

Lebanon

Ethnicity in Lebanon

Group selection

The politically relevant ethnic groups mainly reflect the political settlement, the Ta'if Agreement, at the end of the civil war in 1989 and also correspond to Fearon's list. Group sizes are determined on the basis of Fearon's list, the CIA World Factbook (²⁴⁴⁹) and the Fischer Weltalmanach (²⁴⁵⁰): **Shi'a Muslims (Arab)** 32%; **Sunni Muslims (Arab)** 20%; **Maronite Christians** 16%; **Druze** 6%; **Greek Orthodox** 5%; **Greek Catholics** 3%; **Armenian Orthodox** 4%; **Palestinians** 10%; **Armenian Catholics, Protestants, Alawites** 1% each.

²⁴⁴⁹ [Central Intelligence Agency]

²⁴⁵⁰ [Fischer Weltalmanach]

Power relations

1946-1970

Lebanon gained independence in 1943 from the French. Since then, the political situation has alternated between periods of stability, turmoil and prosperity. Political representation has always been organized into power sharing between sectarian communities. Struggles over the exact size of the shares allotted to individual communities have been a permanent source of tension, particularly in response to demographic change (²⁴⁵¹). The demographic changes are taken into account with differing group sizes in the first coding period (1946-1970) from the group sizes in the subsequent coding periods (1971-2017, numbers above). Since the 1950s, the country's major political fault line has been its position vis-a-vis the Arab-Israeli conflict and its wider implications (²⁴⁵²). Traditionally, the Maronite Christians and the Sunni Muslims wielded the most influence in politics, mainly due to their large population shares as well as support by the French in the case of the Maronites. Therefore, these groups are coded Senior Partners. Other religious groups are coded Junior Partners or Powerless with regards to their respective representation in political matters in the pre-war period.

²⁴⁵¹ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2016]

²⁴⁵² [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2016]

Approximately 100'000 Palestinians had fled to Lebanon in 1948 because of the Arab-Israeli war, and lived there ever since. Domestic legal discrimination against the refugees was instituted in the 1960s and refined after 1990, robbing them of basic civic rights. The main source legitimizing these restrictions is the threat of permanent settlement and naturalization of refugees. The fact that Palestinian refugees in Lebanon are campaigning for civic rights, not naturaliza-

tion, is ignored^(2453, 68).

²⁴⁵³ [Knudsen, 2009]

1971-1991

This period is marked by the civil war of 1975-1990, caused by tension between Christian groups and Muslim militias, exacerbated by pressures of rapid urban development and the presence of a large Palestinian refugee population. The conflict resulted in an estimated 120,000 fatalities⁽²⁴⁵⁴⁾.

²⁴⁵⁴ [Central Intelligence Agency]

In the run-up to the Lebanese civil war, active solidarity with the Arab cause against Israel was advocated by an alliance of Muslim and nationalist/anti-imperialist forces. Christian representatives feared that such a course and the concomitant influence of neighboring countries, as well as the presence of armed groups that were predominantly Muslim, would bolster the Muslim communities at their expense⁽²⁴⁵⁵⁾. The Tensions between the nationalist/leftist forces that shaped the Lebanese National Movement and the Christian Kata'ib Party, which formed the Lebanese Front, were further complicated by the Palestinian resistance⁽²⁴⁵⁶⁾. As a result to their political and social exclusion as described above, Palestinians are coded Discriminated in this period while the remaining groups' political status does not change.

²⁴⁵⁵ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2016]

²⁴⁵⁶ [Krayem, 1997]

1992-2017

The Ta'if Agreement, signed on 22 October 1989 in Saudi Arabia by the Lebanese parliamentarians put an end to the Lebanese civil war and set the country on the path to peace and reconstruction. The Ta'if Agreement introduced a new system for the inclusion of all communities in government and administration, which is based on the fact that most Lebanese communities have been homogenized behind a unified political leadership - with the notable exception of the Christians. In practice, the agreement suggests a sectarian distribution of deputies of the parliament^(2457, 240). The proportions are as follows: Shi'a Muslims (Arab): 27 of 128 seats (21%), Sunni Muslims (Arab): 27 of 128 seats (21%), Maronite Christians: 34 of 128 seats (27%), Druze: 8 of 128 seats (6%), Greek-Orthodox: 14 of 128 seats (11%), Greek-Catholic: 8 of 128 seats: 6%, Armenian Orthodox: 5 of 128 seats (4%), Armenian Catholics, Protestants, and Alawites: 5 of 128 seats (4%) combined. Further, the President is by custom a Maronite, the Prime Minister a Sunni Muslim and the Speaker of the Parliament belongs to the Shi'a Muslim group⁽²⁴⁵⁸⁾. This results in the following coding:

²⁴⁵⁷ [Traboulsi, 2007]

²⁴⁵⁸ [Federal Research Division, 1989]

- **Shi'a Muslims (Arab), Sunni Muslims (Arab), and Maronite Christians:** According to the constitution and political tradition, these major players within the political elite wield de facto veto powers⁽²⁴⁵⁹⁾. Therefore, they are coded Senior Partners.
- **Druze, Greek-Orthodox, Greek Catholics, and Arme-**

²⁴⁵⁹ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2016]

nian Orthodox: Each of these groups plays a relevant role in Lebanese politics despite the fact that their votes are not sufficient to block policies. They are therefore coded Junior Partners.

- **Armenian Catholics, Protestants, Alawites:** In a largely symbolic move, they have been mentioned in the Ta'if Agreement and were assigned the remaining 4% of the parliamentary seats. These groups are coded Powerless.
- **Palestinians:** They were not mentioned in the Ta'if Agreement and continuously denied citizen rights until the most recent review and are therefore coded Discriminated (²⁴⁶⁰).

²⁴⁶⁰ [US Department of State, 2016]

No mayor changes to the power-sharing system introduced by the Ta'if Agreement occurred since the end of the civil war, despite recurring political turmoil. The popular Cedar Revolution in 2005 marked an attempt to overthrow the Syrian influenced government and finally ended Syrian military presence in the country. In the elections of 2009, the Agreement was respected and every government-recognized religion, (except Coptic Christianity, Ismailism, and Judaism,) was allocated at least one seat in parliament. Three parliamentarians representing minorities, of which two are Alawites, were elected as well. However, their political weight in the parliament is very limited (²⁴⁶¹) so their coding remains Powerless.

²⁴⁶¹ [US Department of State, 2013]

In the lead up to parliamentary elections in 2013, political parties could not reach a consensus over a new electoral law taking into account demographic changes over the last decades. As a result, the parliament postponed the elections, granting themselves two extensions, first in 2013 and then again in November 2014. The main reason for the dissent was that the quotas for parliamentary seats are based on outdated group size numbers in the country and some groups – especially the Maronite Christians – fear to lose power if the shares are revised (²⁴⁶²). The government was further deadlocked by the parliament's inability to elect a new president in 2014. The position remained vacant until 2016, when Michel Aoun - a Maronite as tradition requires - took office (²⁴⁶³).

²⁴⁶² [US Department of State, 2016]

²⁴⁶³ [Presidency of the Republic of Lebanon, 2017]

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Political status of ethnic groups in Lebanon

From 1946 until 1970

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Maronite Christians	0.29	SENIOR PARTNER
Sunnis (Arab)	0.22	SENIOR PARTNER
Shi'a Muslims (Arab)	0.2	JUNIOR PARTNER
Palestinians (Arab)	0.1	POWERLESS
Druze	0.07	JUNIOR PARTNER
Greek Orthodox	0.05	JUNIOR PARTNER
Greek Catholics	0.03	JUNIOR PARTNER
Armenian Orthodox	0.01	JUNIOR PARTNER
Protestants	0.01	POWERLESS
Alawites	0.01	POWERLESS
Armenian Catholics	0.01	POWERLESS

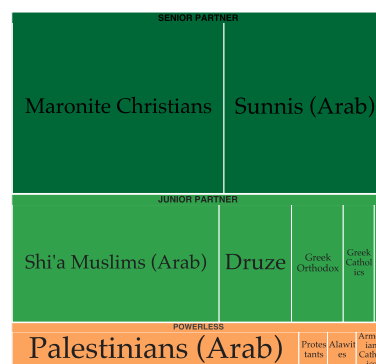


Figure 509: Political status of ethnic groups in Lebanon during 1946-1970.

From 1971 until 1991

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Shi'a Muslims (Arab)	0.32	JUNIOR PARTNER
Sunnis (Arab)	0.2	SENIOR PARTNER
Maronite Christians	0.16	SENIOR PARTNER
Palestinians (Arab)	0.1	DISCRIMINATED
Druze	0.06	JUNIOR PARTNER
Greek Orthodox	0.05	JUNIOR PARTNER
Armenian Orthodox	0.04	JUNIOR PARTNER
Greek Catholics	0.03	JUNIOR PARTNER
Alawites	0.01	POWERLESS
Armenian Catholics	0.01	POWERLESS
Protestants	0.01	POWERLESS

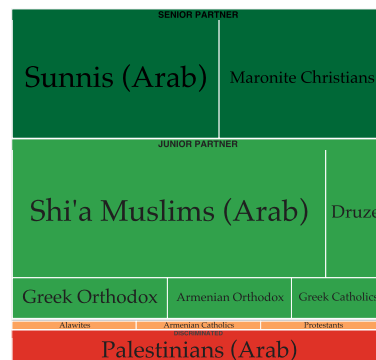


Figure 510: Political status of ethnic groups in Lebanon during 1971-1991.

From 1992 until 2017

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Shi'a Muslims (Arab)	0.32	SENIOR PARTNER
Sunnis (Arab)	0.2	SENIOR PARTNER
Maronite Christians	0.16	SENIOR PARTNER
Palestinians (Arab)	0.1	DISCRIMINATED
Druze	0.06	JUNIOR PARTNER
Greek Orthodox	0.05	JUNIOR PARTNER
Armenian Orthodox	0.04	JUNIOR PARTNER
Greek Catholics	0.03	JUNIOR PARTNER
Alawites	0.01	POWERLESS
Protestants	0.01	POWERLESS
Armenian Catholics	0.01	POWERLESS

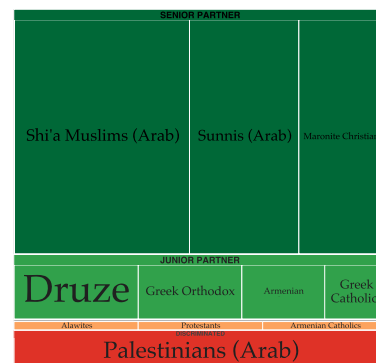


Figure 511: Political status of ethnic groups in Lebanon during 1992-2017.

Geographical coverage of ethnic groups in Lebanon

From 1946 until 1948

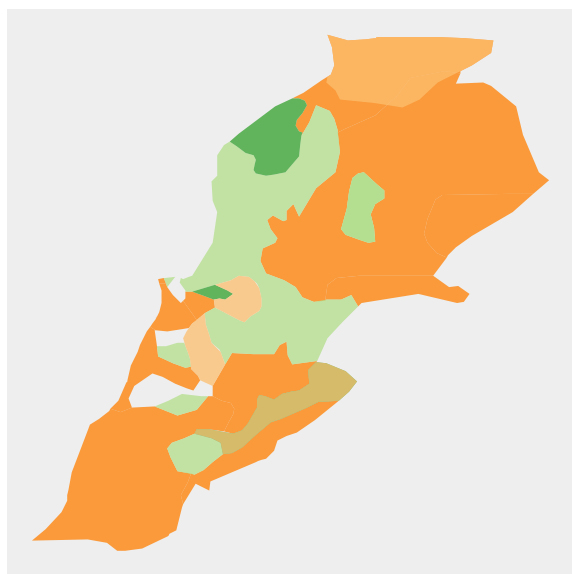


Figure 512: Map of ethnic groups in Lebanon during 1946-1948.

Group name	Area in km ²	Type
Shi'a Muslims (Arab)	4450	Regional & urban
Sunnis (Arab)	2408	Regional & urban
Maronite Christians	2173	Regional & urban
Alawites	753	Regional & urban
Greek Orthodox	685	Regional & urban
Druze	627	Regional & urban
Greek Catholics	173	Regional & urban
Armenian Catholics		Urban
Armenian Orthodox		Urban
Palestinians (Arab)		Dispersed
Protestants		Urban

Table 175: List of ethnic groups in Lebanon during 1946-1948.

From 1949 until 1974

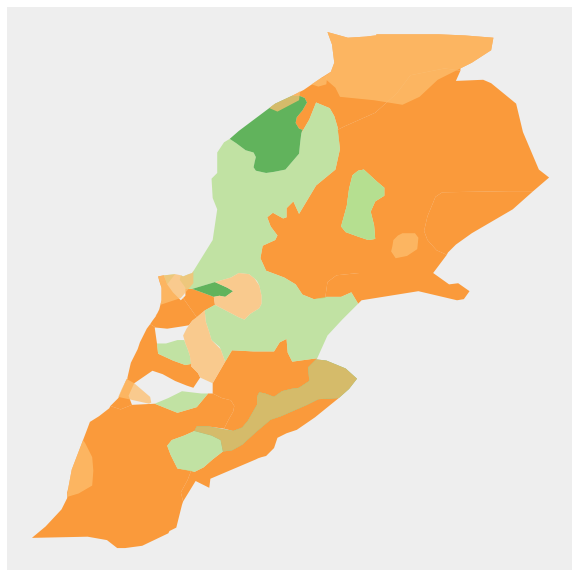


Figure 513: Map of ethnic groups in Lebanon during 1949-1974.

Group name	Area in km ²	Type
Shi'a Muslims (Arab)	4450	Regional & urban
Sunnis (Arab)	2408	Regional & urban
Maronite Christians	2173	Regional & urban
Alawites	753	Regional & urban
Greek Orthodox	685	Regional & urban
Druze	627	Regional & urban
Palestinians (Arab)	263	Regional & urban
Greek Catholics	173	Regional & urban
Armenian Catholics		Urban
Armenian Orthodox		Urban
Protestants		Urban

Table 176: List of ethnic groups in Lebanon during 1949-1974.

From 1975 until 1990

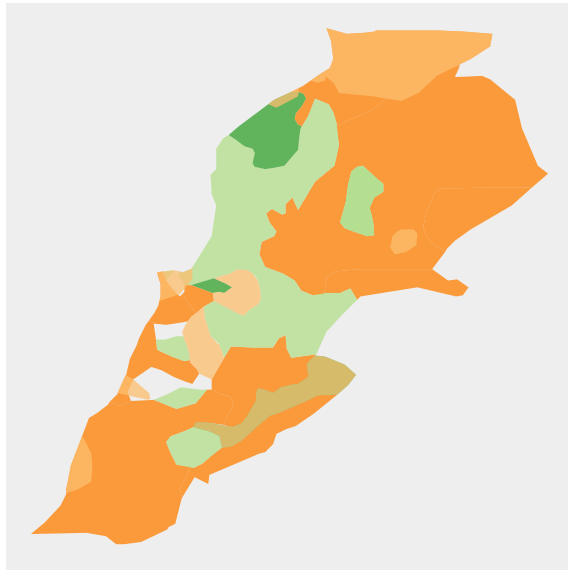


Figure 514: Map of ethnic groups in Lebanon during 1975-1990.

Group name	Area in km ²	Type
Shi'a Muslims (Arab)	4450	Regional & urban
Sunnis (Arab)	2408	Regional & urban
Maronite Christians	2173	Regional & urban
Alawites	753	Regional & urban
Greek Orthodox	685	Regional & urban
Druze	627	Regional & urban
Palestinians (Arab)	263	Regional & urban
Greek Catholics	173	Regional & urban
Armenian Catholics		Urban
Armenian Orthodox		Urban
Protestants		Urban

Table 177: List of ethnic groups in Lebanon during 1975-1990.

From 1991 until 2017

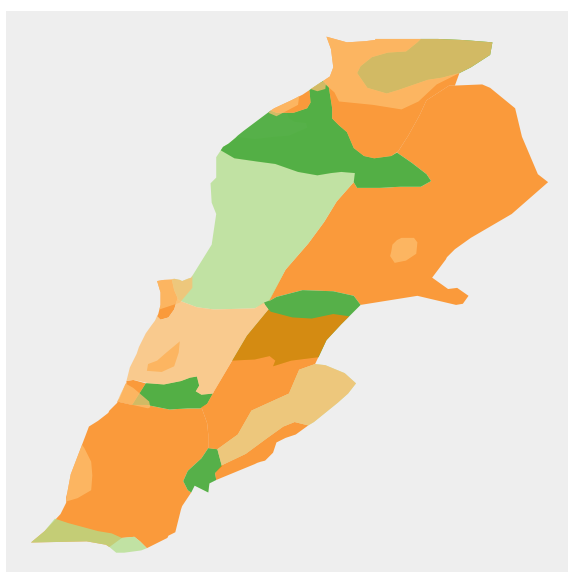


Figure 515: Map of ethnic groups in Lebanon during 1991-2017.

	Group name	Area in km ²	Type
■	Shi'a Muslims (Arab)	4269	Regional & urban
■	Maronite Christians	3263	Regional & urban
■	Greek Catholics	1972	Regional & urban
■	Greek Orthodox	1972	Regional & urban
■	Sunnis (Arab)	1742	Regional & urban
■	Druze	1158	Regional & urban
■	Alawites	753	Regional & urban
■	Palestinians (Arab)	263	Regional & urban
	Armenian Catholics		Urban
	Armenian Orthodox		Urban
	Protestants		Urban

Table 178: List of ethnic groups in Lebanon during 1991-2017.

Conflicts in Lebanon

Starting on 1948-04-14

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria	Government of Israel		1948-04-14			

Starting on 1958-05-14

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Lebanon	Independent Nasserite Movement	Sunnis (Arab)	1958-05-14	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Lebanon	NSF	Sunnis (Arab)	1975-09-01	No	Yes	Yes
Government of Lebanon	NSF	Druze	1975-09-01	No	Yes	Yes
Government of Lebanon	LAA	Sunnis (Arab)	1976-01-19	Explicit	Yes, from EGIP	
Government of Lebanon	Amal	Shi'a Muslims (Arab)	1983-08-31	Explicit	Yes, from EGIP	
Government of Lebanon	Lebanese Forces	Maronite Christians	1985-03-30	Presumed	Yes, from EGIP	
Government of Lebanon	NUF		1985-08-10			
Government of Lebanon	Lebanese Forces - Hobeika faction	Maronite Christians	1986-01-05	Presumed	Yes, from EGIP	
Government of Lebanon	Forces of Michel Aoun	Maronite Christians	1989-03-10	Explicit	Yes	Yes

Starting on 2014-06-24

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Lebanon	IS		2014-06-24			