leading to the re-emergence of oligarchic accommodation
Failed Reformation - Violence & Polarization

- On 7 May 2008, Hezbollah led its allies in the forceful takeover of Beirut
- Hezbollah and allies repetitive toppling of Saad Hariri led governments in 2008, 2009 and 2011
- Until 2010, Saudi Arabia tries to pull Syria from the Iranian orbit and arbitrates agreements in Lebanon (the latest in 2010)

Situation until Early 2014

- Heightened Sunni-Shia tensions, sectarian clashes increasing in Sidon, Tripoli, Beqa and skirmishes in Beirut
- Weakening of the Sunni traditional elite and emergence of extremist Islamic leaders
- Car bombs and/or suicide attacks against Sunni and Shia areas
- No prospects of political solution given external polarization
What new sectarian settlement? Saad versus Rafik

In the post-Taif period, under Syrian tutelage, Rafik Hariri had 3 main cards at his disposal to keep his community happy:

- Large spoils to distribute
- SA and int’ support for Syria’s dominance
- The narrative of “resistance” to justify Hezbollah supremacy

All these cards undermined by the war in Syria

- SA presses Sunnis to resist Hezbollah
- Hezbollah supporting regime that fights Sunnis in Syria
- No or little spoils and a depressed economy
High level of Sectarian polarization (independent of education levels)

Around 80% of both Sunnis and Shiias trust their co-religionists “a great deal”, while large majorities do not trust members of other groups.

Polarization around the Role of Foreign Allies


How much do you support “the role of SA” and of Iran and Syria”

Among Shias

Among Sunnis

Sunnis “united” in their negative opinion of the role of Iran and Syria, but united in their support for Saudi Arabia, and vice versa for Shias.
Shia Group’s Fear of Assad’s Demise

- Why HB intervenes in Syria, in spite of risks in Lebanon?
  - Exposure to Israel attacks - Hezbollah needs to keep up its arms race of ‘strategic’ weapons with Israel - weapons “depreciate” at 25% a year

- Salafi insurgents represent an existential threat– a victory in Syria would inevitably make Lebanon their next target
Frustration/humiliation among Sunni Group and the risk of Rising Extremists

- Hezbollah suspects in the murder of Rafik Hariri (and others) at large
- Hezbollah’s extensive involvement in Syria perceived as undermining a ‘Sunni liberation war”
- Sunni militants in Akkar, Tripoli, and Bekaa with Salafi networks since 1980s; supported rebels in Syria early in rebellion - some with Jabhat al Nusra or the ISIS
- Lebanese Sunni groups in Syria now linked up with foreign Jihadi groups + gained experience in battlefield

Space for extremists to claim defenders of the community created

➢ Is confrontation between Hezbollah and Sunni militants inevitable? Particularly in rural northern regions and dense urban centers?
  • Salafi Cleric Ahmad al-Assir, committed to oppose Hezbollah, clashed with Lebanese army in June 2013, his movement was liquidated
Sunni Pockets of Poverty do not help...

- Dreadfull socio-economic conditions in Northern Sunni regions:
  - Highest poverty rates
  - Low education, high unemployment, high fertility
  - Low migration and employment opportunities
  - Absence of state institutions/aid/support

- Limited (Sunni) elite sponsored social safety nets -> Risk of Sunni rural populations mobilizing in militant networks similar to the rise of Amal among politically marginalized and impoverished Shia during the late 1960s

Source: UNDP, 2008
Palestinian Camps as refuge for Sunni insurgents?

- Fear that Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon might be drawn into the Sunni-Shia quagmire – camps considered to retain “reservist forces against Hezbollah”
  - Disintegration of HB-Hamas-Islamic Jihad alliance as latter took side with Syria’s opposition
  - Palestinian Islamic factions fighting in Qusair, Yarmouk, Ghouta, and outskirts of Damascus
  - Palestinian camps have turned into command and control centers of religious extremist groups, some involved in the suicide bombings

“... it is not enough to issue statements condemning bombings because there are some who are trying to exploit the Palestinians to achieve their goals” Hassan Nasrallah (16 February 2014)

- The largest Palestinian Camps in Lebanon (Ein Helweh — Saida and Bourj al Barajeneh –Beirut) control shifting from secular Fateh/PLO to extremist Islamic groups
  - Usbat al-Ansar and Jund al-Sham could join with Jihadist networks fighting in Syria wanting to settle scores with Hezbollah
Syrian Refugees: Increased Lebanese Poverty and Rise of Existential Concerns

- Syria crisis cost Lebanon US$2.5 billion in lost economic activity during 2013
- Every day, UNHCR in Lebanon registers 2,500 new refugees, more than one person a minute
- UN projects 1.7 million refugees by end of 2014
- How will the Lebanese ruling elite be able to accommodate the (livelihood) needs of its own clients amidst scarce resources? Will it be undermined?

170,000 Lebanese will be pushed into poverty by the end of this year (World Bank)
Will the refugees becomes politicized and armed?

Most refugees located in areas close to the Syrian border, where tensions between Shia and Sunni Lebanese villages high. Can they become as destabilizing as the Palestinian refugees in the 1970s?

- Fear that armed elements among them would organize themselves and join Jihadi networks to fight HB in Lebanon.

- These communities have suffered casualties: Raids from regime or Syr. opposition groups + suicide bombers targeting Shiite villages heightened tensions with Hizb checkpoints/Shia allegations that car bombs going through Arsal ....)

- Villages like Arsal or Majdel-Anjar hosting a Syrian mini-society, which is at present in conflict with a very adjacent Hezbollah-led “resistance” counter-society = This could develop into potential flash points amidst heightened sectarian tensions.

- Thousands of Syrian opposition fighters and deserters are currently present around the Beqa region esp. after Qusair and Qalamoun campaigns.

“On the security front, this dense, undisciplined and unstable presence exceeds the army and security forces’ capacity to [bring it under control.]” Amin Gemayel
4. LEBANESE STRENGTH AND RESILIENCE
Potential of Organizing a Sunni Militia is Limited

- Civil war marginalized traditional (urban) Sunni elites (Salams or Karamis) -- replaced by the Billionaires club
- Elite does not command a military establishment at the national level unlike the Shia, Druze or Maronites
- Majority of Sunni Group city dwellers of Sidon, Beirut and Tripoli (traders, civil servants, service sectors ...etc) will not join extremist militants groups
  - Extremists disenchanted with current Sunni elite – considering them as traitors !!!!!
- Sunni opposition fragmented: Salafis, MB, moderates, Arab Nationalists ..... 
- Rafik Hariri era increased Sunni community’s identification with the state and Future remains most popular political movement
- Lebanese army is 55% from the Sunni community
The Shia Group Oligarchs have no interests in a Civil War

- Hezbollah does not have complete Shia consensus for intervening in Syria
  - Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani declined to sanction fighting in Syria
  - Hezbollah’s human loss threshold is severely curtailed in Syria as opposed to a fight with Israel
    - Legitimacy deficit
    - Finite human resources and treasure
    - Strain on its deterrence capacity towards Israel

- Hezbollah’s involvement in Syria restricts drive for confrontation in Lebanon

- The survival of Assad’s regime does not merit the destruction of the socio-economic gains of the Shia community
  - Hezbollah’s chief has repeatedly called upon opposition forces to fight it out in Syria, which is actually happening: Battle in Qusiar and Qalamoun – Jabroud is a case in point
Christians are Playing a Buffer between the two Contending Muslim Groups

• Christian divided among “modernizers-liberals” (attracted to M14 by economic liberalism) and “worried strategizers” (supporting a “coalition of minorities” wt M8) . They have:
  – Give a Lebanese dimension to the Shia/Sunni opposing agendas
  – Prevent Shia or Sunni groups from dominating the political arena and adopting more belligerent strategies

Geographically
Armed Sunni militants located in North of country while armed Shiia militants are in South Lebanon and Beirut - Christian area are a geographical barrier and buffer

Politically
• Vital positions of President and head of the Lebanese army are held by Christian Maronites which pushes the state’s political and military systems to assume middle ground
• Political clashes between the Sunni and Shia groups are played out through their individual Christian allies (Hezbollah’s arms, election laws, cabinet formation ....)
Demographic Trends: A House of many “equal” Mansions

Distribution of eligible voters by year and major religious sect (Mohammad Faour)

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maronites</td>
<td>632,149</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>667,138</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shiites</td>
<td>710,048</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>784,516</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunnis</td>
<td>704,171</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>793,604</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Sects</td>
<td>2,802,091</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>3,001,421</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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- Maronites, Sunnis and Shiia have about equal weight (they make 68% of all Lebanese)
- Sunni and Shiia groups very close demographically: Given fertility, mortality and population movements, neither is going to greatly outnumber the other (unlike in Syria)
- Massive population movements unlikely in Lebanon after civil war displacement empied rural areas (Unlike Syria - 2 million peasants displaced (drought since 2007) + more than 6 million (conflict after 2011)

(But very difficult to manage countries wt 3 large groups as coalitions unstable (Collier, 2009) – the Lebanese predicament)
An Equitable House
Group Composition and share of Public Spending

Public expenditure follows sectarian pattern

<table>
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<th>Sect</th>
<th>Share</th>
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<tr>
<td>Druze</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shiite</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maronite</td>
<td>27.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Christian</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>30.1%</td>
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</table>

Distribution of public capital expenditure, 1996-2005

Distribution of registered voters, 2005

Spending not in conformity with regional poverty indicators: There were 4.1 and 3.6 social and health facilities per 10,000 poor in South Lebanon and Beirut respectively, but only 1.4 and 1.6 in the Beqa and North Lebanon (Nisreen Salti & Jad Chaaban)

Such trends highlighted group redistribution in the post war period, which neglected redistribution among income groups, but asserts equilibrium among group elites for state spoils. In Syria, state spoils are highly centralized within the a small circle of President Bashar Al Assad
State as a source of spoils for all

Unlike Syria where critical appointments and economic interests are decided upon by one small circle within one group, in Lebanon, individual Group leaders decide on state appointments and spoils while state institutions are divided into respective spheres of influence almost equally:

- Council of Development and Reconstruction (CDR) – Sunni Group
  - Overspending project costs, illegal subcontracting, financing infrastructure for private use

- Council of the South, a budget: USD 850 million (1993 and 2004) - Shia Group

- Oil and Gas Sector (President Elias Hrawi, Tayyar – at present Aoun’s orbit of influence) – Maronite Group

- Ministry of Displaced, budget: 1.2 billion (1993 and 2004)/ Ministry of Public Works (until Feb 2014)/ Ministry of Health (at present) - Druze Group

- Division of Lebanon’s security establishments among three groups, while extremely inefficient, yet preserves law and order and ability to implement settlements among elites in own group dominated areas (such as Tripoli)
All groups have Skin in the economy

- The state and banks have extremely high leverage by international standards – Lebanon as a bank – works on trust!
  - Commercial banks assets to GDP (2013) – 372.4% of GDP – a world record
  - Public sector debt to GDP (2013) – 143.4% GDP – a world record

- Nightmare scenario: violence and loss of confidence leads to run on banks and FX
  - Banks have major shareholders from all groups - Shia group’s bank deposits estimated at 25 %
  - Tourism is 20% GDP
  - State employs about 20% of labor force.

- This fragility disciplines politicians: possible losses of a default staggering at about $50,000 per household plus 1/3 income.

- In addition, asset-holders and migrants important lobbying force
  - Landownership of Muslims up in high end real-estate market:
    - Shia: 20-30% ownership in Beirut’s prime locations
    - Sunni Elites: Real Estate (Solidaire) and Service Sector
  - 55% of Lebanese migrate in search of better jobs; 45% of Lebanese households have at least one family member abroad; Remittances: 20% of GDP
    - GCC and Africa are non-naturalization countries (unlike Europe and North Africa)
    - Interest in a stable Lebanon, the final destination of their money, reliance on Lebanese infrastructure (banks, education, health) to support living aboard; dependent on Lebanon in terms of own civil rights/security of assets
Sync of De Jure with De Facto = Survival of the Weak State

- 128 MPs Elect President and cabinets – need to secure two-thirds majority or 86 out of 128 votes in some cases, and a majority of 65 in others

Current parliament set up reflects balance of power and unlikely to change soon. This both freezes the higher institutions, but also allows them to survive (and thus, allows the meso institutions to function)
Lebanese Army: Guardian of the Modus Vivendi

Strongest symbol of national unity and able to safeguard uneasy coalitions: Around 70% of Lebanese trust their Armed Forces (LADE Survey, April 2014)

• Sunni elite uses army as a patronage tool (more than 50% of Lebanese army are Sunni’s mostly from the poor north)

• Moderate Sunni elites accommodate army frequent crackdown against predominantly Sunni regions housing extremists (Tripoli, Sidon and Nahr Al Bared)

• HB needs Lebanese army’s legitimate cover and there are no conflict of Interest between army and HB:
  ✓ Deterring Israel
  ✓ Fight “Terrorism”
  ✓ Secure or contain hotspots or potential flash points when there is a political agreement to intervene
Scenario I: Iraqization and decent into Civil War - Pros

- Hezbollah’s forceful dominance of strategic agenda and unwillingness to compromise

- Failures of the Sunni ruling elite to create group cohesiveness and address socio-economic plight in North and Beqa

- Lebanese army perceived to be under the sway of opposition and to repress Sunni group

Space for extremists to claim to be the defenders of the community
Rise of Militant Groups to fight a Civil War -- Cons

- Future Movement has loyalty of the majority of the Sunni community -- political machine, clientelism work when in government
- Jihadist influence limited to marginalized geographic areas
- Limited appeal of extremists within Sunni community
- Hezbollah too busy with Syrian war and deterring Israel – cannot afford civil war and fears suicide bombing

For both Sunni and Shia Oligarchs, Self-Preservation requires stopping rise of Jihadist Networks
Scenario II. Conflict Management and uneasy Coalition among Oligarchs

HB’s Catch 22: manage Sunni-Shia tensions as long as presence in Syria judged to be necessary
- Sunni militants, Palestinians, more active
- Endanger Shia community in GCC
- Insecurity at home, Risks to the economy
  => offer concessions on non strategic issues

Future movement’s dilemma:
- Stop migration to political rival groups and stem tide of Islamic extremism
- Keep influence within State institutions
  => Confront HB in cabinet

Desire by Hezbollah-Future to find some workable Modus Vivendi

Present Day Cabinet: The 8-8-8 Cabinet Formula (Centrists + 8 March + 14 March) – will this work?
✓ HB agrees to Future hawks controlling security ministries and no blocking vote
✓ Future removes condition that Hezbollah’s withdraw from Syria to form coalition cabinet

CONS: How stable is this agreement?

✓ Saudi position: Will agreement last if Iranian-US negotiations not successful?
✓ can divisions within Christian community be managed?
✓ can spoils be secured to oil the system?
Option III: Challenges to the Emergence of a Citizen Based Model

Current system has to uproot

Elite reproduction
- Traditional elite dominates parliament (44% in 1972; 42% in 2000) and top positions in state and business
- War lords/heads of militias incorporated into the state
- Key regional players pour enormous funds to prop up their clients

A process of social reproduction
- Access to employment and vital services controlled by sectarian agencies
- Civil rights constrained by personal status law (marriage and divorce, death and inheritance ....)
- Value system of honor and group identity based on “group” trauma at times of war (Michael Johnson)

BUT
The Youth and the educated tend to be less “fundamentalist” (and sectarian)

Fundamentalism defined as not only how religious a person is but how s/he perceived other religions

Effect of education (left) and age (right) on fundamentalism
Not proud of their country, and preferring another system
And more “modern” than elsewhere in the region - Love as basis for marriage

Love as a basis for marriage as opposed to the approval of parents = significant convergence with increased level of education and younger age

Effect of age on the percentage of respondents who believe that love should be the basis for marriage
The world is changing ...

(Survey by LADE, 2 April 2014)

- Half the sample equally divided between 8th and 14th of March, but **47% do not trust that existing parties can achieve “results that are good the public”**

- Centrists in Parliament play an active balancing role given that March 8/14 do not command a majority

- Active civil society on issues of economics, civil rights, environment
  - Economic difficulties giving rise to active opposition
  - Civil right mvmt stressing rule of law, non sectarian rules
  - Anti-corruption sentiments run high
  - Business community influential and may shift out if sectarian system unmanageable
  - Lebanese abroad starting to get organized, seeking representation in parliament

More than ever, there is a serious “citizenship” threat to the sectarian order, if oligarchs cannot put the house in order
Squeezed between violence which threatens their interests, and a civil society intended on their demise, oligarchs are likely to find ways to reach accommodation, at least in the short to medium terms

But risks stemming from a chaotic regions should not be under-estimated
- More refugees
- Failure of the US-Iran negotiations
- Emergence of more radicalism from the Gulf