

IMPACT OF LEBANESE CIVIL MOVEMENTS ON YOUNG ADULTS: 2018 ELECTIONS AND VOTING

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In Partial  
Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the  
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Master of Arts in  
Media Studies -  
Emphasis in  
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by

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IMPACT OF CIVIL MOVEMENTS ON PERCEPTION, ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR OF  
LEBANESE YOUNG ADULTS TOWARDS 2018 ELECTIONS AND VOTING

**Abstract**

The following study is conducted about the relationship between youth perception of social movements and their attitude and behavior in May 2018 elections in Lebanon. The aim of the study is to evaluate the exposure to social movements via social and mass media and the attitudes towards current politicians and assess its relation with voting decisions. Research questions of the study included (1) Exposure to Social Movements and Perceptions about Civil Movements and (2) Social Movements Impact on Voting. In order to conduct the study, a quantitative design was applied via questionnaires. This survey design served in assessing the perception, attitude, future behavior of Lebanese Youth, and allowed objective and numerical analysis. The sample of the study was 203 respondents gathered all over Lebanon to best describe different perspectives formed by the Lebanese Youth participants. The findings revealed that Youth are quite exposed to social movements via both mass and social media. Majority of them tend not to vote, but the ones who want to vote are willing to vote to new politicians, noting that the youth believe that social movements represent them and are better for the welfare of the nation.

Keywords: Social Movements, Social Media, Politics, Voting, Lebanon



IMPACT OF LEBANESE CIVIL MOVEMENTS ON YOUNG ADULTS:  
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**Chapter 1: Introduction**

In the past few years, Lebanon experienced social movements protesting not only the state of the society, but also the inherent and extreme level of corruption within the administration. A great deal of participants within these social movements are Lebanese young adults (Maamari & Zein, 2014). Social movements are purposeful, organized groups striving to work toward a common goal. These groups might be attempting to create change to resist change or to provide a political voice to those otherwise disenfranchised (Little, 2014). The main purpose of the study is to establish the impact of civil movements on the perception, attitude and behavior of Lebanese young adults towards 2018 elections through the framework of the resource mobilization theory and relative deprivation theory.

Perception, attitude and behavior will also be used as frameworks for this study. Elaborately perception refers to the general view or opinion held by the voter youths on the importance of election, and why it is important to participate through voting. On the other hand, attitude denotes the informed positivity or negativity of the youths towards participating in an electoral process. The two aspects – perception and attitude are what controls behavior. In this context behavior delineates the general response or reaction by the young voters towards the 2018 Lebanese election activities. The study used descriptive survey research method, to collect information regarding the attitudes, habits, opinions or any personal attributes.

Lebanon has an open political and social orientation that is unique in the Arab world. The country adopted the liberal constitution in 1926 and it has, since then, undergone various amendments (Karam, 2017). The constitution safeguards the freedom of expression thereby giving individual citizens and those organized into social movements a safe space to voice their opinions. Nonetheless, social movements that attempt to fight corruption face various barriers when trying to suggest policies that seem to be appropriate in changing the entire system. Moreover, movements in Lebanon that go against the fundamentals of the sectarian system face strong opposition from the existing political administration. Lebanon function in under confessional democracy that is divided to hold 18 sects, represented by a fixed governmental system. For example, the Lebanese president has to be Maronite Christian, the head of the parliament has to be Shiite Muslim and the prime minister had to be Sunni Muslim. In addition, a party whose campaign is based on the idea that the voter should go for the common good rather than his or her particular self-interest will face quite a number of voters who are hesitant or even reluctant to do so (Harb, 2018).

Lebanon is a place where opportunities for civil activism abound. Lebanon is also a country where wars and crises regularly occur. In 2006, the Israeli war on Lebanon destroyed infrastructure and hundreds of dwellings in south Beirut, and across the south of Lebanon (Lafi, 2017). Consequently, several civil movements have emerged together with civil societies and activists. All of these people and the extended network of their colleagues are the leading members making up the new generation of urban activists in Beirut today. They are in regular conversation with urban scholars and practitioners who taught them at university, and whom they consult and engage with at their meetings and events. They are also connected to other urban activists, some of whom were trained abroad and came back to Beirut to apply their knowledge to a city they are fond of,

that they seek to improve and make their own. They are also related to other networks of activists trained in development and social work, who are also keen on advocating environmental and social development issues, such as Greenline and Nahnoo (Harb, 2018).

In addition, this generation is well aware of the urban social movements that are multiplying across the world, led by the same urge to reclaim cities, end corruption, promoted good governance and to participate in their processes of spatial production (Harb, September 2016). Harb (2016) stated that Arab spring has developed and protests expanded to reach Beirut and Turkey. The usage of social media allowed the youth to get to know social movements. They followed them and adapted their ideologies. This happened in many countries, including Lebanon, Tunisia, and Egypt.

An example of this movement is the YouStink social protests which happened in Lebanon in response to a mounting garbage crisis. In July 2015, mounds of garbage started accumulating in the streets of Beirut and Mount Lebanon, resulting in major health hazards. The government had failed to find a working solution to the waste crisis, which had been caused by the closure of both Mount Lebanon and Beirut regions' waste dump at Naameh. In response to this waste crisis, , activists such as Lucien Bourjeily alongside other #YouStink protest organizer began mobilizing people against the inability of the government to act and its poor solutions. (Saad, 2015). They took to the streets on August 24, 2015 in downtown Beirut, and protested against the Ministry of Environment, whose offices were located in the city center. The groups of protestors increased and became more and more visible and vocal, not only on social media, but also in urban space. On 29 August 2015, they rallied in downtown Beirut in a protest that gathered about one hundred thousand participants (Karam, 2017). It was the first time in the history of post-war Beirut that such numbers of protesters had taken to the streets to make an issue-based claim, transcending

sectarian lines. The garbage crisis revealed the existence of a multitude of independent groups of activists and social movements fed up with the sectarian political system ruling Lebanon and destroying its public services. Among them were urban activists, who strengthened by the rise of this political consciousness, decided in November 2015 to organize a campaign in view of the municipal elections of May 2016, and run for election in the Beirut municipality. Social movements seem to attract young people's attention to what is happening in the country. Many young people follow movements that criticize the government. The YouStink movement, for example, may have had the potential to influence the youths to vote in a particular direction hoping that their vote would make a change.

Furthermore, young people in Lebanon are denied affordable housing and basic services, sustainable mobility patterns and access to public space. There is no public actor, at the central or local scale, championing any of these causes. This significantly limits youth's livability prospects and their opportunities for a secure life (Lafi, 2017). Municipalities and municipal federations could play an active and effective role to change these prospects but very few are mobilizing to take up such a leading role. As a result, the majority of young adults follow civil movements that they feel represent their opinion against the government policies and activities.

The general public takes part in politics in numerous ways, including voting, communicating with leaders, seeking and holding public office, as well as protesting. In particular, social movements that assemble and activate huge numbers of individuals in the best interests of a cause are a significant aspect of political involvement. Social movements are a platform for their members to convey their message (Schmitz, 2012). A social movement is established when great numbers of individuals organize as well as assemble to enthusiastically pursue political aims and objectives. A social movement has an official and persistent organizational structure in addition to

acknowledged leaders (Walker, 2012). These movements start with individuals that share apprehensions and concerns regarding long-lasting and enduring societal problems and have conviction that their rights and interests are being sufficiently and properly represented (Schmitz, 2012).

According to Schmitz (2012), movement participants assume that collective action and cooperative activities by groups in pursuit of a common goal will be more effective in gaining the attention of media and government officials to instigate change than individuals acting on their own. Social movements use established communication networks to energize participants and mobilize them to take actions. Through digital media, for example websites, Twitter feed, social media, text messages, and other platforms, social movements share their cause with the public, recruit members, and organize events (Schmitz, 2012). Njoroge (2013) emphasizes that socially interactive technologies, for instance instant messaging, have had an impact in redefining the social networks to present-day young adults. Taking into account that such technologies provide fast-paced, cheap, online communications they make it possible for new online young adults' social networks to not only be formed and developed, but also to evolve.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter reviews the related literature regarding social movement, world history of social movement, the social media and social movement, mobilizing factors in social movement and social media, internet, and impact of social movement on voters' choice social movement in Lebanon. The literature review also lays emphasis on the corruption in Lebanon and the need for change. Finally, the review outlines the social movements in Lebanon, how they have been affected by different factors and if they have had any impact.

### **2.2 Social Movements**

The definition of social movement was originally put into context by Lorenz von Stein in the 1850s, a German sociologist, and it communicated the notion of an incessant, unitary practice by which the entire working class obtained self-awareness and authority (Tilly, 2004). The author delineates social movements as a sequence of combative presentations, displays and campaigns by which normal individuals undertake shared claims on others. Moreover, this definition has further been expounded to include the united challenges by individuals with mutual objectives and cohesion in maintained interrelations with the privileged, antagonists, and authorities (Dolata, 2017). These sorts of social movements can be significant vehicles and tools for social and political change, and also have the prospect to change the systems of institutionalized politics in which they take place (Lopes, 2014; McAdam, 2001). The behavior of members of social movements does not reflect the assumption that the social order will continue essentially as it is. It reflects, instead, the faith that people collectively can bring about or prevent social change if they will dedicate themselves to the pursuit of a goal. Therefore, social movements have the capability to influence people against a particular policy or act including voting (McAdam, 2001).

### 2.3 Social Movements in Lebanon

Social movements have gathered pace in the past number of years in Lebanon. The most recent social protest movement in the country, which commenced in mid-2015, progressed to make it to the new headlines of global media with its slogan You Stink. This movement initially started as a social movement limited to criticizing and condemning the incapability of the Lebanese government administration to clean the capital city of Beirut and its environs by collecting the garbage regularly generated by inhabitants. In the end, the social movement grew much bigger to advocate against the intrinsic corruption within the country and it ended up growing into a full-sized movement against political corruption (Beck, 2015). The rise and advancement of this social movement was propagated through social media, which allowed more and more young adults in Lebanon to express their frustration and expectation from the political leaders of the nation.

Against the setting of the Arab spring achievement, Lebanon, has come to experience one of the most spectacular popular movements which incorporated the different social classes within the country. The #YouStink social movement and its different affiliated movements have faced barriers from the political class including the legislature, the prime minister, and other political bodies (Saade, 2015).

Social movements that tackle corruption in Lebanon experience a great deal of barriers when trying to apply approaches to alter and transform the system. Movements in Lebanon address the key aspects of the factional system face strong and vehement opposition from the established leaders in politics. Taking into consideration what took place in the case of 2010/11 Anti-Secular Movement (ASM), a movement initiated by Sheikh Ahmad al-Asir that took shape after the beginning of the Syrian uprising (Meier, 2016). That can be political parties in Lebanon who refused the change. This more often than not results in a separation and division within the

movement and thereby weakening it (Beck, 2015). On one hand, a radical section of the social movement may insist on a stringent non-collaboration policy with the establishment as they are seen as part of the issue. On the other hand, a reformist section of the social movement may insist that provoking the entire political class considerably decreases the prospects of attaining anything (Beck, 2015). In the case of the Lebanese movement, there were conflicts within the organization with different sections coming up with contesting slogans such as *You are accountable* and *You stink*. The movement's actual influence may be limited by the fact that in Lebanon, it is significantly challenging to alter party politics. This is owing to the reason that the system of voting in Lebanon is fashioned in accordance to the requirements of sectarian parties (Beck, 2015). Moreover, a party whose fight is founded on the notion that the voter ought to set his or her sights on the common good instead of his or her certain self-interest will experience different voters who are unwilling to do so. Other than party resistance to support new movements, the protestors are faced with the pressure of maintaining the movement especially since keeping continuous public pressure with protests and other kinds of confrontation is very expensive with respect to time and energy capitalized (Beck, 2015).

Like in other Middle Eastern countries, social movements in Lebanon have been fighting the corrupt regimes. Corruption, inequality, and poor leadership have been the central agendas of these movements. The politicking of corruption on a global scale began during the early 1990s. The Transparency International through United Nations came up with their convention against corruption in the Middle East by 1993. Different Islamic governments have since then politicized such combative efforts by international bodies. Evidently, one of the critical grievances of the Arab Spring revolutions, of which Lebanon was part, was to fight against corruption. The creation,



amalgamation/merger, and division of different social movements then followed. They jointly fought and called for a radical change towards transforming the Middle Eastern political systems.

As a profound example, on August 23, 2015, thousands of protestors swarmed the streets of Beirut on their second day of peaceful demonstration. The protestors were demanding for the resignation of the Lebanese government, or at least the Minister of Environment, for having failed to resolve the challenge of garbage heaps flooding the city (Taylor, 2015). During their peaceful demonstration on the second day, the protestors encountered resistance from the police.

Thereafter, the events turned chaotic as the protestors and the police clashed. The police sprayed teargas canisters on the crowds. These violent events are what led to the framing of the protest as “*#YouStink*” (Taylor, 2015). The phrasal tag *#YouStink* describes the actual condition of Beirut as it was filled with garbage, which became offensive to both sight and smell. During the *#YouStink* protests, at least thirty people were injured as the police used extra force to bring down the protests. The garbage crisis became a glaring civil activity giant, leading to political paralysis within the nation. The riots and pockets of violence had unified the Lebanese people, who were initially divided along political, regional, and religious lines (Taylor, 2015).

## **2.4 Historical Social Movements and Change in the World**

Over the years, there have been some historical social movements across the world, such movements have had major impact on the world in terms of change and transformation. Social movements are determined, organized groups endeavoring to work toward a mutual goal and objective. Social movements generate social change. The 1950s were a time of social movement and change throughout Europe, the United States and Africa. One of the most famous social movements in history was the United States civil rights movement. This was a non-violent movement that took place during the 1950s to instigate change by calling for the civil liberties for

African Americans (Lopes, 2014). The social movement included civil disobedience, protests, and the organization of grassroots. Another major social movement that took place in the world is the social movement against apartheid in South Africa. This was a movement that was led by Nelson Mandela with the main objective of eradicating white domination and achieving national freedom. The fundamental change that was accomplished from this social movement was freedom for South Africans allowing whites and blacks coexist together (Schwartz, 2016).

Lebanon's history with movements dates back to the 1920s up until this day. For example, women's mobilization with the Woman's Union that was established in Lebanon and Syria that focused on cultural and social issues (Women's Movements in Lebanon, p. 2017). These movements lead to major changes in Lebanon on both social and political aspects, such as voting and working rights (Suuport, 2017). Women in the MENA region have represented how the traditional context and role of women in the society can be influenced by the use of different media tools (Daher, 2012). Specifically in Lebanon, the use of social media tools to raise out voices and concerns have diffused the online space recently through several channels. Young Lebanese women leaders have been active in these channels to express their thoughts and beliefs on several topics, including women's nationality law, the political paradigm, or even the secular movement (Daher, 2012).

In addition, recent social movements have influenced the public against the government policy as well as toward social change as exhibited by several successes. One of the success stories is the campaign led by the Dalieh Civil Coalition for the preservation of a large coastal area of Beirut,

threatened by private real-estate development (Harb, 2018). The campaign achieved the listing of Dalieh with the 2015 World Monument Fund, which is hoped to significantly delay the project. The other success story is the Stop the Highway, Build the Fouad Boutros Park civil coalition, which fought against the construction of a highway (conceived in the 1960s) in the dense neighborhood of Achrafieh that was to cut across a heritage area and disrupt its urban and social fabric. The coalition imposed on the municipality to conduct an Environmental Impact Assessment study, which had a negative conclusion and ultimately halted the project (Harb, 2018).

## **2.5 Media and Social Movements**

Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) posited that social movements are dependent on media for distinctive reasons including extending the scope of conflicts, deployment of political support, and legitimization in the mainstream's treatise. In this regard, the nature of social media coverage in tandem with the quality of such media coverage impact the manner in which they are seen by the general public. Mass media play a pivotal role in the magnitude of coverage. Both good and bad can be beneficial in constructing or destroying a social movement (Tilly & Woods, 2015). In Lebanon, social media provide a participatory media environment based on the interactive Web 2.0 platform. This feature makes social media an effective tool for mobilizing people to participate in social movements (Maamari, & Zein, 2014).

In particular, social movements that endure for a lengthy period and are efficaciously entrenched within society, have a tendency not to challenge the existing state of affairs directly, and therefore as a result are less reliant on media coverage for their existence and endurance. Barker (2008) outlines that media coverage may be vital for the largely acknowledged social movements that are often confrontational in nature. The characteristic protest activities including demonstrations, pickets, street acting, raids, marches, mass demonstrators, and street gatherings

(Karam, 2017). These undertakings function as the tools by which social problems are conveyed in the public realm, in conjunction with public opinion polls and ballot vote and they operate as important ways by which residents can indicate and point out their dissatisfaction. As a result, the manner in which protest activities are conveyed in the media is essential to the efficiency of the reaction loop between the public and their political figures.

Buechler (2000) proposed four aspects that delineate the significance of media in the practice of social movements. These aspects are those of frame alignment, which include extension and transformation, bridging, amplification, and transformation. Social movements use the media as a tool to extend their grievances and transform their activities. The media also serves the role of bridging the gaps between opposing groups with different objectives. More even, the media can be used to amplify the movement agenda. According to Alotaibi (2013), there is the positive attitude towards the role that media play in social movements, to the magnitude that it will facilitate such movements to become powerful and dominant. For example, the *You Stink* movement used such elements of the social media to push its agenda. In particular, the broadcasting of social movements with respect to their agenda, distinctiveness, and position through mass media can, for instance, serve to amplify and strengthen the audience of social movements (Tilly & Woods, 2015). Secondly, there is a negative attitude towards the role that media play in social movements. Media may show such movements have a disparaging impact on society giving rise to an adverse perception of social movements. According to Harb (2016), in Lebanon, social media enable activists to be in regular conversation with urban scholars and practitioners who taught them at university, and whom they consult and engage with at their meetings and events. They are also connected to other urban activists, some of whom were trained abroad and came back to Beirut to apply their knowledge to a city they are fond of, that they seek to improve and make their own. They are also

related to other networks of activists trained in development and social work, who are also keen on advocating environmental and social development issues, such as Greenline and Nahnoo.

The third attitude is a neutral attitude towards the role of mass media in the practices of social movements. In accordance to Tarrow (2011), mass media offers a drawn-out source for the creation of harmony and compromise that social movements on their own cannot accomplish. Nonetheless, the manner in which such social movements are covered and portrayed by the media is influenced by the structure and system of the media industry. Moreover, Buechler (2000) posits that the correlation between media and social movements is one that is mutual but unbalanced. This is because social movements need media more than the media needs social movements and, in this regard, media have superior authority. Social movements lack the ability to spread their message without the media.

One of the success stories of the impact of media and campaigning in influencing the political wind in Lebanon is the campaign by ABAAD that targeted Article 522 of the Lebanese Penal Code. Article 522 provides that, “in case a marriage took place between a rapist and their victim, all prosecutions and sentences had to be suspended. As a matter of fact, ABAAD launched a campaign with a broad reach that spans across media, social media and outreach activities in an aim to sensitize the public on article 522. The communication strategy mixed between awareness raising, advocacy and lobbying with stakeholders (Anani, 2017).

The success of this initiative was that not only the public became aware of the article, but also decision makers and religious leaders supported the campaign. The overall outcomes was the introduction of a civil judge for the first time in matters related to marriage and family (Anani, 2017).

## 2.6 Mobilizing Structures in Social Movements and Media

Initially, social, organizational, and economic frameworks provide the fundamental purposes and circumstances for social movements. Nonetheless, protests and criticisms solely or even sensible thinking are not adequate to bring individuals to operate in a collective manner (Oleinik, 2012). To begin with, social movements require both resources and organizations. According to the resource mobilization theory, different resources like time, cash, social prospects, or skills, are pivotal to the creation and prosperity of social movements. Despite the fact that resources may fluctuate, the accessibility of applicable resources and the capabilities of the actors to utilize them in an efficacious manner are imperative for collective action (Buechler, 2000). Different from preceding collective action philosophies, the resource mobilization theory was the first to acknowledge the significance of impacts external to the social movement. It is imperative to take into consideration aspects of threat, suppression, restriction and prospective costs that may hamper people from taking part in mass organization (Osa & Shock, 2007).

A study undertaken by Tilly (1984) argues that the key unit is the interrelation between people. Persons solely take part in collective action when they acknowledge their affiliation in their pertinent collective. The magnitude of group identification seems to be a potent forecaster of collective action involvement. This sort of identification can only emanate from communication between people. Lim (2012) indicated that social movements rely on social networks. That will operate as a primary core comprised of compactly known band of stronger associations that thereafter assemble weakly connected people disseminating dissatisfaction into a mass movement (Lim, 2012).

Furthermore, the correlation between media and social movements is of significant importance. Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) show that media function in social movements in mobilization,

validation, and scope expansion. To begin with, mobilization is imperative not just for the participants themselves, but also for their communication and the criticisms that the collective group is revolting against. Secondly, being aired by the media is imperative for validation of the message as pertinent, and it will also give rise to an increase in the scope by the public realm that might result in new participants joining the cause. Notably, social movements are reliant on the media to create public compassion for their challenge (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993; Lopes, 2014). Hence, it is essential to understand the association between the Internet, social media, and the social movements.

## **2.7 Internet, Social Media, and Social Movements**

The capability of social movements to make the most of internet communication technologies with significant efficacy alters the dynamics between such movements and political parties in the 21st Century. Online petitions, forums to debate and deliberate on issues together with the use of social media and electronic mail to recruit individuals for meetings and protests are all approaches in which the present-day political protestors attempt to engage citizens and impact the political course. Nowadays, social movements across the political spectrum employ novel technologies to impact change and influence party politics (Rohlinger, 2012). Balci and Golcu (2013) outline that with the advancements in communication technologies, individuals have faced major transformations regarding communicating and sharing information about their life. Current communication networks offered by these advancements permit individuals to get more dependable and secure information or understanding. That is, it is possible for individuals to obtain primary information directly without secondary sources. Through, the use of social media, the general public who are the users can demonstrate their individual interest, share media with their fellow acquaintances by utilizing their individual media pages. This ease of sharing and

exchanging information through social media make their role within the political realm, both significant and effective in recent years, for instance, social movements created, organized and advanced through social media could takeover repressive governments or tyrants both in the Middle East and Northern Africa (Lopes, 2014). In this regard, social media has attained a significance in ascertaining the outcomes of politics and social media.

According to Tan et al. (2013), the all-encompassing use of digital social media by social movement participants and players is an evolving trend that reorganizes the communication underlying forces of social protest and it is accredited with adding to the effective mobilization of contemporary movements such as Occupy Wall Street and the Arab Spring. Social movements have been carried out in several different forms and on many levels so as to attain change in societies. Social media have become an implement in fashioning the plans of social movements and helping collective action not only online but also offline at the national or international level. Social media empowers ordinary citizens to link up and coordinate themselves with very minimal cost to no costs at all. With the young adults embracing technology progressively more, social media websites, for instance, Twitter, Facebook, YouTube and Instagram, as well as blogs have debatably given them a platform and a voice that otherwise they would not have had

(Lopes, 2014).

### **2.8 Impact of Mass Media on Voter Choice**

The study and determination of voting behavior and patterns have grown to be progressively more intricate in recent times. Before social media, solely the political philosophies and policies of the parties acted as the key determining factors of their achievement in elections., success is no longer considered to be ascertained in this way. An imperative question that has emanated in this discussion is whether mass media have an impact on individuals voting choices for a certain party. Alotaibi (2013) affirms that, the use of mass media helps with the promotion of political parties.



However, this potential is not easy to delineate at all times. Lippmann (1992) conducted his study in the 1920s to conclude that people form a fictive mental image of the world constructed with the help of the media – the elite paint the pictures they want in the media thereby weakening democratic decision making.

More specifically, McCombs et al. (1997) studied elections in Spain at the regional and municipal levels. The outcomes of the research study are in tandem with the discoveries of several studies in other nations. These authors reveal a significant correlation between different news and advertising plans and the portrayals of the candidates in the minds of Spanish voters. McCombs et al. (1997) make the argument that the media set the program of significance for individuals. Even more, they institute a framework for thinking and perception of the voters. Thus, mass media have the capability of ascertaining particular important classifications like intelligence, youthfulness, openness, and charisma, in particular, and to educate the general public of candidates who are in possession or are in lack of these qualities. As a result, the influence of the media can be extensive (Alotaibi, 2013; McCombs et al., 1997).

Despite the fact that this impact over the thinking and behavior of voters seems to be significant, factors to consider. according to Erbring, Goldenberg, and Miller (1980), the receptiveness to the setting of agendas by the people entitled to vote is contingent upon the audience. It is misguided to make the supposition that the media are the reason behind the audience occupation with an issue that has obtained augmented coverage by the media. Mass media comprise of solely one of numerous determinants of personal priorities with regard to particular problems or occurrences. The argument portended by Erbring et al. (1980) outlines a different model which insists that the coverage by the media simply interrelates with the preexisting inclinations of the audience to generate alterations in concerns with certain issues. Taking this into

consideration, media functions as a prompt to instigate inactive salience. This problem is pivotal as it points out that the communications obtained from the media are relayed solely to voters that are already transformed and therefore are not essential. This is associated with the fact that individuals have dissimilar ideas of what is significant to them and they tune in and tune out as they wish (Erbring et al., 1980).

Furthermore, the messages conveyed from mass media go through an intricate cleaning and sifting as interested citizens are influenced by their social networks, mental status, and background information. The outcome might be a piece of information or communication that is misconstrued in the sense that it is in agreement with the thinking of the individual. The inference of this is that being exposed to content from mass media is essential but inadequate for fashioning the ideas of the public on what is significant. Other factors can change the influence of the media, such as, social procedures that sieve the reception of news, discriminatory perception of individuals, and a test of actuality in terms of direct experience (Erbring et al., 1980; Alotaibi, 2013; MacKuen et al., 1990).

## **2.9 Social Media Impact on Voter Choice**

Being one of the initial academics to conduct research studies on social media as an instrument for social networking for collective organization, Shirky (2011) makes the argument that over time, the communication structure of the world has become deeper, more intricate, and more involving. Individuals attained increased accessibility to information, greater prospects to participate in public speech, and as a result, increased capability to take on collective action. These amplified liberties and technology can aid lightly harmonized publics to demand change.

Customary organizational instruments employed to mobilize would utilize social hubs, for instance, colleges, cafes, group meetings, and others, to disseminate information. Nonetheless, the development and advancement of the internet marked a transformational point for global

communication. The level of networking amongst people has risen from the millions to billions nowadays. In the same manner, the development and espousal of social media like blogs, Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube have come to be household name and a way of life. Presently, citizens, protestors, software companies, non-governmental organizations, and governments are all players that engage and take part in social media websites (Shirky, 2011).

Social networks and the media provided fundamental aspects to the creation and establishment of social movements. These comprise of mobilization, communication, increase in scope, organization and validation. Imperatively, these elements continue to be pertinent and significant in the present day. Notably, Shirky (2011) makes the argument that social media supplanted the longstanding mobilization structures and came to be the new collaborating component for just about all of the popular movements across the globe in the past number of years, owing to its capability to take into consideration all of these aspects. To begin with, social media instigates swiftness and interactivity that previously lacked in the customary mobilization features, which in general consist of the employment of flyers, prints, and fax machines (Eltantawy & Wiest, 2011). Presently, social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook and

Instagram have the ability to reach billions of people across the globe as events are taking place. The dissemination and circulation of information between dissimilar nations through customary media outlets normally takes a lengthier period as compared to information disseminated through social media. The swift circulation of information, particularly globally, aids with validation, mobilization and increase in scope. One of the most outstanding characteristics of this new approach is its capability to circumvent the prejudice of formal sources and the mass media, and to provide ordinary citizens with a chance to air their opinions and views in changing the political setting of their nation (Clark, 2012).

However, opponents of this perspective make the argument that social media has not transformed the prevalent system of mobilization. Systems have occurred all across the globe and in varying time periods all through the history of mankind, with or without the presence and facilitation of social media. The key challenging this argument is the aspect that it is challenging to demonstrate that in the non-existence of social media, contemporary uprising and movements would not have been conceivable (Gladwell & Shirky, 2011). Nonetheless, Shirky (2011) contends that the development and advancement of the internet together with social media have not transformed the fact that prevalent mobilization takes place, but instead changed the scene permitting people to play by a dissimilar set of rules. The interrelation between social media and various political and economic elements of life can also generate a growing impact that can kindle the generation and establishment of social movements. Thus, social media functions as an intervening variable with regard to social movements with regard to an unintended one (Lopes, 2014).

The correlation between social media and politics is based on the aspiration for change. The general public as a whole is making use of information obtained online together with networking accessibility to acquire a solution. Presently, the civil society at large with its increasing stress and frustration over political indifference is attempting to utilize social media for a change (Buechler, 2000). Imperatively, online revolution is deemed to be less regarding technology and more regarding changing the behavior and attitude of human beings. However, the impact of social media is restricted to some extent. In particular, social media mainly is limited to the urban areas. Individuals residing in the rural areas are significantly far away from using social media since that technology and the internet is yet to progress into such areas. Therefore, politicians and their corresponding political parties may not have the ability to reach or connect with

individuals in the rural area and therefore would not be able to influence them through social media. More often than not, a greater percentage of the electorate reside in the rural regions and therefore it became a challenge for politicians to influence voters during elections. In this case, it is usually the conventional mass media that plays a pivotal role in impacting perceptions of the voters (Biswas, Ingle, & Roy, 2014).

Social media enables the connectivity of individuals, facilitates their conversations and allows for the sharing of discussions. However, it has become all the more meaningful as it permits the campaigner or the politician to know more information regarding the voters, have a specific target audience, link demographics and persuade individuals to take part in the election process. When some of these individuals actively take part in political discussions and debates, they end up being an important instrument in disseminating the word and also influencing perspectives and opinion. These social networking websites function as an important channel for mobilization. Individuals are free to share their opinions regarding any socio-economic and political issue and now the youth have the platform to raise their voices against social immoralities such as corruption and violation of human rights (Wani & Alone, 2014; Ravi & Priya, 2015).

### **2.10 Criteria Affecting the General Public on Voting Choices**

Elections are a significant component in the existence and sustainability of a democratic nation. It is therefore important to acknowledge their mechanisms and the manner in which the electoral regulations and voter perception have an impact on their results. Different criteria have an impact on how the general public selects their candidates and votes for them in an electoral process. A research study undertaken by Downs (1957) examined the electoral behavior of the voters to find that people seek their self-interest in elections therefor the public vote for the

candidate that will carry out their ideal policy. Another model and perspective were developed by Abramowitz (1989) who demonstrated that opinions regarding the chances of nomination for the candidates together with their prospect of electability do not have any impact on candidate preference among voters. That is, the public choose the candidate they think of most positively, and also have a tendency to make the assumption that the candidate they like the most has the highest likelihood of winning the election. The main reason is that voters always wish to be on the winning side of that showing support to a winner is inherently more enjoyable compared to showing support to the loser (Abramowitz, 1989). An additional criterion is suggested by the expected utility model, which proposes that voters take into consideration electability together with their assessments of the candidates in undertaking a decision for selection. The main supposition here is that major voters are sensible individuals who endeavor to make the most of their anticipated effectiveness (Aldrich, 1980).

According to Alsamydai and Al Khasawneh (2013), there are different factors that influence the general public in selecting and voting for candidates. One of the key criteria is the image of the politician together with the image and position of the politician's party. In Lebanon, the majority of citizens vote for the traditional parties that have promising leaders and who are involved in a particular social movement promising to bring change. Imperatively, the winning party in elections includes the organization that is able to generate a positive representation of its political candidate, and endeavors to relay it into the minds of the general public. The greater the positive representation of the candidate and the party as a whole, the greater the likelihood of having positive voter perspective and attitudes towards their selection. Therefore, the depiction of persons of the party to which the candidate belongs to, has a constructive correlation with the voters' attitudes towards the candidate and consequently the victory of the election candidate. That

is to say, many voters base their choice on how attached they are to the party and also their philosophies (Lindberg & Morrison, 2008).

Another criterion for selecting a candidate is his or her credibility. According to Stephen et al. (2004), the individualities and perceived credibility of a political candidate might be the most significant issue is ascertaining voter behavior. The credibility of a candidate encompasses the summation of the perceptions of the general public with regard to his or her fidelity, capability and goodwill. As a result, the voters react in a dissimilar manner to the credibility and individual qualities of every candidate. Moreover, research has shown that the likeability together with believability of a candidate have significant constructive correlations with the perceptions of the voters with respect to credibility of the candidate (Stephen et al., 2004).

Close contact and communication are another perceptible criterion. According to Alsamydai and Al Khasawneh (2013), contact and communication are significant instruments for the voters and the public because they impact the success of a candidate in the elections. In particular, by having increased frequency of appearance in the news and mass media, the greater the number of favored votes will be attained. Furthermore, it has been established that presences on the TV news in particular had a significant effect, coverage in magazines and newspapers had a substantial impact for the huge number of candidates that are less well-known who are yet to appear on TV. From a traditional standpoint, public meetings helped in inspiring public voters to communicate their perspective on political problems and expected politicians and public officials to provide clarifications for certain political actions. These kinds of meetings satisfy a fundamental role in making certain that election candidates remain in contact with the public. In addition, attention from the media in the course of the election campaign and more importantly in the

culminating weeks prior to the election day is perceived as pivotal to the election outcome (Alsamydai & Al Khasawneh, 2013).

An additional criterion is appearance. In particular, this strategy deals with the different characteristics of the candidate presence in public, that is to say, attempting to make the candidate appear in meetings and seminars in addition to parties and clubs to guarantee incessant communication with the public. It is imperative for candidates to have a visible public presence. Yet, increased public presence means the candidate should be well-informed on all nationally significant issues and this may prove to be challenging especially in big countries like the United States (Lindberg & Morrison, 2008). In Lebanon, candidates tend to conduct political campaigns by advocating for their party manifestos to gain popularity and convince the public to vote for them.

### **2.11 Corruption in Lebanon and the Need for Change**

People's movement in Lebanon made headlines both locally and internationally. One of the significant social movements that gained prominent media exposure was the YouStink movement; this social movement was not restricted to criticizing the incapacity of the regime in power to collect garbage in Beirut, which is the capital city, and its surrounding areas. Rather, it is a social movement that highlighted criticized to corruption within the country. According to the Corruption Perceptions Index (2014), the Middle East region is largely a corrupt area (Beck, 2015). A number of Arab nations including Syria, Iraq, Yemen, and Libya, are ranked among the most corrupt nations across the globe, but the Gulf nations together with Jordan have a considerably better ranking when compared to the global average. Nonetheless, it is imperative to note that compared to the Western societies, within the Arab region, the public and governmental sectors play a significantly pivotal role in the economic and political sectors of the nation. Taking this into consideration, even in a nation such as Jordan, which is ranked 55 out of the total 174 nations in



the Corruptions Perceptions Index, criticizing that corruption impacts the fundamentals of both the social and political order (Beck, 2015).

Owing to the noticeable diverse nature of its political system, Lebanon is politically democratic and less corrupt compared to the controlling administrations in the Arab Middle East. In terms of corruption being politicized, Lebanon has mutual similarities with its Arab neighboring nations. In particular, the country is ranked among the more corrupt nations within the Middle East region being positioned at 136 out of the total of 174. Based on opinion polls conducted among the Lebanese citizens by Transparency International in 2012, the main pillars of corruption in the country are the political parties, the parliament, public administration and police (Wickberg, 2012). Three-thousand participants took part in the survey, which was aimed at ranking countries globally with respect to their levels of corruption. The factional system in Lebanon operates as the basis for systemic corruption. In particular, the different leaders of the main political parties usually have power and control over patronage and sponsorship networks which are employed to muddle client groups. For instance, in every fiscal year, the apportionment of public funds in the education, health, and infrastructure sectors of the nation adhere to sectarian terms instead of the public's socio-economic needs (Beck, 2015).

The activity of offering bribes to local public officials is a criminal transgression in Lebanon. However, distinctive legislation to tackle and resolve the issue of corruption is underdeveloped and weak, and where it is existent, the gap between the productivity of the law and the execution of the law is extensive. According to Ohman (2009), political funding is especially poorly designed in the nation. There does not exist any law or act that provides regulation of the activities of the prevailing political parties. For instance, in the case of political financing, the requirements of the Parliamentary Election Law in Lebanon are restricted to election

campaigns, and in actual fact limited to the election campaigns of persons, while political parties are overlooked and not taken into consideration. Before this parliamentary elections, the last elections took place in 2009 and was based on an electoral system in operation since the 1960 Electoral Law that adopted the methods of a majoritarian block vote in multiple-member constituencies. After the elections of 2009, the country faced three extensions of parliament's term and more than two years of a vacant presidency. After years of political void, the Lebanese parliament passed a new electoral law in June 2017 that was based on proportional representation (Union, 2018).

This in fact had yielded into the formation of new alliances crossing traditional paradigm. The new law aimed for improving national representation and higher voter mobilization, however, only 49.7% of the eligible voters had actually voted with 29.8% of the voters being youth of age 21-35 (UNDP, 2018). Thus, the traditional establishments and political parties maintained their control of the national legislature. (Union, 2018)

## **2.12 Literature Review Summary**

In summary, the chapter has established that social media creates an environment where activists and social movement leaders tend to interact with their members. Furthermore, social movement have a common goal of raising awareness and usually have some agenda in mind. That agenda could be simply raising awareness, or accomplishing some kind of greater change, whether that change is in legislation or just a change in the way people think. Social movement's role is to allow people the opportunity to come together, speak their mind, and make people aware of an issue that is close to their heart. They can practice their constitutional right, while making a difference in the world they live in. In Lebanon, social movements tend to influence the

majority of voters since each movement or political party advocates its agendas to gain popularity.

### **Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework**

The relative deprivation and resource mobilization theories will be used in understanding the impact of social movement on the behaviors, attitudes and perceptions of Lebanese young adults with regard to the 2018 elections.

#### **3.1 Relative Deprivation Theory**

Relative deprivation encompasses the inconsistencies and incongruities between what persons want, their value anticipations, and what they in fact gain, their value amassing abilities (Saleh, 2013). The force of relative deprivation fluctuates largely in terms of the average magnitude of perceived incongruity between value expectation and value capabilities. This is in the sense that there is a likelihood of persons revolting when they lack the belief and lose hope of accomplishing their societal values, and the power of dissatisfaction fluctuates with the severity of depression (Buechler, 2000). As the level and magnitude of frustration increases so does the extent of political instability. Basically, the escalation of relative deprivation with respect to political involvement, affluence, collective values, and status within the society can result in a deterioration in ideational unity, which as a result gives rise to a collapse in the societal order and further violence (Gurr, 1970; Saleh, 2013). Consequently, the formation of a social movement emerges where the members have the single goal of restoring ideational unity as well as societal change that would benefit the whole country.

According to Gurr (1970), relative deprivation is defined as the participants' discernment of inconsistency between their value anticipations and their value competencies. Value anticipations take into account the goods and the circumstance of life to which individuals have conviction that

they are rightfully entitled to (Gurr, 1970). On the other hand, value competencies are the goods and circumstances that these individuals consider they are capable of attaining and maintaining (Gurr, 1970). Gurr (1970) further makes the argument that being exposed to new philosophies portraying a golden era is not adequate by itself to generate dissatisfaction or generate anticipations. Nonetheless, an administration which inspires a conviction that reform is underway and subsequently takes tough action on the demands that are thereafter created is likely to accelerate a violent reaction from its discontented subjects. In contrast, a regime that barely does anything or takes measures towards relieving this kind of relative deprivation will experience the probability of violence against itself.

The theory further delineates three aspects of relative deprivation. The first is aspiration deprivation. This occurs when the capabilities of different groups of people or individuals continue to be comparatively the same, while anticipations increase. More often than not, dissatisfaction and anger emanate from the frustration of lacking ways of achieving the new or elevated expectations. For instance, alterations in government structure as well as their leaders in addition to temporary alterations in the nation are factors that have a likelihood of augmenting individual's expectations. This relates to this study in the sense that changes in politics within the nation increase the expectations of Lebanese young adults (Saleh, 2013).

The second aspect is the detrimental deprivation, which takes into account the value anticipation of a group continuing to be comparatively the same, but the value competencies are deemed to deteriorate. In this regard, the value expectations do not change but there is a decline in value capabilities. As a result, there is dissatisfaction and anger over losing what was there in previous times or what was thought could be achieved. This also takes place when groups of the society lose considerable value capabilities to competing groups of the society. In relation to this

study, this encompasses the loss of freedoms and privileges of the young adults. It also includes the deterioration of the capability of the government and political leaders in resolving issues and crises (Saleh, 2013).

Third, progressive deprivation is when there is a significant and concurrent rise in expectations and decline in competencies of the group (Gurr, 1970). It is when the value expectations incessantly increase concurrently with the decline in value capabilities. It can be deemed as a unique case of aspiration deprivation that more often than not takes place when enhancement in people's outcomes over a time period giving rise to expectations of incessant enhancements but external shocks give rise to deteriorations in outcomes instead. This is related to this particular study in the sense that movements may arise from protracted periods of economic and social improvement is trailed by a minimal period of quick reversal (Intal, 1991).

The link between relative deprivation and social movements is based on long-term principles of social psychology, especially either frustration-aggression theory or cognitive balance approaches. Research studies have utilized this model to elucidate the association between relative deprivation and the incidence of civil war and conflict, political violence or revolution. Akin to this frustration-aggression model is the cognitive balance approach in the sense that it postulates a fundamental state of individual cognitive tension that is relieved by social movement involvement. In addition, relative deprivation can be perceived as a psychological dissension which generates psychosomatic tension, giving rise to activities purposed to reduce tension such as organized group action to alter the structural basis of the obstruction (Gurney and Tierney, 1982).

### **3.2 Resource Mobilization Theory**

The second theory is the resource mobilization theory. According to Oleinik (2012), social, organized, as well as economic frameworks offer the fundamental purposes and motives for social

movements. Nonetheless, protests on their own or even sensible perspectives are not enough to bring individuals to act and operate in a collective manner. To begin with, social movements necessitate coordination and resources (Oleinik, 2012). The mobilization theory makes the argument that resources are vital to the creation and success of social movements (Buechler, 1993). Despite the fact that these kinds of resources may be different, the accessibility of pertinent resources and the abilities of the players to employ them efficaciously are significant for joint action (Jenkins, 1983). Social movements are more effective and are more successful in their endeavors if there is joint action from all participants. It is also necessary to take into consideration aspects such as suppression, restriction, threat, and prospective costs that may encumber individuals from taking part in mass deployment (Osa & Schock, 2007). For instance, if there is police brutality or threats of arrest and jail time, individuals will be deterred from taking part in social movements.

Rational mobilization theory perceives individuals as sensible actors that are involved in active actions that utilize official organizations to safeguard resources and cultivate mobilization. The resource mobilization theory can be split into two different parts. To begin with, resource mobilization theory tries to enlighten people joining and becoming part of social movements with rational actor theory. The other part is that resource mobilization theory tries to elucidate the actions and activities of the social movement organizations that are created by these rational actors by perceiving the social movement organizations as one which operates for survival and to advertise its products (Crawford, 2011).

Resource mobilization theory argues that social movements succeed through the effective mobilization of resources and the development of political opportunities for members (McCarthy

& Zald, 1977). In particular, this advantage cannot solely be the prospect of attaining the purported objective of the social movement. The main aim of a social movement is to attain some mutual good. Owing to the reason that the advantage is a collective one, a small number of people will individually bear the costs of working to accomplish them. It is not advantageous for individuals to work towards the collective good for the reason that they can permit another person to act for them while taking in the advantages (Crawford, 2011). Based on resource mobilization theory, the prospect of individuals being free-riders implies that we must clarify why people join and become members of social movements by looking at motivations, cost-reducing measures, and career advantages of such mannerisms. It is imperative for persons to join social movements for a resource benefit or gain except for that which is assured by the end objective of the social movement (Crawford, 2011).

Owing to the reason that individual involvement in social movements is initiated partially by a cost-benefit analysis of resources, social and cultural aspects such as complaints and mechanisms for social cohesion of groups are not the determining elements for when social movements will emanate. In particular, grievances are deemed to be a contextual factor for the reason that they exist in a society at all times and do not have explaining capability for forecasting social movements. Resource mobilization theory functions efficaciously to elucidate social movements for the reason that it highlights the actions of persons by simply looking at self-interested and self-seeking behavior (Crawford, 2011). Therefore, the notion links with the study since it demonstrates how the social movement can manipulate the trait and perception of people towards 2018 election. This can be done by analyzing the candidates based on their manifestos.

With close regard to the above explanations, this study will employ both Relative

Descriptive theory and Resource Mobilization theory in analyzing the data obtained from the questionnaire. It will focus on factors such as personal interest, individual behaviors, and available resources that social movement use.

### **3.3 Research Questions and Hypotheses**

Based on the above literature, relative deprivation theory entails the incongruities between a person's needs, values and what they gain. Based on this idea, individuals take action for what they get exposed to from social movements. This factor helps to explain why people join social movement or advocate for change. On the other hand, resource mobilization approach argues that social movements prosper via the efficient mobilization of resources and development of political chances for members. For these reasons, the following research questions and hypotheses were posed in relation to the 2018 Lebanese political elections.

**RQ1:** Do the participants exposed to social movements via media platform (mass or social) have positive perceptions about the civil movements?

**RQ2:** Does the use of social media in these social movements alter the perceptions of Lebanese young adults and encourages them to vote?

**H1:** Attitudes about social movements in Lebanon correlates to youth's voting decisions in the 2018 elections.

**H2:** Attitudes about social movements in Lebanon are negatively related to Lebanese youth's perceptions toward Lebanese current politicians.

## **Chapter 4: Methodology**

This chapter aims to explain the manner in which data was collected and analyzed to attain research objectives. The chapter is categorized into different sections including research design, data collection, sample selection, questionnaire design, ethical considerations, and data analysis.



#### 4.1 Research Method

The study adopted a quantitative methodology, more specifically a survey design in order to describe young Lebanese adults' attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors related to the 2018 Lebanese elections. Furthermore, this descriptive study design is related to different factors that aided in understanding the perceptions, attitudes and behaviors of the respondent. The study variables included attitude, perception, and the intended behavior.

#### 4.2 Sample Selection

For sample selection, convenient sampling was applied because specific age range was targeted within the population. A total of 250 questionnaires were distributed to the respondents through emails in March 2018. Some respondent submitted the questionnaire with half-filled answers and/or were considered outliers, thus only 203 responses were kept for further investigation.

This survey was administrated on different Lebanese citizens with different demographics. The considered age range was between 21 and 32 years. No consideration was given to the residential locations and occupation type when picking the participants.

39.9% of the sample were males while 60.1% were females. The majority of these respondents are young with the highest concentration for the age group between 21 to 25 years forming 40.4% of the sample followed by 22.2% between the ages of 26 to 28 years and another

15.3% between the ages of 29 to 32 years; there are also some cases above 32 years comprising 16.7% and very few below the age of 21 forming 3.4%. Most of the respondents were employed (67.5 %) or students (16.3%), there is also another 9.4% that are self-employed and only 6.9% that are not employed. 36.9% of the respondents came from Greater Beirut, 30.5% were from South Lebanon while 18.7 were from Mount Lebanon. 3% of the respondents were from Dabie.

0.5% of the respondents came from Bekaa.

### 4.3 Data Collection

The data was collected using questionnaires. When compared to other research tools, questionnaires facilitate quicker and straightforward collection of a huge amount of data (Robson, 2002). Imperatively, questionnaires offer several advantages. For starters, they are profitable because of the fact that those plentiful amounts of data can be collected from a large number of research participants or subjects within a relatively short period of time. Secondly, questionnaires enable the researcher to collect unbiased data, with negligible influence on validity and reliability (Denscombe, 2010).

The questionnaires consisted of two sections. The first section is the demographic data questions. This section prompted the participants to specify their demographic details, occupation, and residential details, as previously described above. After this section, the questionnaire was designed with 15 prompts (questions to be answered by the respondents). The types of questions were closed end, with five options, which needed the respondents to answer questions on a five-point likert-type scale: (1) Strongly Disagree, (2) Disagree, (3) Neither Agree nor Disagree, (4) Agree, and (5) Strongly Agree. Each variable was equally considered. Of the 15 questions, the first group of five focused on attitude, the second group of five focused on perception, while the remaining five set of questions paid attention to the intended behavior.

Attitude about the social movements refers to the feelings the youth have towards social movements. It indicates if they support them or not. this variable was measured via a series of five items such as "Social movements gave me hope about the country" and "I do not think my vote will make any difference in the coming elections" ( $\alpha = .786$ ,  $M = 3.530$ ,  $SD = .755$ ).

Behavior indicates how social media influenced the action of these youth, It was measured by four statements that included items such as: " I am willing to vote to a new political

party and "I refrain to accept any sort of bribery to vote to someone" ( $\alpha = .809$ ,  $M = 3.566$ ,  $SD = .959$ ).

Media usage was measured by asking participants how likely do youth access media by the following questions; I have been exposed to social movements from social media ( $M=3.634$ ,  $SD=1.039$ ), I have been exposed to social movement from mass media ( $M=3.349$ ,  $SD=1.073$ )

Exposure to social movements was also measured by asking participants how likely do they access social movement by the following questions: I have been exposed to social movements from social media ( $M=3.634$ ,  $SD=1.039$ ), I have been exposed to social movement from mass media ( $M = 3.349$ ,  $SD=1.073$ ).

#### **4.4 Data Analysis**

Data analysis encompasses recording of data obtained, data storage, development of categories and classification, coding such raw data, formulation and attaining statistical inferences and extrapolations. It comprises of data management and analysis to obtain answers to the research questions. As outlined by Saunders et al. (2015), raw data prior to undergoing processed and scrutinized analysis communicates very minimal or no connotation at all to majority of the people and for this reason necessitates to be processed to transform it into information. The analysis will be done through the use of Statistical Package for Social Sciences version 20. The analysis entailed the descriptive statistics where percentages were used to answer all the research questions and hypotheses. A reliability test was conducted by computing Cronbach alpha in order to assess the reliability of the measures. Research question one was evaluated through descriptive statistics and an Independent t-test to understand the differences if any between social media and mass media on perceptions of the civil movements. Research question two was also examine through an Independent t-test to examine if social movements seen on different platforms will have an impact

on voting. H1 was tested linear regression to analyze the relationship between the attitudes about social movements and participants' perceptions about politicians. H2 was tested by Pearson's correlation test to evaluate the relation between voting behavior and social movement exposure.

#### **4.5 Ethical Considerations**

Prior to being included in the research study, written consent was obtained from each participant. In addition, to make certain that participants in this study were not placed at risk and that the research in its entirety had respect for susceptible publics, a letter of introduction was dispensed to the individuals who participated in the study. In addition, the participants were informed regarding the volunteering nature of the involvement in the study and they were also informed about the right to stop participation at any given point. Moreover, any information that was provided by the participants were treated with confidentiality.

### **Chapter 5: Findings**

This chapter provides the findings from the data obtained to answer the research questions and hypotheses.

#### **5.1 Findings**

The results findings of this research study were based on the analysis of quantitative data and offer several significant insights. The discussion in this particular research topic attempts to ascertain whether social movements undertaken through mass media and social media have an impact on youths' attitudes and behaviors for the Lebanese 2018 elections.

#### **Research Question 1: Exposure to Social Movements and Perceptions about Civil**

## Movements

Out of 202 participants, 16.3% heard about social movements solely on social media, 3.5% on mass media, 47.0% learned about them through both social and mass media and 33.0% did not hear about them.

Participants exposed to social movements via media platforms have positive perceptions in relation to hope about the country, and favorable attitudes and behaviors about the civil movements. Independent t-test indicated that there wasn't a significance difference between those who were exposed to social civil movements on social media or mass media. However, results did show that there is a significant difference between those who were exposed to the campaign via social media ( $M = 3.49, SD = 1.065$ ) as opposed to those who did not see the campaign via the platform ( $M = 2.50, SD = 1.273$ ) ( $t(32.484) = 3.719, p < .05$ ), such that those who were exposed had more favorable perceptions (e.g., hope about the country). Likewise, those exposed to the campaigns via mass media ( $M = 3.44, SD = 1.011$ ) were more likely to have favorable perceptions than those who do not get exposed ( $M = 2.85, SD = 1.315$ ) ( $t(59.922) = 2.572, p < .05$ ).

Participants exposed to social movements via media platforms have positive attitudes about civil movements. Independent t-test indicated that there wasn't a significance difference between those who were exposed to social civil movements on social media or mass media; thus exposure (regardless of medium) have similar positive results. Furthermore, results did show that there is a significant difference between those who were exposed to the campaign via social media ( $M = 3.63, SD = 1.038$ ) as opposed to those who did not see the campaign via the platform ( $M = 3.34, SD = 1.073$ ) ( $t(36.43) = 4.44, p < .05$ ), such that those who were exposed had positive opinion.

The table below indicates participants means and standard deviations for the attitude statements asked.

<b>Statements</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>
Social movements gave me hope about the country	3.322	1.093
I changed my decision upon which party to vote for in the coming election	3.025	1.271
I do not want to participate in the coming elections	2.5124	1.520
I do not think my vote will make any difference in the coming elections	2.780	1.488

*\*Note: All items were measured on a scale from 1 = Strongly disagree to 5 = Strongly agree.*

In addition, participants exposed to social movements via media platforms have changed their behavior. Independent t-test indicated that there wasn't a significance difference between those who were exposed to social civil movements on social media or mass media indicating similarity in behavior. However, results did show that there is a significant statistical difference between those who were exposed to the campaign via social media (M = 3.63, SD = 1.038) as opposed to those who did not see the campaign via the platform (M = 3.34, SD = 1.073) ( $t(35.05) = 3.59, p < .05$ ), such that those who were exposed changed their behavior.

The table below indicates participants means and standard deviations for the behavior statements asked.

<b>Statements</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>
I am willing to vote to an old political party	1.807	1.229
I am willing to vote to a new political party	3.550	1.289
I am willing to participate with a white paper	2.871	1.588
I do not my mind voting to whoever pays me more	1.356	0.915
I refrain to accept any sort of bribery to vote to someone	3.632	1.671

*\*Note: All items were measured on a scale from 1 = Strongly disagree to 5 = Strongly agree.*

The inference of this is that being exposed to social movements, either through mass media or social media facilitated a more favorable attitude or opinion for the participants about the civil movements, as well as behavioral change.

### **Hypothesis 1: Attitudes about Social Movements and Current Politicians**

Hypothesis 1 was supported. Linear regression indicated that attitudes about social movements in Lebanon are related to wanting new members in the parliament to be elected ( $b = .359$ ,  $SE = .057$ ,  $r = .410$ ,  $r^2 = .168$ ) and civil movement leaders to be placed in authority to make change ( $b = .182$ ,  $SE = .229$ ,  $r = .262$ ,  $r^2 = .069$ ), thus suggesting disagreement with the current Lebanese politicians, or at the very least new members to be included in authoritative positions. According to the questionnaire, 77.8% of the respondents strongly agreed that new members of parliament should be elected. Only 0.5% of the respondents that strongly disagreed with the statement.

### **Research Question 2: Social Movements Impact on Voting**

Results, through an Independent t-test showed that the use of social media in the social movements can assist in altering the perceptions of the Lebanese young adults in getting them to vote for a new political party. Users of social media ( $M = 3.67$ ,  $SD = 1.211$ ) were more likely to vote for a new political party than those who were not exposed ( $M = 2.85$ ,  $SD = 1.347$ ) ( $t(33.698) = 2.896$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Exposure to social media increased the willingness to vote to a new political party.

However, there was no statistical significant difference between social media exposure versus no exposure in relation to voting to an old political party nor participating with a blank ballot.

### **Hypothesis 2: Attitudes about Social Movements and Voting Decisions**

Hypothesis 2 was partially supported. Attitudes about social movements in Lebanon negatively correlates to willingness to vote for an old party ( $r = -.379, p < .05$ ); more favorable attitudes about social movements the less willing a participant would be to vote for an old party. Pearson's correlation also indicated that there was a positive relationship between attitudes and willingness to vote for a new political party ( $r = .351, p < .05$ ) and participating with a white paper ( $r = .209, p < .05$ ). However, there wasn't any significant relationship between attitude and wanting to participate in the coming elections and voting to whoever pays them more (although results showed marginal significance). When asked if they are willing to vote for a new political party, 58.7% claimed they would. However, it is important to mention that 19% strongly agreed and 14% agreed that their vote will not make any change in the upcoming elections.

### **Chapter 6: Discussion**

The following chapter discusses the findings of the questionnaire with the findings of the literature review. It compares the results of the study conducted with the results of studies done within different scopes.

The results of the study demonstrate that by being exposed to social movements through both mass media and social media gives young adults more hope about the country. This can be linked back to literature review, where the study conducted by Karam (2017) indicated that being exposed to social movements such as the YouStink movement, through social media platforms like Facebook influenced the Lebanese youth to have hope that the nation could change and head in a better direction. Secondly, the results of the research study also indicated that being exposed to social movements, either through mass media or social media facilitated a more favorable attitude



or opinion for the participants about the civil movements. In addition, the use of social media platforms and exposure to these movements on such platforms promoted the necessity to vote, especially to vote for a new leader.

The findings of this thesis were based on quantitative data and they provide numerous important insights. The discussion in this research topic seeks to link the results to the literature review and theoretical framework used to guide the rationale of this study. The data representation is done through graphs and tables that are named in a very distinct way. The graphs are based on the x and y axis while the tables have four variances that is; frequency, percentage, valid percentage and cumulative percentage which represent aspects like gender, age, occupation, geographical region and many others as can be seen in Appendix C.

It is from the finding that civil movements in Lebanon have a significant role in the development of the country and this is agreed upon from the majority of the participants 51.1%. This can be seen in the study by Beck (2015) that indicates that the development and progression of social movements enables young adults to express their frustrations and expectations from the leaders and therefore can lead to national development. This was proved in this study, as findings from the questionnaire revealed that 53.0% of the respondents believe that social movements contribute in the development process.

Violence appears to accompany social behavior that might take place in Lebanon In fact, 47.2% agreed that violence accompanies any social movement. This is in agreement with the study by Gurr (1970) and Saleh (2013) who indicate that the escalation of relative deprivation with respect to political involvement, affluence, collective values, and status within the society can give rise to a worsening in ideational harmony, leading to a collapse in the societal order and further violence. A clear example of that is the violence that YouStink Campaign faced when the socialists

protested. In 2012 YouStink held protests in Beirut, however none of the protests done were successful. Every protest was interrupted by violent acts and ended up dramatically. This made people lose hope in YouStink campaign. The campaign at first was highly supported but eventually some participants stopped their support after the continuous violent behaviors. In addition, based on the statements on the questionnaire, civil movements represent the people's opinion in Lebanon. From the statistics collected, 42.9% claimed that social movements represent their opinion. The participants in social movements believe that everything they are expressing or protesting against is for the good of the general public. 37.0% of the respondents agreed and 10.0% of them strongly agreed that social movements have significant role in developing the country. As stated by Clark (2012), this novel method of communication facilitates circumvention of the partiality of formal sources and the mass media, and to offer normal citizens with an opportunity to relay their opinions and assessments in altering the political setting of their nation.

It is also from the data collected that majority of the respondents believe that the civil movements represent the opinion of the youths in Lebanon. Accordingly, 18.2% of the respondents strongly agreed, 37.3% agreed, 28.6% neither agreed or disagreed that social movements represent their opinion; only 15.9% disagreed. Drawing explanations from the data gathered indicate that youth are highly influenced by social movements. They believe these movements represent their opinion, they believe that social movements develop the nations and that's why they support them. Yet the young generation also believes that social movements are faced with violence. This perhaps can justify their unwillingness to vote in the coming elections. Most civil movements in Lebanon oppose corruption that is causing destruction in the county, 19.7 % of the respondents agreed to the statement while 35.5% agreed and this shows the facts in that statement considering that some of the respondents belong to some of these civil movements. 25.6% had nothing to say according

to the statements since they didn't agree or disagree on the statement. However, 12.8% disagreed on the statement, while 4.4% of the respondents strongly disagreed. Corruption is one of the factors that cripples the economy of a nation and if there is no one is there to stop it, it might go to the extent of destroying the country further politically and socially. Most countries in the Middle East have been listed as one of the most affected by corruption and this makes Lebanon one of them. As outlined by Beck (2015) and Wickberg (2012) the factional system of Lebanon operates as the basis for systemic corruption, which even limits the impact of civil movements.

Relative deprivation theory refers to the expectation the community has versus the resources (Gurr,1970). According to Gurr (1970) people compare what they have with what they expect to get. As for the mobilization theory, it assumes that people are active when something vital occurs (Buechler, 1993). Relating the current findings with these two theories, one can conclude that youth refuse to accept the reality as is. The vital issue that happened is the spreading of corruption everywhere that calls for action, and that is why majority of the respondents stated that social movements contribute in the development of the country. At the same time, youth have hope about Lebanon. They believe that their resources are not managed by the current authority and that is why the need a change. Results regarding the voting decision showed that the young youth are not willing to vote for an old party. And that those who were exposed to social movements via both mass media and social media are willing to vote for a new party as well as civil movement leaders who should take part in the political authority. People's frustration and frequent disappointment from not receiving what they need and expected from the political authority, as well as lack of resource organization and coordination lead to social movements. Movements in Lebanon have been present since the 1920s, this shows that people still hope these movements can be a tool to

get their voices heard. Moreover, the social and political changes that happened after few successful movements will be a motive for upcoming movements to take place.

## **Chapter 7: Limitations, Conclusion and Recommendations**

### **7.1 Limitations**

The limit of the study was the sample size of 203 individuals which is a small number of people representing the country hence the results cannot be generalized to the whole country; however, the sample is sufficient enough for a descriptive study. Furthermore, the respondents did not come from all parts of the country. Also, there could be some bias when responding to the questions or that the respondents put the more socially desirable answer. Another limitation was composing the theoretical framework of the study. The theories chosen were the most convenient, yet they are general. The corruption happening in Lebanon, and other factors available in Lebanon like ethnocentrism were not covered by the theories as well as reliance on religious sects for control and formation. A further limitation was applying the methodology. Many respondents with such a topic refrain from giving their honest answer; perhaps through indepth interviews and/or focus groups the researcher can build rapport with the participants and allow them to feel comfortable explaining their opinions without feeling judged. The study was

conducted before the elections where voters were not yet decided, and if decided they would not admit their real views. Hence, the difficulty here was addressing transparent respondents.

## **7.2 Conclusion**

The impact of social and civil movements on the attitudes, perceptions and behavior of young Lebanese adults towards the upcoming 2018 election is valuable as a topic for investigation since it indicates whether or not the young are interested in practicing their civic duties and their attitudes towards their country and their duties. This is linked to the essence of the development of civil movements through social media and mass media. The backbone towards the development of civil movements are mass media and more so social media. This is linked to the essence of the development of civil movements through social media and mass media. Without these platforms, the protests and voices raised could not reach the intended people and those are the leaders governing the country. The importance of these protests is to raise awareness to the voters and this case the young Lebanese adults to make the decisions they need in terms on the leaders they want to choose. These aspects are taken into consideration in the research study conducted and analyzed. Exposure to social movements through social media and mass media without a doubt has an impact on the perceptions and attitudes of the young Lebanese in terms of voting. Nonetheless, it is imperative to point out that in the case of voting for old political parties or the reigning political parties, such movements did not have any significant statistical impact. This can be linked to the fact that social movements are instigated and advanced with the main objective of ousting or changing the direction of the old political party, which is deemed to be the prevailing party in the nation. Without these movements, which act as the stronger opposition the state at which Lebanon would be in could raise lots of questions both locally and internationally. These civil movements are majorly controlled by youths who want a better country for themselves in the years to come so

that even the other generations can be in a position to benefit. Social movements proved to influence the attitudes of youth. Firstly, social movement represent the opinion of youth. They believe that social movement contribute in the development of the country, yet they also think that their activities as social movements is restricted by violence. The study also revealed that youth are exposed to social media via mass media and social media almost equally, and both domains developed positive attitudes towards social movements.

These attitudes were somehow translated into their voting behavior, the youth are willing to participate in the upcoming election and tend to vote for new members.

These civil movements are majorly controlled by youths who want a better country for themselves in the years to come so that even the other generations can be in a position to benefit. Media and social media played a vital role during Lebanese 2018 elections; this was reflected through the utilization of several channels by the candidates and TV channels, to include social networks (Union, 2018). However, the effect of media was highly influenced by the biased media environment and unclear legislation that fostered an uneven access of the candidates to platforms and imbalanced information for voters (Union, 2018).

The 2018 election results showed that, a large number of youths who voted was 22%. The country registered around 3,600,000 million people who were eligible for voting, out of which 800,000 were youths who turned out to vote for the massive change they had been anticipating for (Milani, 2018). As per the official results announced by the Ministry of Interior, the results yielded 105 representatives of political parties and 23 independent candidates. Almost 50 percent of the people elected in the parliament were new comers with a minor advantage for the March 8 parties (UNDP, 2018); this helps depicts the motivational drive of youth to make a difference.

### 7.3 Recommendations

For a long time now, movements have been collective actions conducted by groups in the quest for a mutual goal and objective. In recent time, Lebanese youth have partaken in civil movements to call for the improvement of the economic, social and political state of affairs. However, these movements have not proved to be successful. Based on the outcomes of this thesis, it is recommended that Lebanese youth to partake in more civil movements, especially considering the advancement of social media which facilitates such efforts. Specifically, these movements are bound to aid in the development of the nation, through the change that is instigated when the youth air their frustrations. Civil movements represent the opinion of the youth in Lebanon, and may carve a bright future in the nation

I recommend adding a part on young Lebanese people and voting – how much percentage of the Lebanese youth vote and are there any studies done on their voting behavior?

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**Appendix A: Questionnaire**

IMPACT OF CIVIL MOVEMENTS ON PERCEPTION, ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR OF  
LEBANESE YOUTH TOWARDS ELECTIONS 2018 VOTING

Dear Respondent,

I am a masters student conducting my thesis about the impact of social movements on the perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors of Lebanese youth towards the coming 2018 elections voting. I am kindly requesting your assistance in completing the questions below with almost sincerity according to the instructions provided. Your cooperation will be extremely appreciated.

Disclaimer: The information provided below in the questionnaire is to be applied only for academic purposes and should not be disclosed to a distinct party at any given time. The research has been granted with authority to the information and hence the information should be handled with privilege.

Thank You

Marwa Majzoub

***PART A: Kindly provide the following demographic information***

1. Kindly indicate your Gender

Male

Female

2. Kindly indicate your age category  21

– 25 years  26 – 28 years  28 – 32

years

3. Kindly indicate your occupation

Student  Employed  Unemployed

Self employed

4. Kindly indicate the geographic region

you live in  Greater Beirut  Dahieh

and Mount Lebanon ○ Chouf and Matn  
 el Chmeli ○ South Lebanon ○ North  
 Lebanon ○ Bekaa

**PART B: Kindly indicate the level of agreement with the following statements**

		<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Neither Agree nor Disagree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>
1	Civil movements in Lebanon have a significance in the development of the country	1	2	3	4	5
2	Violence will always accompany any social behavior that might take place in	1	2	3	4	5



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	Lebanon					
3	Civil movements in Lebanon represent your opinion	1	2	3	4	5
4	Civil movements in Lebanon face the corruption taking place in Lebanon	1	2	3	4	5
5	Civil movements are trying to change the bad situation in Lebanon	1	2	3	4	5
6	Civil movements represent the opinion of the Lebanese youth	1	2	3	4	5
7	New members in the parliament should be elected	1	2	3	4	5
8	Civil movements leaders should be placed in authority to make change	1	2	3	4	5
9	I should participate within the civil movement to change the situation in my country	1	2	3	4	5
10	I should participate within the civil movements to express my opinion	1	2	3	4	5
11	I should vote in the coming elections to support the civil movements	1	2	3	4	5
12	The coming elections is an opportunity to change the situation in Lebanon	1	2	3	4	5
13	I have been exposed to social movements from social media	1	2	3	4	5
14	I have been exposed to social movement from mass media	1	2	3	4	5
15	Social movements gave me hope about the country	1	2	3	4	5

Thank you.

**APPENDIX B: TABLES**

The below questions study the perception variables

**Civil movements represent the opinion of the Lebanese youth**

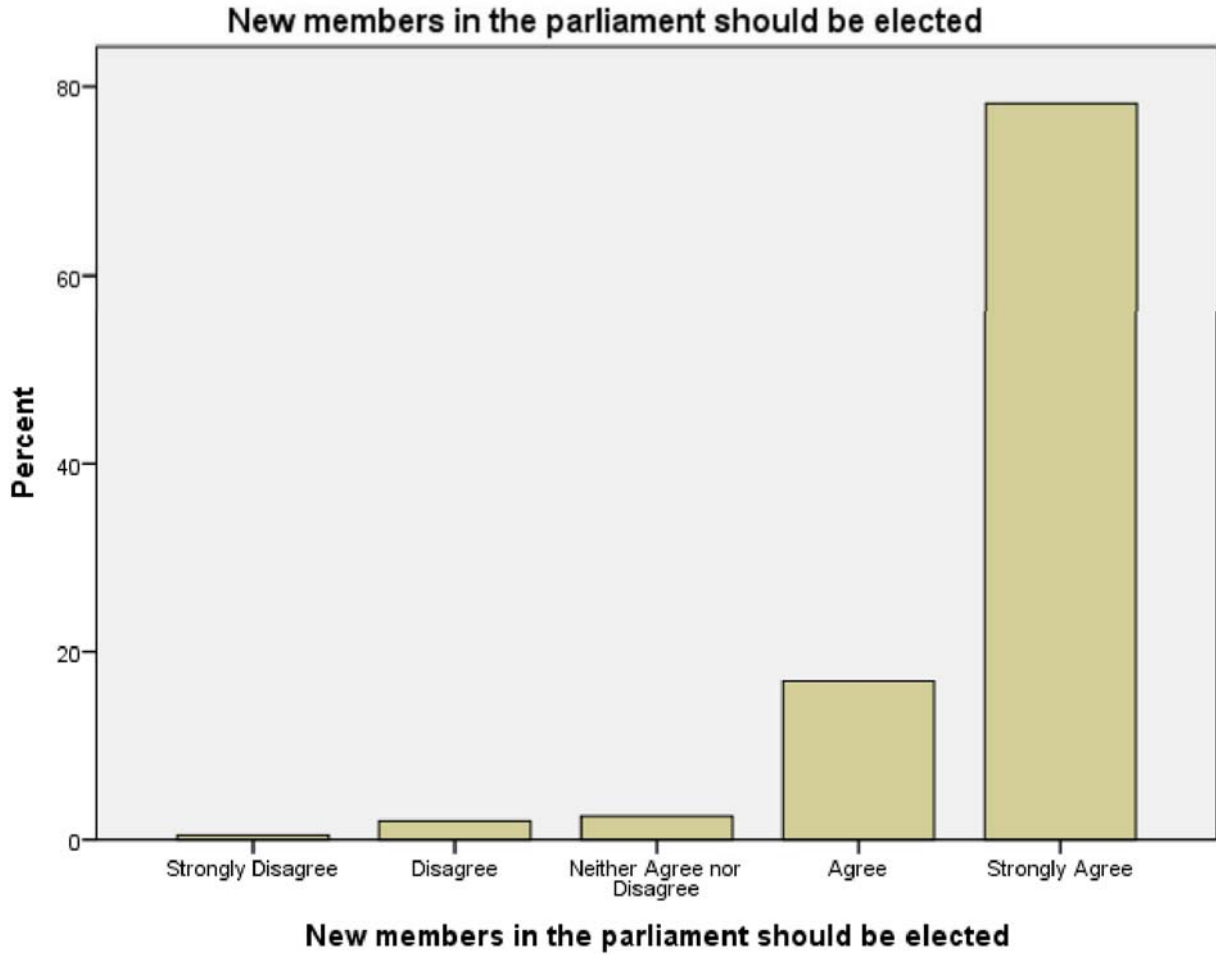
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	8	3.9	4.0	4.0
	Disagree	23	11.3	11.4	15.4

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Neither Agree nor Disagree	58	28.6	28.9	44.3
Agree	75	36.9	37.3	81.6
Strongly Agree	37	18.2	18.4	100.0
Total	201	99.0	100.0	
System	2	1.0		
Missing	203	100.0		
Total				

**New members in the parliament should be elected**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	1	.5	.5	.5
Disagree	4	2.0	2.0	2.5
Neither Agree nor Disagree	5	2.5	2.5	5.0
Agree	34	16.7	16.8	21.8
Strongly Agree	158	77.8	78.2	100.0
Total	202	99.5	100.0	
System	1	.5		
Missing	203	100.0		
Total				



77.8% of the respondents strongly agreed that new members of parliament should be elected.

Only 0.5% of the respondents that strongly disagreed with the statement.

**Civil movements leaders should be placed in authority to make change**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	8	3.9	4.0	4.0

Disagree	16	7.9	7.9	11.9
Neither Agree nor Disagree	36	17.7	17.8	29.7
Agree	68	33.5	33.7	63.4
Strongly Agree	74	36.5	36.6	100.0
Total	202	99.5	100.0	
System	1	.5		
Missing Total	203	100.0		

**I should participate within the civil movement to change the situation in my country**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	12	5.9	5.9	5.9
Valid Disagree	21	10.3	10.4	16.3
Valid Neither Agree nor Disagree	60	29.6	29.7	46.0
Valid Agree	64	31.5	31.7	77.7
Valid Strongly Agree	45	22.2	22.3	100.0
Valid Total	202	99.5	100.0	
Missing System	1	.5		
Missing Total	203	100.0		

**I should participate within the civil movements to express my opinion**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	13	6.4	6.5	6.5
Disagree	22	10.8	10.9	17.4
Neither Agree nor Disagree	56	27.6	27.9	45.3
Agree	67	33.0	33.3	78.6
Strongly Agree	43	21.2	21.4	100.0
Total	201	99.0	100.0	
System	2	1.0		
Missing	203			
Total		100.0		

**I should vote in the coming elections to support the civil movements**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	18	8.9	8.9	8.9
Disagree	24	11.8	11.9	20.8

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Valid	Neither Agree nor Disagree	40	19.7	19.8	40.6
	Agree	55	27.1	27.2	67.8
	Strongly Agree	65	32.0	32.2	100.0
Missing					
	Total	202	99.5	100.0	
	System	1	.5		
		203	100.0		
Total					

**The coming elections is an opportunity to change the situation in Lebanon**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	19	9.4	9.4
	Disagree	22	10.8	20.3
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	39	19.2	39.6
	Agree	67	33.0	72.8
	Strongly Agree	55	27.1	100.0
	Total	202	99.5	100.0
Missing	System			

Total	1 203	.5 100.0		
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**Appendix C: H2 Tables**

**Civil movements in Lebanon have a significant role in the development of the country**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	12	5.9	6.0	6.0
Disagree	30	14.8	14.9	20.9
Neither Agree nor Disagree	49	24.1	24.4	45.3
Agree	76	37.4	37.8	83.1
Valid Strongly Agree	34	16.7	16.9	100.0
Total	201	99.0	100.0	
Missing System	2	1.0		
Total	203	100.0		



**Violence will always accompany any social behavior that might take place in Lebanon**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	9	4.4	4.5	4.5
	Disagree	36	17.7	17.8	22.3
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	61	30.0	30.2	52.5
	Agree	75	36.9	37.1	89.6
	Strongly Agree	21	10.3	10.4	100.0
Total		202	99.5	100.0	
	System	1	.5		
Missing			100.0		
Total		203			

**Civil movements in Lebanon represent your opinion**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Strongly Disagree	9	4.4	4.5	4.5
	Disagree	33	16.3	16.3	20.8
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	73	36.0	36.1	56.9

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Valid	Agree	58	28.6	28.7	85.6
	Strongly Agree	29	14.3	14.4	100.0
	Total	202	99.5	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.5		
		203	100.0		
Total					

**Civil movements in Lebanon face the corruption taking place in Lebanon**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	9	4.4	4.5	4.5
	Disagree	26	12.8	13.1	17.6
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	52	25.6	26.1	43.7
	Agree	72	35.5	36.2	79.9
	Strongly Agree	40	19.7	20.1	100.0
	Total	199	98.0	100.0	
	System	4	2.0		
Missing					
Total		203	100.0		

**Civil movements are trying to change the bad situation in Lebanon**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	2	1.0	1.0	1.0
Disagree	16	7.9	7.9	8.9
Neither Agree nor Disagree	40	19.7	19.8	28.7
Agree	109	53.7	54.0	82.7
Strongly Agree	35	17.2	17.3	100.0
Total	202	99.5	100.0	
Missing System	1	.5		
Missing Total	203	100.0		

**Appendix D: RQ1 Tables**

**I have been exposed to social movements from social media**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	11	5.4	5.4	5.4
Disagree	15	7.4	7.4	12.9
Neither Agree nor Disagree	48	23.6	23.8	36.6

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Valid	Agree	91	44.8	45.0	81.7
	Strongly Agree	37	18.2	18.3	100.0
	Total	202	99.5	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.5		
Total		203	100.0		

**I believe in the new political parties**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	25	12.3	12.4	12.4
	Disagree	36	17.7	17.8	30.2
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	83	40.9	41.1	71.3
	Agree	35	17.2	17.3	88.6
	Strongly Agree	23	11.3	11.4	100.0
	Total	202	99.5	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.5		
Total		203	100.0		

**I have been exposed to social movement from mass media**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	14	6.9	7.1	7.1
Disagree	27	13.3	13.6	20.7
Neither Agree nor Disagree	55	27.1	27.8	48.5
Agree	80	39.4	40.4	88.9
Strongly Agree	22	10.8	11.1	100.0
Total	198	97.5	100.0	
Missing System	5	2.5		
Missing Total	203	100.0		

**Appendix E: RQ2 Tables**

The below questions study the attitude variable

**Social movements gave me hope about the country**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
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	Strongly Disagree	16	7.9	7.9	7.9
	Disagree	25	12.3	12.4	20.3
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	64	31.5	31.7	52.0
Valid	Agree	72	35.5	35.6	87.6
	Strongly Agree	25	12.3	12.4	100.0
	Total	202	99.5	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.5		
Total		203	100.0		

**I changed my decision upon which party to vote for in the coming election**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	31	15.3	15.4	15.4
	Disagree	34	16.7	16.9	32.3
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	67	33.0	33.3	65.7
	Agree	37	18.2	18.4	84.1
	Strongly Agree	32	15.8	15.9	100.0
	Total	201	99.0	100.0	
Missing	System	2	1.0		
Total					

	203	100.0		
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**I have different political views than my parents when it comes to the political parties**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	16	7.9	7.9	7.9
Valid Disagree	20	9.9	9.9	17.8
Valid Neither Agree nor Disagree	56	27.6	27.7	45.5
Valid Agree	64	31.5	31.7	77.2
Valid Strongly Agree	46	22.7	22.8	100.0
Valid Total	202	99.5	100.0	
Missing System	1	.5		
Missing Total	203	100.0		

**I do not want to participate in the coming elections**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	80	39.4	39.8	39.8
Valid Disagree	26	12.8	12.9	52.7
Valid Neither Agree nor Disagree	45	22.2	22.4	75.1

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Agree	12	5.9	6.0	81.1
Strongly Agree	38	18.7	18.9	100.0
Total	201	99.0	100.0	
System	2	1.0		
Missing				
Total	203	100.0		

**I do not think my vote will make any difference in the coming elections**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	57	28.1	28.5	28.5
Disagree	37	18.2	18.5	47.0
Neither Agree nor Disagree	38	18.7	19.0	66.0
Agree	29	14.3	14.5	80.5
Valid Strongly Agree	39	19.2	19.5	100.0
Total	200	98.5	100.0	
System	3	1.5		
Missing	203			
Total		100.0		



The below questions study the behavior variable **I am willing to vote to an old political party**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	125	61.6	61.9	61.9
Disagree	30	14.8	14.9	76.7
Neither Agree nor Disagree	19	9.4	9.4	86.1
Agree	17	8.4	8.4	94.6
Strongly Agree	11	5.4	5.4	100.0
Total	202	99.5	100.0	
System	1	.5		
Missing		100.0		
Total	203			

**I am willing to vote to a new political party**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	22	10.8	10.9	10.9
Disagree	17	8.4	8.4	19.3
Neither Agree nor Disagree	50	24.6	24.8	44.1

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Valid	Agree	54	26.6	26.7	70.8
	Strongly Agree	59	29.1	29.2	100.0
	Total	202	99.5	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.5		
		203	100.0		
Total					