

**Survey Instrument: “The Political Utility of Fear: Assessing the Material and Non-Material Determinants of Political Behavior in Lebanon.”**

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**Part I: Recruitment and consent**

A. Recruitment Language

*My name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I am from Statistics Lebanon, a survey company that is not affiliated in any way to the government or any political party. We are working with independent researchers from the Lebanese Center for Policy Studies (LCPS) and Harvard University to examine citizens’ electoral choices in the upcoming parliamentary election. We would like to ask the opinions of a member of your household. Your answers will be confidential and will only be used for academic purposes.*

*Do you consent to allow your household to participate in this survey?  
Yes/no*

*Because this is a nationally representative survey, we need to randomly select one person in your household interview. This person must be:*

- *A Lebanese citizen*
- *Between the ages of 21 and 65*

*To help us randomly select a member of your household to be interviewed, here are some few questions.*

*What is the total number of people in this household, defined as a group that typically live and eat together? \_\_\_\_\_*

*How many people in your household fit this criterion and are citizens between the age of 21 and 65? \_\_\_\_\_*

Script: As part of the representative sampling, we are interviewing equal numbers of men and women. We would like to randomly select a [Male/Female] between the ages of 21 and 65 years in your household. To do this, we will randomly select a month out of the year and interview the [Male/Female] born in that month in your household.

[After a respondent is selected, read the text of the informed consent form.]

B. Sampling variables

Surveyor ID \_\_\_\_\_

Date of survey \_\_\_\_\_

Start time \_\_\_\_\_

Governorate [drop down list]

District/*Qaza* [drop down list]

City/town/village: [drop down list]

## **Part II: Survey questions**

### **A. Demographics**

1. In what year were you born?  
[drop down list]

2. Gender  
1 = Male  
2 = Female

3. Marital status  
1 = Single  
2 = Married  
3 = Separated  
4 = Divorced  
5 = Widowed  
6 = Engaged  
7 = Other [write in]  
[If respondent chooses option 2, 3, 4, or 5, go to Question 4. Otherwise go to Question 5]

4. Do you have children?  
1 = Yes  
2 = No

5. What is your confession as officially listed on your registration card?  
[drop down list]

[NB: Beginning with Section B, the order of the blocs of questions appearing before the treatments will be randomized.]

### **B. Education**

1a. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?  
1 = Illiterate/No formal education  
2 = Elementary  
3 = Intermediate  
4 = Technical intermediate (BT/DS)  
5 = High School/Secondary school  
6 = Technical advanced (TS/LT)  
7 = Undergraduate (BSc/BA)  
8 = Master and/or PhD  
9 = Other [Write in] \_\_\_\_\_

[If the respondent chose Question A3=2, go to Question 1b. Otherwise, go to

Question 2.]

1b. What is the highest level of education that your spouse has completed?

1 = Illiterate/No formal education

2 = Elementary

3 = Intermediate

4= Technical intermediate (BT/DS)

5= High School/Secondary school

6= Technical advanced (TS/LT)

7= Undergraduate (BSc/BA)

8= Master and/or PhD

9= Other [Write in] \_\_\_\_\_

### **C. Employment**

1a. Which option best describes your current work situation?

1= no job and seeking work

2= no job and not seeking work

3= retired

4= self-employed (part time)

5= self-employed (full time)

6= employed (part time)

7= employed (full time)

8= homemaker

9= student

[If respondent chooses option 4-7, go to Question 1b. Otherwise, go to next section]

1b. What is your position at work? (If you have more than one job, answer on the primary job.)

[Classify the reported job into one of the following categories]

1 = Managers [Including chief executives, senior officials and legislators; administrative and commercial managers; production and specialized services managers; hospitality, retail and other services managers]

2 = Professionals [Including science and engineering professionals; health professionals; teaching professionals; business and administration professionals; information and communications technology professionals; legal, social and cultural professionals]

3 = Technicians and associate professionals [Including science and engineering associate professionals; health associate professionals; business and administration associate professionals; legal, social, cultural and related associate professionals; information and communications technicians]

4 = Clerical support workers [Including general and keyboard clerks; customer services clerks; numerical and material recording clerks; other clerical support workers]

5 = Services and sales workers [Including personal services workers; sales workers; personal care workers; protective services workers]

6 = Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers [Including market-oriented

skilled agricultural workers; market-oriented skilled forestry, fishery and hunting workers; subsistence farmers, fishers, hunters and gatherers]

7 = Craft and related trades workers [Including building and related trades workers excluding electricians; metal, machinery and related trades workers; handicraft and printing workers; electrical and electronics trades workers; food processing, woodworking, garment and other craft and related trades workers]

8 = Plant and machine operators and assemblers [Including stationary plant and machine operators; assemblers; drivers and mobile plant operators]

9 = Elementary occupations [Including cleaners and helpers; agricultural, forestry and fishery laborers; laborers in mining, construction, manufacturing and transport; food preparation assistants; street and related sales and services workers; refuse workers and other elementary workers]

10 = Armed forces occupations [Including commissioned armed forces officers; non-commissioned armed forces officers; armed forces occupations, other ranks]

[If the respondent chose Question A3=2, go to Question 1c. Otherwise, go to next section.]

1c. Which option best describes your spouse's current work situation?

1= no job and seeking work

2= no job and not seeking work

3= retired

4= self-employed (part time)

5= self-employed (full time)

6= employed (part time)

7= employed (full time)

8= homemaker

9= student

[If respondent chooses option 4-7, go to Question 1d. Otherwise, go to next section.]

1d. What is your spouse's position at work? (If your spouse has more than one job, answer on the primary job.)

[Classify the reported job into one of the following categories]

1 = Managers [Including chief executives, senior officials and legislators; administrative and commercial managers; production and specialized services managers; hospitality, retail and other services managers]

2 = Professionals [Including science and engineering professionals; health professionals; teaching professionals; business and administration professionals; information and communications technology professionals; legal, social and cultural professionals]

3 = Technicians and associate professionals [Including science and engineering associate professionals; health associate professionals; business and administration associate professionals; legal, social, cultural and related associate professionals; information and communications technicians]

4 = Clerical support workers [Including general and keyboard clerks; customer services clerks; numerical and material recording clerks; other clerical support workers]

5 = Services and sales workers [Including personal services workers; sales workers; personal care workers; protective services workers]

6 = Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers [Including market-oriented skilled agricultural workers; market-oriented skilled forestry, fishery and hunting workers; subsistence farmers, fishers, hunters and gatherers]

7 = Craft and related trades workers [Including building and related trades workers excluding electricians; metal, machinery and related trades workers; handicraft and printing workers; electrical and electronics trades workers; food processing, woodworking, garment and other craft and related trades workers]

8 = Plant and machine operators and assemblers [Including stationary plant and machine operators; assemblers; drivers and mobile plant operators]

9 = Elementary occupations [Including cleaners and helpers; agricultural, forestry and fishery laborers; laborers in mining, construction, manufacturing and transport; food preparation assistants; street and related sales and services workers; refuse workers and other elementary workers]

10 = Armed forces occupations [Including commissioned armed forces officers; non-commissioned armed forces officers; armed forces occupations, other ranks]

#### **D. Living Conditions**

1. I will read you some statements related to your household income. Which of these statements comes closest to describing your household income?

1 = Our household income covers our expenses well and we are able to save

2 = Our household income covers our expenses without notable difficulties

3 = Our household income does not cover our expenses and we face some difficulties in meeting our needs

4 = Our household income does not cover our expenses and we face significant difficulties in meeting our needs

2. To the best of your knowledge, what is your household's total net income in US dollars or Lebanese Liras (L.L.) in a typical month?

[Drop down list of income brackets]

1 = \$ [0-500]; [0-750,000] L.L.

2 = \$ [501-750]; [751,500-1,125,000] L.L.

3 = \$ [751-1,000]; [1,126,500-1,500,000] L.L.

4 = \$ [1,001-1,250]; [1,501,500-1,875,000] L.L.

5 = \$ [1,251-1,500]; [1,876,500-2,250,000] L.L.

6 = \$ [1,501-2,000]; [2,251,500-3,000,000] L.L.

7 = \$ [2,001-3,000]; [3,001,500-4,500,000] L.L.

8 = \$ [3,001-4,000]; [4,501,500-6,000,000] L.L.

9 = \$ >4,000, >6,000,000 L.L.

3. Does your family receive remittances from someone living abroad?

1 = Yes, monthly

2 = Yes, a few times a year

3 = Yes, once a year

4 = We do not receive anything

4. Do you or anyone in your place of residence own a . . . ?

Item	1=Yes	2=No	98 = Don't know [DON'T ASK]
a. Television			
b. Satellite dish			
c. Telephone (residential fixed line)			
d. Cell phone			
e. Computer			
f. Refrigerator			
g. Car			
h. Moped			

5. How many hours a day does your household receive electricity from the state?

6. How many hours a day is your household in a complete blackout?

### E. Civic engagement

Are you a member of: [read]

	Yes	No
1. A charitable society?		
2. A professional association such as a business association or trade union?		
3. A youth, cultural or sports organization?		
4. A family association?		
5. A local development association?		
6. A cooperative association?		
7. A civil society organization not mentioned above?		

### F. Political attitudes and values

1. If the government proposed a policy that increases taxes on upper income households to help fund services for lower income households, how supportive would you be of such a policy?

1 = Very supportive

2 = Somewhat supportive

3 = Not too supportive

4 = Not supportive at all

2. To what extent do you feel that you are being treated equally compared to other citizens in your country?

1 = To a great extent

2 = To a medium extent

3 = To a limited extent

4 = Not at all

3. Here are a number of institutions. Please note to what extent you trust each of them:

Institution	I trust it to a great extent	I trust it to a medium extent	I trust it to a limited extent	I absolutely do not trust it
a. The presidency				
b. The cabinet				
c. The parliament				
d. Political parties				
e. The Internal Security Forces				
r. The armed forces				
g. Civil society institutions				
h. Religious institutions				
i. Religious leaders				

4. How would you rate the current government's performance?

1= Very good

2= Good

3= Bad

4= Very bad

5. Let's say that you needed help getting access to benefits, such as health care or schooling or jobs. How difficult would it be for you or someone in your household to get help on this matter from a[...]?

a. Zaim/Politician:

1 = Very difficult

2 = Somewhat difficult

3 = Not too difficult

4 = Not difficult at all

b. Religious Leader:

1 = Very difficult

2 = Somewhat difficult

3 = Not too difficult

4 = Not difficult at all

6. Some people say that nowadays it is impossible to obtain a job without connections, while others say that jobs are only available to qualified candidates. If you were looking for a job, how easy would it be for you to resort to connections to help you in your search?

1 = Not at all

2 = To a limited extent

3 = To some extent

4 = To a great extent

7. Some people say that politicians or political parties take away benefits such as assistance for medical care or a job if the beneficiaries do not vote for the party or support it in other ways. Based on a recent experience or experiences you are personally aware of, do you think this is likely?

1 = Not at all

2 = To a limited extent

3 = To some extent

4 = To a great extent

## **G. Partisanship and partisan behavior**

1. In what district are you registered to vote?

[drop down list]

2. Did you vote in the last parliamentary elections that were held on June 7, 2009?

1 = Yes

2 = No

3. For which list did you vote in the 2009 national elections?

[drop down list]

4a. Are you a member of a political party? [Specify]

[drop down list]

[If no, go to Question 4b. If yes, go to Question 5.]

4b. Are you a supporter of a political party? [Specify]

[drop down list]

5. Which party would you vote for if there was an election tomorrow? Even if you do not wholeheartedly support a political party, please select the one to which you currently feel closest.

[drop down list]

6. Here is a set of activities that citizens usually take part in. During the past three years, did you:

Activity	Once	More than once	I have never participated
a. Sign a petition distributed by a civil society organization			
b. Attend a meeting organized by a civil society organization			
c. Participate in a protest, march or sit-in organized by a civil society organization			
d. Volunteer for your preferred political party			
e. Attend a meeting organized by your preferred political party			
f. Participate in a protest, march or sit-in organized by your preferred political party			
g. Mobilize other people to vote for your preferred political party			
h. Mobilize other people to attend a protest, march or sit-in organized by your preferred political party			

7. In general, to what extent are you interested in politics?

1 = Very interested

2 = Interested

3 = Slightly interested

4 = Not interested

8. Some people say that political parties pay citizens not to vote during elections.

Would you refrain from voting in exchange for goods or services?

1 = Yes

2 = No

## H. Social attitudes and values

1. Here is a set of statements related to the status of women in society. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each statement?

Statement	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a. A married woman can work outside the home				
b. In general, men are better at political leadership than women				
c. University education is more important for males than for females				

2. On this list are various groups of people. Could you please mention any that you would not like to have as neighbors? (Check all groups that have been mentioned)

- 1= People of a different sect
- 2= Immigrants/foreign workers
- 3= Homosexuals
- 4= People of a different religion
- 5= Heavy drinkers
- 6= Unmarried couples living together

3. Do you currently feel that your own personal as well as your family's safety and security are ensured or not?

- 1 = Fully ensured
- 2 = Ensured
- 3 = Not ensured
- 4 = Absolutely not ensured

4. Has your area experienced an influx of Syrian refugees?

- 1 = To a great extent
- 2 = To some extent
- 3 = To a limited extent
- 4 = Not at all

[If respondent chooses options 1, 2, or 3, go to Question 5. Otherwise, go to next section.]

5. Do you feel that your area is more insecure as a result of the influx of Syrian refugees?

- 1 = To a great extent
- 2 = To some extent
- 3 = To a limited extent
- 4 = Not at all

## **I. Identity and religion**

1. How proud are you to be Lebanese?

- 1 = Very proud

- 2 = Quite proud
- 3 = Not very proud
- 4 = Not at all proud

2. People have different views about themselves and how they relate to the world. Would you tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about how you see yourself?

Statement	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a. I see myself as part of my family, clan or tribe.				
b. I see myself as part of my religious community.				
c. I see myself as part of the Lebanese nation.				
d. I see myself as part of the Arab world.				
e. I see myself as a world citizen.				

### 3. Piety

Do you ...				
	Always	Most of the time	Sometimes	Rarely
a. Pray daily?				
b. Attend Friday prayer or Sunday services?				
c. Listen to or read the Qur'an or Bible?				

## J. Threat prime

[Instructions for enumerators: Probe until you are confident that the respondent feels the desired emotion. If the respondent is assigned to the control condition, redirect them until they talk about a hobby or an activity they enjoy doing. If the respondent is assigned to the treatment condition, redirect him until s/he talks about politics. If he stops speaking or goes off-topic, use probes. Write down 1 key word from the response.<sup>1</sup>

[PROBE FOR CONTROL CONDITION: What activity do you enjoy doing? What do you like about it? How do you feel when you do it?]

[PROBE FOR TREATMENT CONDITION: What makes you feel most AFRAID? Why does it make you feel so AFRAID? What does it feel like to be AFRAID?]

Assignment	
Control	Treatment
We would like you to describe in detail one hobby you're very interested in or activity that you enjoy doing. This could be something you do often or something you have enjoyed in the past or would like to do in the future. You might enjoy playing sports or spending time with family and friends. Try to think about this activity as vividly as possible. How does it make you feel? If this is something from the past or future, try to imagine what you are doing and who you are with, what you are wearing, what you see, hear and smell. Please describe this to me as accurately as possible.	We would like you to describe in detail one situation that makes you most afraid about the political situation in your country. This could be something you are presently experiencing or something from the past. You might be afraid of the fighting in nearby Syria spilling over into Lebanon, or car bombs, or suicide bombings. Try to think about the fear as vividly as possible. How does it make you feel? If this is an event from the past or future, try to imagine what you are doing and who you are with, what you are wearing, what you see, hear and smell. Please describe this to me as accurately as possible.

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<sup>1</sup> The instructions will be tailored to the assigned condition.

## K. Candidate profiles

### 1. Instructions<sup>2</sup>

[Choices between two different candidate profiles will be presented to the respondent, with different levels of the attributes presented in Appendix Table 1.]

[Separate screen]

*“Imagine a situation, in which two people are running in national parliamentary elections. I will now hand you over the tablet so you can see their descriptions. After reading the descriptions carefully, please answer the questions below. When are you ready, please click “next” on the bottom of the page to see the next pair of candidates. We will ask for your opinion about 4 different sets of candidates. Please answer the questions and click “next” after each round [Hand over the tablet]. Please take your time to familiarize yourself with the descriptions and answer the questions.”*

[Next screen]

[Below are examples of what profiles might look like. Each profile will contain nine characteristics or “attributes” whose values will be randomly assigned. The examples below represent one ordering of the attributes, but this ordering will be randomized across respondents. However, the order of attributes will be constant across both candidates within each pair and across rounds for each respondent. Each respondent will see four pairs of profiles. For the full list of attributes see the draft pre-analysis plan.]

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<sup>2</sup> In the rare case that a respondent is illiterate, the following instructions will be displayed to the enumerator instead: *“I will now tell you about a hypothetical situation, in which two people are running in national parliamentary elections and then ask you about your opinion. From each pair, you will be asked to choose one of the candidates. Candidate A [INSERT DESCRIPTION]. Candidate B [INSERT DESCRIPTION].”* [Instructors for enumerators: please slowly read each profile to respondent “Candidate A is..., Candidate B is...” and then ask them the questions. Repeat for each round of profiles.]

Task Example 1

	<b>Candidate A</b>	<b>Candidate B</b>
<b>Gender</b>	Female	Male
<b>Experience</b>	Has 5 years of political experience	Has no prior political experience
<b>Religion</b>	Sunni	Sunni
<b>Relationship with supporters</b>	Arranges medical treatment for constituents	Distributes food baskets and cash during elections
<b>Piety</b>	Frequently attends religious services	Rarely attends religious services
<b>Education</b>	Has a university degree	Has a university degree
<b>Security</b>	In a campaign speech, the candidate says, "I will ensure that the national security of Lebanon is the highest priority."	[Sunni politician in-group protection script:] In a campaign speech, the candidate says: "Iranian influences are threatening us. We must defend ourselves and our honor."
<b>Platform</b>	Has a detailed plan to address waste management and sanitation problems in the country	Has a detailed plan to address waste management and sanitation problems in the country
<b>Party</b>	The candidate runs on the party list that you prefer	The candidate runs on the party list that you prefer

Task Example 2

	<b>Candidate A</b>	<b>Candidate B</b>
<b>Experience</b>	Has 15 years of political experience	Has 5 years of political experience
<b>Education</b>	Has a post-graduate degree	Has a university degree
<b>Relationship with supporters</b>	Helps constituents to get parking tickets canceled	Helps constituents get jobs for family members
<b>Security</b>	[Shi'a politician in-group protection script:] In a campaign speech, the candidate says: "Wahhabi influences are threatening us. We must defend ourselves and our honor."	In a campaign speech, the candidate says, "I will ensure that the national security of Lebanon is the highest priority."
<b>Religion</b>	Shi'a	Christian
<b>Platform</b>	Has a detailed plan to address waste management and sanitation problems in the country	Discusses the problem of waste management and sanitation in the country
<b>Gender</b>	Male	Male
<b>Piety</b>	Frequently attends religious services	Frequently attends religious services
<b>Party</b>	The candidate runs on the party list that you prefer.	The candidate runs on the party list of a party that you neither support nor oppose.

Round 3

[Randomly generated attribute values for Candidate A and Candidate B]

Round 4

[Randomly generated attribute values for Candidate A and Candidate B]

## 2. Outcome questions

- a. If you had to make a choice without knowing more, which of the two would you vote for?
- b. How likely would you be to attend a rally or demonstration organized by each candidate?  
[1=not likely at all, 7=very likely]  
Candidate A [rating]  
Candidate B [rating]

[Manipulation check]

3. I am now going to ask you about different feelings and emotions. I would like you to tell me to what extent you felt this way during the conversation about your hobbies / about the political situation [randomized to match prime condition]. Use the following scale to record your answers:

1 = very slightly or not at all, 2 = a little, 3 = moderately, 4 = quite a bit, 5 = extremely

\_\_\_\_afraid  
\_\_\_\_calm  
\_\_\_\_anxious  
\_\_\_\_relaxed

4. [DO NOT READ] Does the respondent need referral for counseling services?

1 = No

2 = Yes

*Thank you for your time and participation.*