

Arab Reform Initiative

THE LEBANESE DIASPORA AND THE UPCOMING ELECTIONS: LESSONS FROM THE 2018 VOTING

In partnership with

THE POLICY INITIATIVE

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Executive Summary

The 2022 parliamentary elections will be the first electoral test at the national level since the October 2019 mass protests and the August 4, 2020 Beirut blast. The recent and ongoing wave of emigration triggered by the economic crisis has increased the number of eligible Lebanese voters abroad, who have been the target of several mobilization campaigns by diaspora groups.

As many Lebanese were pushed to leave their country by a political class that has driven the country into its most severe crisis, a sense of hope about the diaspora helping vote the established sectarian parties out has emerged. This hope is premised in part on a widespread assumption that the Lebanese diaspora is able to vote freely, given that they do not benefit from clientelist services, are not the target of vote buying, and do not suffer from intimidation and pressure to vote in a certain way. However, questions abound whether the diaspora's political leanings are fundamentally different from that of the population in Lebanon. After all, a large part of the diaspora are emigrants who left during the Lebanese civil war, and many may still support the old sectarian political parties. Other emigrants are individuals who have left their families behind in search for better opportunities, and their families, who are still in the country, may not fall outside clientelist networks.

While no recent figures on the political preferences of the Lebanese diaspora exist, a look at their choices in the 2018 parliamentary elections—the first time out of country voting was allowed—offers some insights on their role in Lebanese elections and potential to vote the establishment out in the May 2022 elections. In seeking to study the voting behavior of the Lebanese diaspora in 2018, this study uses the official elections results published by the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities, disaggregated by polling station¹. We collected the results at the polling station level and extracted the information of voters, such as district of origin, country, and city of residency.

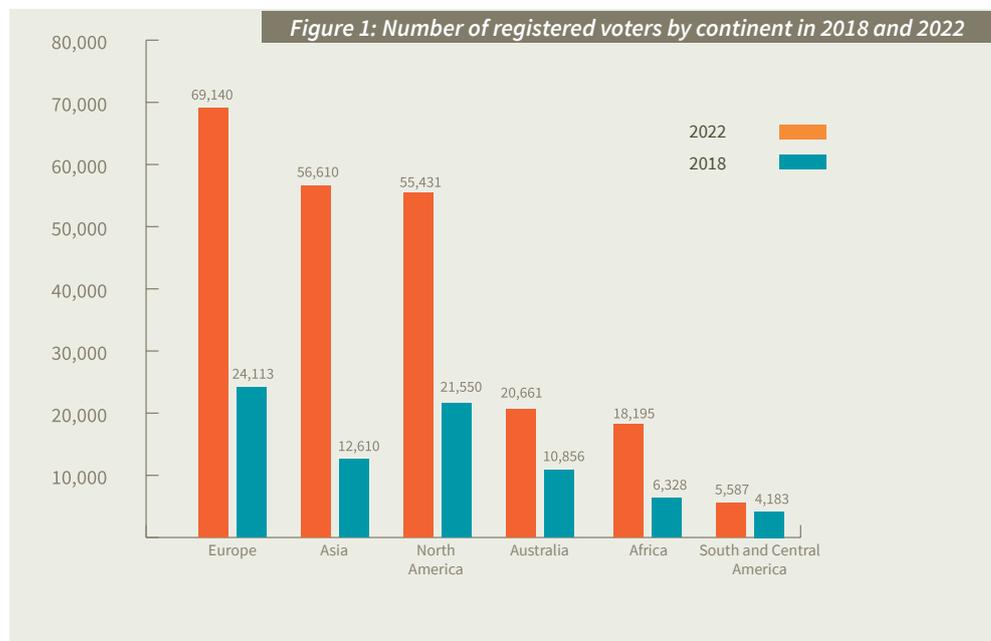
In the first part of this report, we analyze the results at the national level and compare the voting choices of Lebanese in the country to those of Lebanese abroad, in the aggregate. This includes an analysis of participation rates and votes for the main political parties. The second part of this report provides a country level analysis, focusing on five countries which had the largest share of out-of-country voters: Canada, Australia, the United States, France, and Germany. Finally, in the third part, we zoom in on the results by electoral district. As different parties ran in each of the 15 electoral districts, the district level analysis provides a more detailed look at the findings.

1. The results are available at: <http://elections.gov.lb/Home.aspx>.

An increased mobilization

Wide efforts to encourage the diaspora to vote, led by civil society organisations and Lebanese activists all over the world, have succeeded in getting over 240,000 Lebanese to register in their country of residence—more than a threefold increase from 2018—with 225,624 ending up on the voters’ list. These numbers suggest an increased interest of Lebanese abroad to participate in the electoral process, although whether those voters already resided outside the country or are recent emigrants is unknown.

The number of registered voters abroad increased nearly fivefold in Asia (mostly the GCC), from around 13,000 in 2018 to 57,000 today, almost tripled in Europe and Africa, doubled in North America and Australia, and increased by 1.3 in South and Central America, where registered numbers were lowest in 2018.



The increase in the number of registered voters abroad for the 2022 elections could translate into higher turnouts, by leading to more voting centers being opened across countries and cities. In 2018, only 59% of Lebanese abroad who registered to vote ended up voting. However, according to Lebanon’s electoral law, a polling station can be established in cities with at least 200 registered voters, and if the increase in the number of registered voters is associated with the creation of additional polling stations (compared to 2018), this will make voting more accessible to larger segments of the diaspora.

Lessons from the 2018 elections

Looking at the 2018 elections results enables us to make several observations about diaspora voting dynamics and suggest lines of inquiry in terms of their vote in the upcoming elections.

In 2018, Lebanese voters outside the country did not have a determining role in who made it to parliament for two main reasons: (i) out of country voters represented only 3% of Lebanese who participated in the elections (less than 50,000 of them, out of the nearly 80,000 who registered, went to the polls) and (ii) the diaspora voted for the established sectarian political parties in the most part.

Only 6% chose candidates on opposition lists (less than 3,000 voters) while the remaining 94% selected the usual suspects, although there were some winners and losers among the traditional political parties. In the aggregate, the diaspora mostly supported the Lebanese Forces (LF) and Free Patriotic Movement (FPM), and at much higher rates than residents, while they showed lower support for Hezbollah and the Future Movement (FM). This may be partially due to a difference in the demographics and sectarian affiliation of out of country voters compared to Lebanese voting inside the country.

It is also clear that politically speaking, the behavior of the Lebanese diaspora varies greatly from country to country, which is due in large part to the different contexts of the waves of emigration as well as the sectarian composition of a particular diaspora. Among the main countries voters were registered in, those in Canada, Australia, the United States, France, and the United Arab Emirates mostly supported LF and FPM, while Amal and Hezbollah received most of the votes in Germany as well as across African countries, and the Future Movement performed best in Saudi Arabia. In no cases did anti-establishment lists come close to ranking first.

Looking at the results disaggregated by country can show where the diaspora will be more likely to vote for anti-establishment or independent parties. In 2018, candidates on anti-establishment lists performed best in France (13%, 590 votes) and the United Arab Emirates (13%, 414 votes). Most of the remaining votes for anti-establishment lists came from the United States (8%, 389 votes) and Canada (5%, 343 votes), followed by Saudi Arabia (10%, 182 votes), while barely any voters in Australia, Germany, as well as throughout South America and African countries voted for them (less than 2%, or 100 voters, in each). If those who registered to vote in Europe (particularly France), North America, and the GCC show similar preferences in 2022, the share of votes going to anti-establishment political groups can be expected to improve.

What possible impact can the diaspora have in 2022?

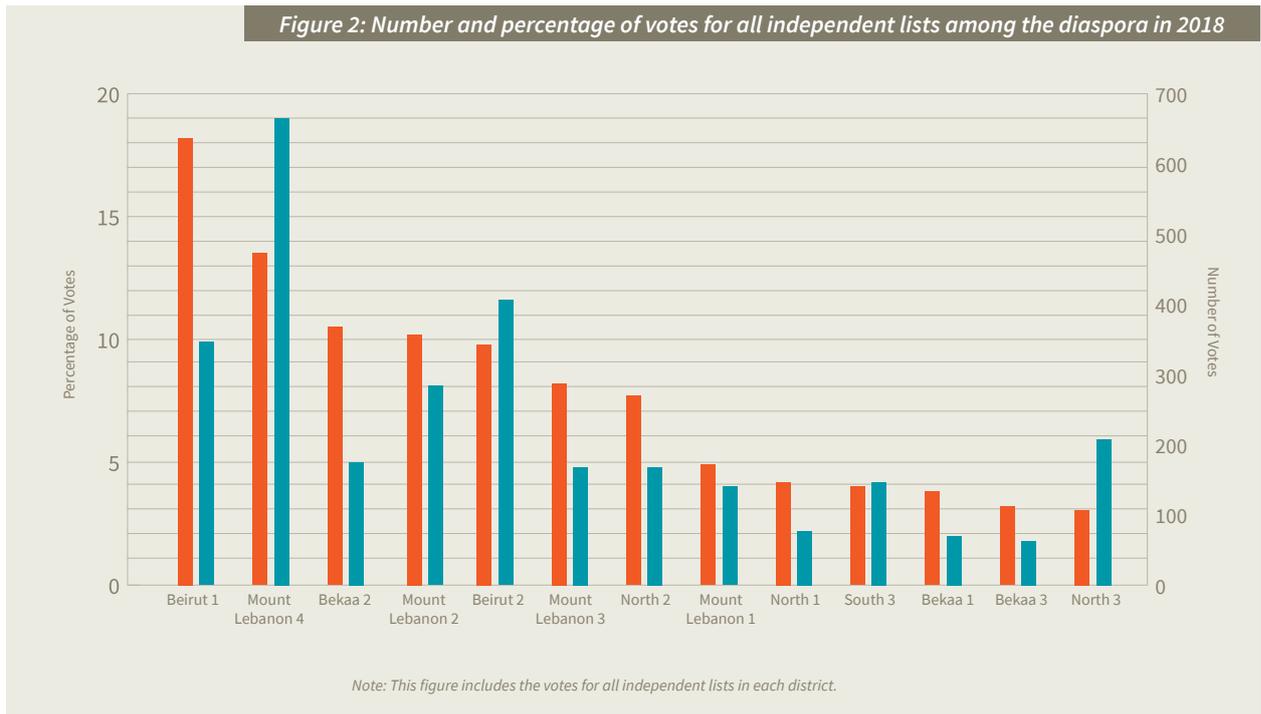
The number of emigrants who registered for the 2022 elections, despite being far higher than that in 2018, still only represents 6% of total eligible voters for the upcoming election. While similarly to 2018, we can expect turnout among the diaspora to be higher than in country voting (mostly because out of country voters have to actively register while everyone in country is automatically registered), numerically speaking the diaspora will remain a marginal player in terms of the number of votes it represents.

From this perspective, it becomes key to examine whether the diaspora votes can be important in particular electoral districts, where anti-establishment parties may have a chance of winning a seat.

In 2018, the two districts where opposition lists came close to winning were the following:

- In the Beirut 1 district, the independent list Kulluna Watani, which managed to win a seat, would have won a second seat if it had obtained around 5,500 additional votes. In 2018, only 1,939 out of country voters from that district cast a vote, and of those, 345 actually chose Kulluna Watani (18%). The diaspora was therefore not a significant player in Beirut 1. However, higher registration numbers for out of country voters from that district—which was the most impacted by the 2020 Port explosion—and a more competitive field could make diaspora votes important.

- In Mount Lebanon 4 (Aley-Chouf), the opposition had the highest potential of a breakthrough in 2018. The main independent list, Kulluna Watani, needed about 3,500 additional votes to pass the electoral threshold for winning a seat in the district. Similar to the Beirut 1 district, these votes could have not been obtained from abroad, as only 496 of out of country voters from Mount Lebanon 4 chose Kulluna Watani (10%). It remains to be seen if out of country voters from that district can have an impact this year.



One of the challenges in evaluating the impact of out of country voting on anti-establishment parties' results in 2022 is the extent to which a shift will occur amongst the diaspora supporters of traditional political parties.

While one would expect a shift in voting behavior in this upcoming election given the disastrous situation in the country, the scale of this change is unknown—particularly as political dynamics amongst Lebanese diaspora communities are badly understood and new anti-establishment parties have not campaigned extensively amongst diaspora groups. In other words, it is unknown how many of those who voted in 2018 will switch their vote to opposition parties.

Furthermore, the political allegiance of the additional voters registered abroad—i.e. those who were not registered outside the country in 2018—is also unknown. For instance, we do not know how many of them are first time registrants, or whether they are Lebanese who emigrated since 2019, but the voting behavior of these individuals will be key. While much of the drive to register additional voters came from independent groups and activists who are generally opposed to the sectarian political parties, these parties have increased their electoral activity in diasporic communities in the lead up to the elections and have maintained and strengthened their clientelistic networks abroad.

Diaspora political influence beyond voting

The poor performance of anti-establishment electoral lists in 2018, among both residents and the diaspora, does not mean that they do not stand a chance in the next elections. However, the diaspora is unlikely to have a pivotal role as a bloc of voters. Their votes may make a difference in certain competitive districts, but ultimately, over 90% of voters are in Lebanon, and they are the ones that will carry the most weight.

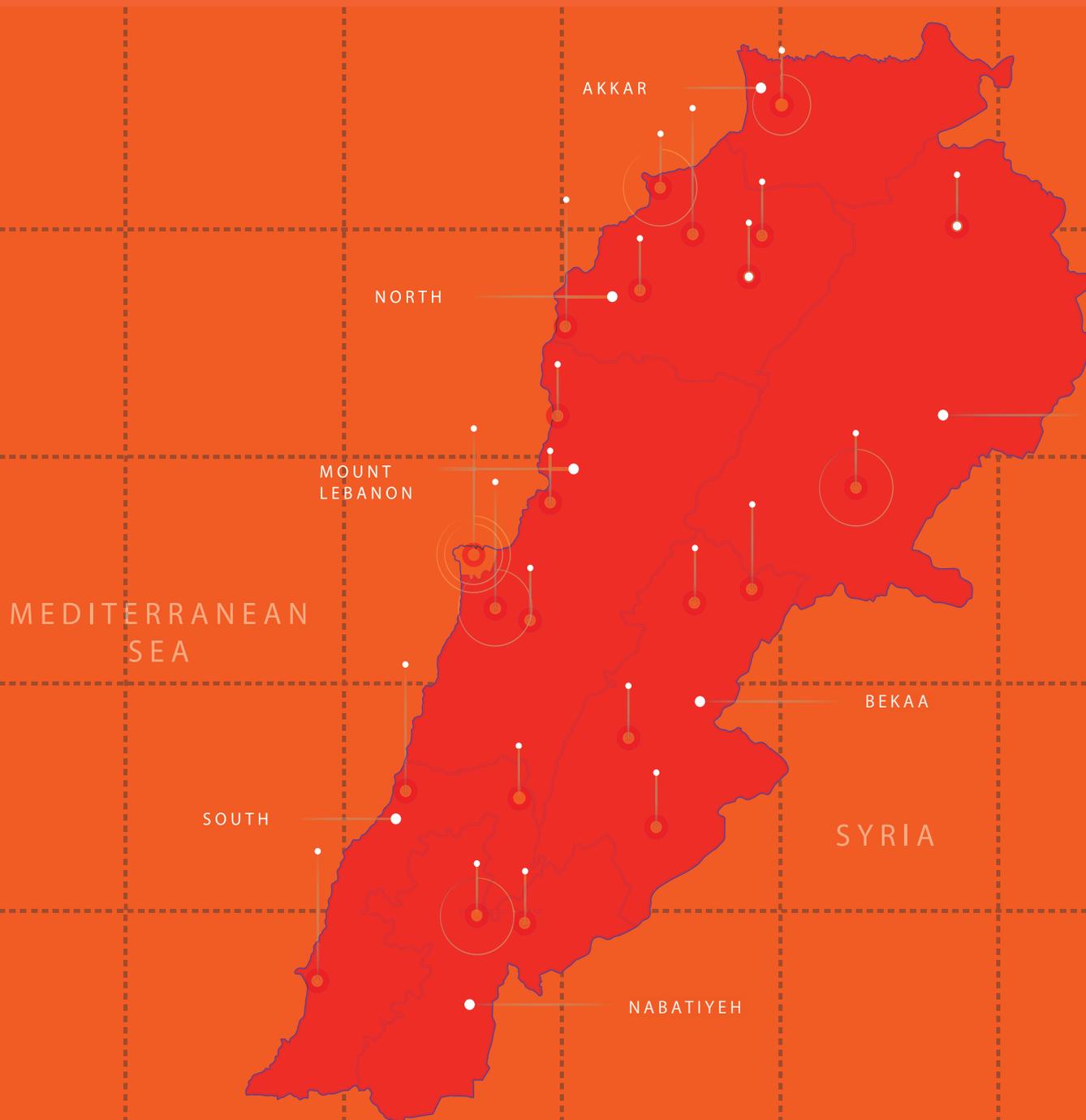
Beyond the number of out of country voters, the role of the diaspora on elections and on Lebanon's politics more broadly needs further examination. The diaspora is a source of funding for political parties and candidates in Lebanon and the role of the financial resources they are providing deserves to be studied post-elections. The diaspora can also be a key "influencer" on the voting behavior of many who are in Lebanon. Given the spiraling economic crisis, diaspora members are increasingly a key lifeline for their families in Lebanon—in some cases, the only lifeline. These diaspora members can mobilize and convince family members to go out and vote. After all, only 49% of voters participated in Lebanon in 2018, and ultimately, increasing this percentage will be essential.

Ultimately, those in the diaspora hoping for political change in Lebanon need to organize themselves for a long effort. They have shown that they are willing to protect their right to vote in Lebanon and are keen to mobilize. In and of itself, this represents a small but important step forward.

> PART I

NATIONAL LEVEL ANALYSIS

In this section, the voting choices of the Lebanese diaspora are analyzed in the aggregate, and then compared to the choices of residents of Lebanon. First, it provides descriptive statistics on the number of voters who registered abroad and their size relative to those registered in the country. Second, it analyzes participation rates, and third, it unpacks the results for the main political parties.



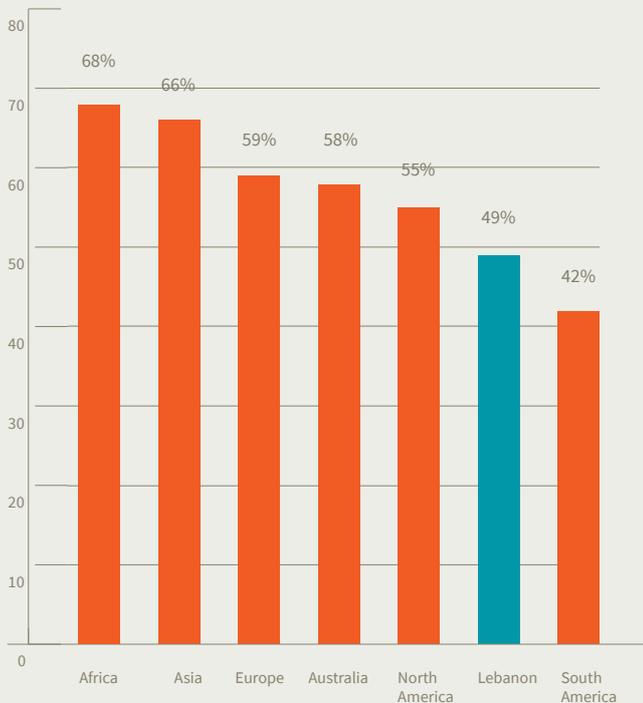
1. REGISTERED VOTERS AND PARTICIPATION RATES

Nearly **3,820,000 Lebanese** were registered to vote in the 2018 parliamentary elections:



Turnout rates among out-of-country (OCV) voters were higher than those among residents, with 59% of them participating in the elections (46,799) compared to 49% of residents (1,814,404). This difference in turnout is likely explained by the fact that OCV had to register to vote, while residents were automatically registered to do so. This also means that amongst OCV who actively expressed their will to participate in the elections, 41% ended up not doing so.

PARTICIPATION RATES BY CONTINENT (AMONG THOSE WHO REGISTERED TO VOTE)



HIGHEST TO LOWEST SHARE OF REGISTERED OCV ACROSS CONTINENTS

Europe had the largest share of registered OCV (nearly 25,000), who were mostly registered in France and Germany. It was followed by **North America** (the United States and Canada, around 22,000 registered voters), **Asia** (mostly in the Gulf, 13,000 registered voters), and **Australia** (11,000). The lowest numbers were registered in **Africa** (6,300) and **South America** (4,200).

The districts of origin of OCV in each continent varied. OCV who were resident of Europe and North America voted in a range of districts in Lebanon. For the other continents, some districts of origin stood out. Most of those residing in Australia originate from the districts of North 1, 2, and 3 (7,700 out of 11,000 residents in Australia). In Africa, they mostly come from the South districts (4,000 out of 6,300)—particularly South 2 and 3. In South America, most OCV originate from the Bekaa and North districts.²

2. The distribution by country, within each district, is presented later in the report.

Table 1: Distribution of voters by continent and Lebanese region of origin

	Beirut	Bekaa	Mount Lebanon	North	South	Total
Europe	4,886	2,517	5,989	2,964	7,768	24,124
North America	3,648	3,371	7,181	4,466	2,884	21,550
Asia	2,033	1,300	4,637	2,797	1,832	12,599
Australia	380	729	1,430	7,719	598	10,856
Africa	391	338	863	731	4,005	6,328
South America	207	1,309	639	1,031	997	4,183
Total abroad	11,545	9,564	20,739	19,708	18,084	79,640
Lebanon	483,583	635,005	850,579	882,769	888,286	3,740,222

2. RESULTS AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

Nearly 1,760,000 voters cast a preferential vote (1,715,315 in Lebanon and 43,753 abroad). Nationally, among both residents and OCV, the majority of votes went to the six main establishment parties. However, preferences varied across countries of residence.



* The smaller parties are considered to be those that won less than 2% of votes at the national level. These include, for example, Kataeb, Tashnag, the Ba'ath party, Syrian Social Nationalist Party, among others.

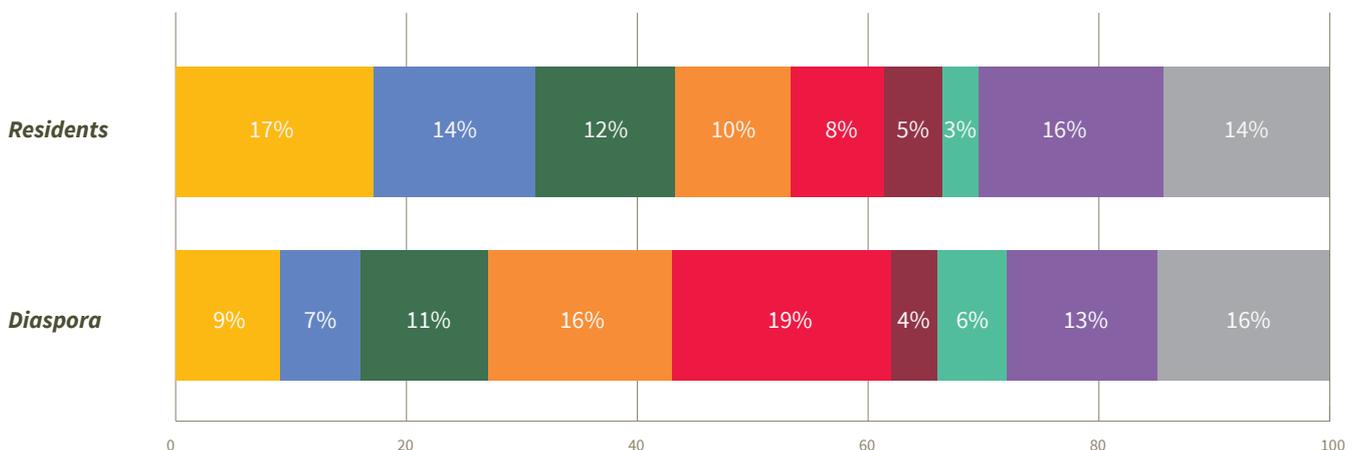
OBSERVATION

Hezbollah and FM, which were the two most successful parties, performed much better among resident voters than they did among OCV. Hezbollah candidates received 17% of votes in the country, compared to 9% abroad, and FM candidates received 14% in the country compared to 7% abroad.

By contrast, LF and FPM candidates were significantly more popular among the diaspora. 19% of OCV voted for LF and 16% voted for FPM (compared to 8% and 10%, respectively, of residents).

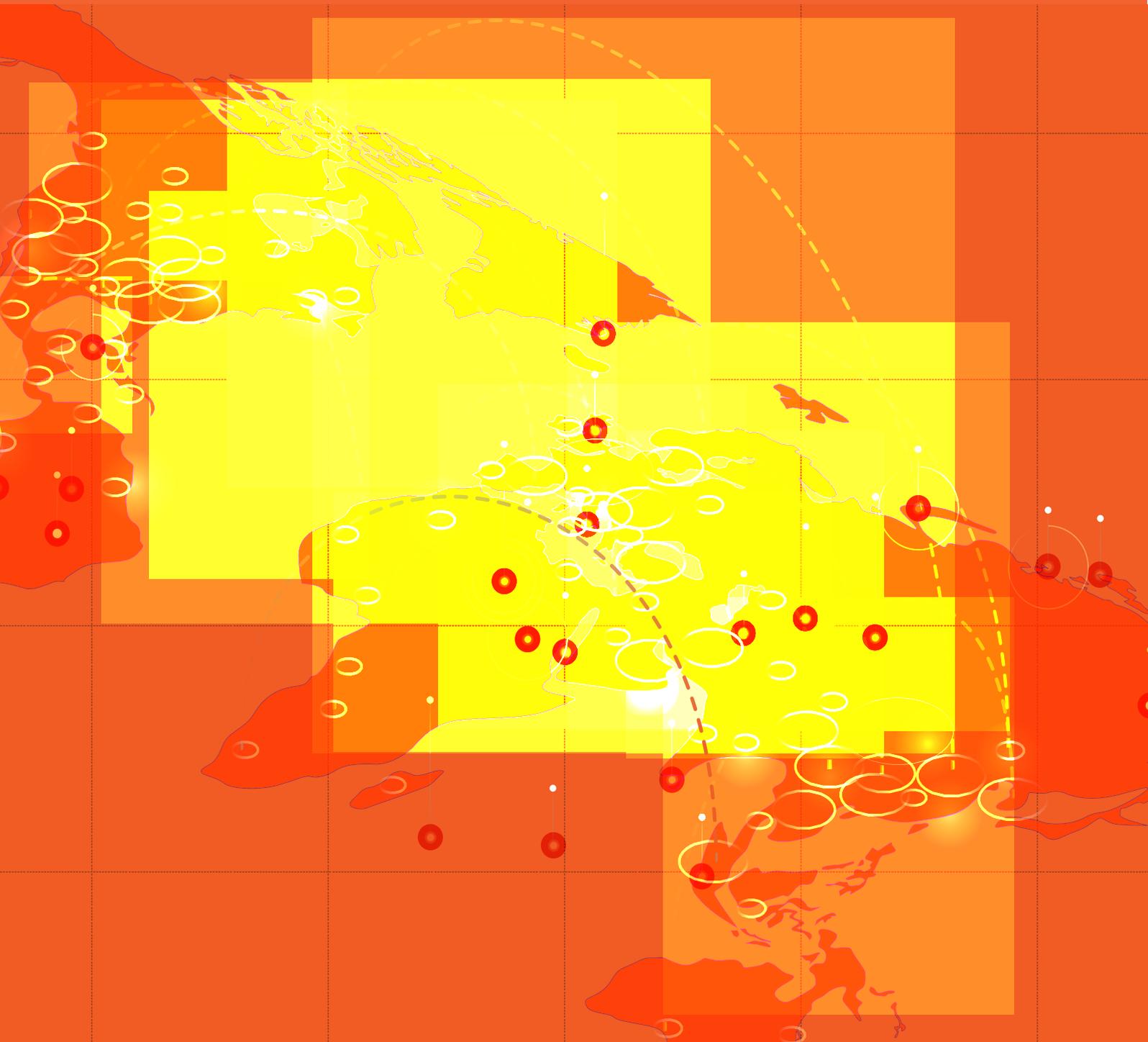
Amal and PSP received an only slightly lower share of OCV's votes (12% of residents and 11% of OCV voted for Amal, and 5% of residents and 4% of OCV voted for PSP). Other, smaller parties received a total of 14% of votes among residents and 16% among the diaspora, while independent candidates who ran on party-affiliated lists received a combined 16% of votes among residents and 13% among the diaspora. Finally, candidates on independent, anti-establishment lists won 3% of votes among residents, and 6% among OCV.

Figure 3: Percentage of votes for parties



> PART II

COUNTRY LEVEL ANALYSIS



CANADA

1. REGISTERED VOTERS AND TURNOUT

Canada was the country with the highest number of Lebanese who registered to vote. Nearly 11,200 Lebanese residing in Canada registered to vote, representing 14% of all OCV, and 60% of them voted (6,664), an only slightly higher rate than the OCV average.

The majority of registered voters were residents of Montreal, with high numbers in Toronto and Ottawa.

Table 2: Registered voters in Canada by city

	Registered voters	Voters	Turnout
Montreal	6,156	3,739	61%
Toronto	1,736	924	53%
Ottawa	1,466	967	66%
Edmonton	622	279	45%
Halifax	429	286	67%
Windsor	393	235	60%
Calgary	225	142	63%
Vancouver	154	92	60%
Total	11,181	6,664	60%



The majority of those registered in Canada originate from the Beirut, Bekaa, and Mount Lebanon electoral districts.

In both **Montreal and Toronto**, they mostly come from the districts of Beirut 1, Beirut 2, Zahle, Metn, and Chouf (between 5% and 10% each).

In **Ottawa**, the highest share originate from West Bekaa-Rachaya (21% of those residing in Ottawa), followed by Chouf, Aley, and Baalbek-Hermel.

The majority of those residing in **Edmonton and Calgary** originate from West Bekaa-Rachaya (56% and 53%, respectively).

In **Halifax**, most come from Akkar and Bcharre.

In **Windsor**, they mostly come from Bcharre and West Bekaa-Rachaya.

In **Vancouver**, most of them originate from Beirut 2, followed by West Bekaa-Rachaya.

Table 3: Number of voters by district and city in Canada

District	Montreal	Toronto	Ottawa	Edmonton	Halifax	Windsor	Calgary	Vancouver	Total
Beirut 1	577	228	26	2	2	1	3	10	849
Beirut 2	426	215	65	8	6	14	22	42	798
Zahle	585	140	0	55	5	25	15	8	833
West Bekaa Rachaya	126	91	302	346	7	61	120	25	1,078
Baalbek - Hermel	199	24	133	4	19	12	2	4	397
Jbeil	209	39	24	11	3	11	2	4	303
Keserwan	318	39	25	2	6	1	0	2	393
Metn	608	240	73	19	11	14	2	7	974
Baabda	388	96	87	26	5	15	20	0	637
Aley	220	0	110	36	6	16	18	0	406
Chouf	568	181	178	22	5	15	3	10	982
Akkar	389	51	51	3	104	6	2	3	609
Tripoli	211	51	34	1	8	6	4	8	323
Dannieh	26	1	6	0	5	1	0	0	39
Minnieh	34	1	7	0	2	0	0	0	44
Batroun	151	13	42	14	35	12	0	5	272
Bcharre	48	9	31	17	117	83	2	6	313
Koura	69	19	64	5	32	22	3	0	214
Zgharta	52	25	14	8	36	33	1	6	175
Saida	26	6	2	4	1	6	1	0	46
Jezzine	270	36	98	4	6	7	1	0	422
Sour	115	31	15	11	1	1	0	0	174
Zahrani	148	73	0	4	0	10	1	9	245
Bint Jbeil	123	39	12	9	2	8	2	0	195
Nabatiyeh	123	27	22	0	0	0	0	5	177
Marjaayoun - Hasbaya	147	61	45	11	5	13	1	0	283
Total	6,156	1,736	1,466	622	429	393	225	154	11,181

Some variations in turnouts was observed across districts: They were highest in Baalbek-Hermel, Jbeil, Keserwan, Chouf, Batroun, Bcharre, Koura, and Jezzine (over 65% in each).

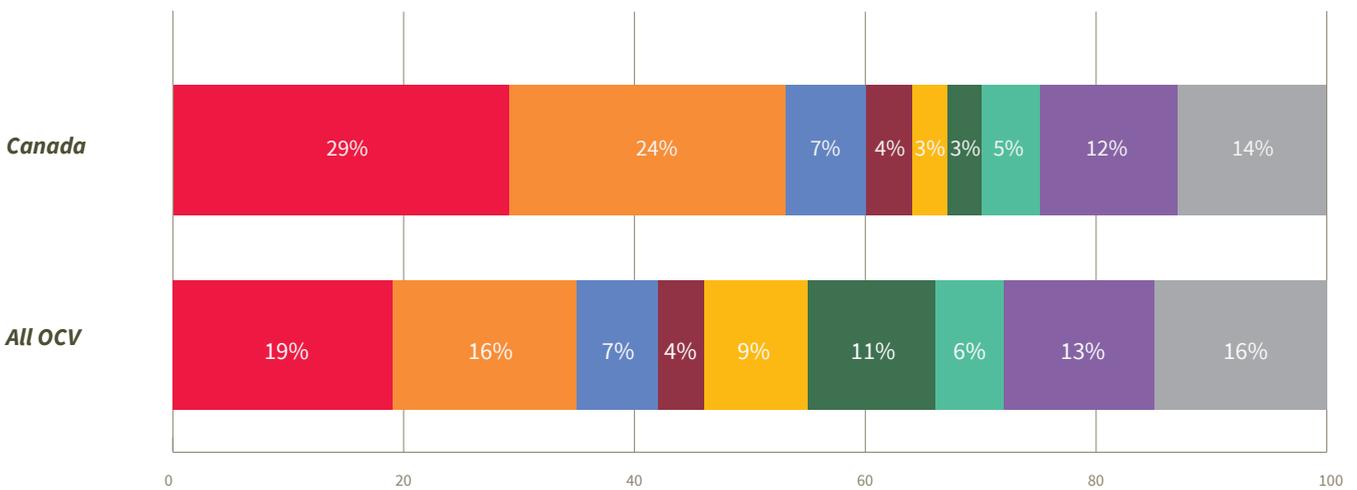
Table 4: Registered voters and turnout rates by district among residents of Canada

District	Registered Voters	Voters	Turnout	Turnout among all OCV
Beirut 1	849	485	57%	52%
Beirut 2	798	471	59%	54%
Zahle	833	489	59%	58%
West Bekaa - Rachaya	1,078	551	51%	54%
Baalbek - Hermel	397	261	66%	61%
Jbeil	303	216	71%	70%
Keserwan	393	265	67%	68%
Metn	974	586	60%	61%
Baabda	637	401	63%	60%
Aley	406	258	64%	60%
Chouf	982	644	66%	62%
Akkar	609	344	56%	54%
Tripoli	323	191	59%	53%
Dannieh	39	22	56%	55%
Minnieh	44	25	57%	48%
Batroun	272	180	66%	70%
Bcharre	313	203	65%	68%
Koura	214	141	66%	64%
Zgharta	175	110	63%	67%
Saida	46	18	39%	62%
Jezzine	422	284	67%	64%
Sour	174	72	41%	59%
Zahrani	245	108	44%	54%
Bint Jbeil	195	95	49%	52%
Nabatiyeh	177	75	42%	54%
Marjaayoun - Hasbaya	283	169	60%	54%
Total	11,181	6,664	60%	59%

2. RESULTS

In total, nearly 6,300 voters in Canada cast a preferential vote. Similar to the OCV average, the most popular party was LF (29%), followed by FPM (24%). However, both were significantly more successful in Canada than they were overall. FM and PSP’s share of votes in Canada was similar to the OCV average (7% and 4%, respectively), while Hezbollah and Amal barely received any votes (3% each). Tashnag and Kataeb obtained the largest share of the remaining votes (4% and 3%, respectively).

Figure 4: Percentage of votes for each party among Canadian OCV



RESULTS VARIED BY CITY, PARTLY EXPLAINED BY THE DISTRICT OF ORIGIN OF RESIDENTS IN EACH CITY.

LF candidates were the most popular in nearly all cities, and performed particularly well in Halifax and Windsor, where they obtained about half the votes, most of which came from voters originating from Bcharre—a traditional stronghold for the LF. In Montreal, Toronto, and Ottawa, LF and FPM received an almost equal share of votes (with the former performing slightly better). Toronto also saw a high share go to FM candidates (14%).

The most popular candidates there, however, were those from Tashnag (under “Other parties” category in table 5, 19% in Toronto), who ran in Beirut 1 and Metn. In Edmonton, PSP received the highest share of votes (31%), mostly driven by its good results in West Bekaa-Rachaya. In Calgary, FM was the most popular party (30%), and its votes also came mostly from voters originating from West Bekaa-Rachaya, showing that the preferences of those originating from the same district vary even outside of the country. Finally, in Vancouver, only 91 preferential votes were cast, and the candidates from Al-Ahbash (Beirut 2) and Ittihad (West Bekaa-Rachaya, both under “Other parties”) were the most popular.

- The Free Patriotic Movement (FPM) ■
- Lebanese Forces (LF) ■
- Hezbollah ■
- Amal ■
- Future Movement (FM) ■
- Progressive Socialist Party (PSP) ■
- Candidates on independent lists ■
- Independent candidates on party lists ■
- Other smaller parties* ■

AUSTRALIA

1. REGISTERED VOTERS AND TURNOUT

Nearly 11,000 Lebanese registered to vote in Australia, representing 14% of all OCV, and 58% of them voted (6,307), a slightly lower turnout rate than the OCV average. The majority of them were residents of Sydney (nearly 8,200), where participation rates were the highest (61%). Sydney was the only city where turnout was higher than the Australia average. Most of the remaining voters in Australia were in Melbourne (nearly 2,000), where turnouts were significantly lower (48%), with a few being in Perth, Brisbane, and Adelaide.

Table 6: Turnout rates in Australia

	Registered voters	Voters	Turnout
Sydney	8,186	5,011	61%
Melbourne	1,950	941	48%
Perth	317	166	52%
Brisbane	209	79	38%
Adelaide	194	110	57%
Total	10,856	6,307	58%



The majority of voters in Australia originate from the North 1, 2, and 3 electoral districts (around 7,700), and particularly from Zgharta (nearly 2,200 voters). Furthermore, between 30% and 45% of OCV originating from these three electoral districts were residents of Australia.

Turnout rates varied across districts. Compared to the Australia average, turnouts were higher among those originating from the North 3 districts of Batroun (70%), Bcharre (69%), Koura (62%),

and Zgharta (68%). By contrast, those from North 1 and North 2 voted much less (less than 50% in each of the districts). However, among those originating from the North, turnouts were much higher in Sydney than they were in Melbourne. In the other districts, while participation rates among those originating from Jbeil, Bint Jbeil, and Jezzine were highest, these represented a very low number of voters.

Table 7: Turnout by district among residents of Australia

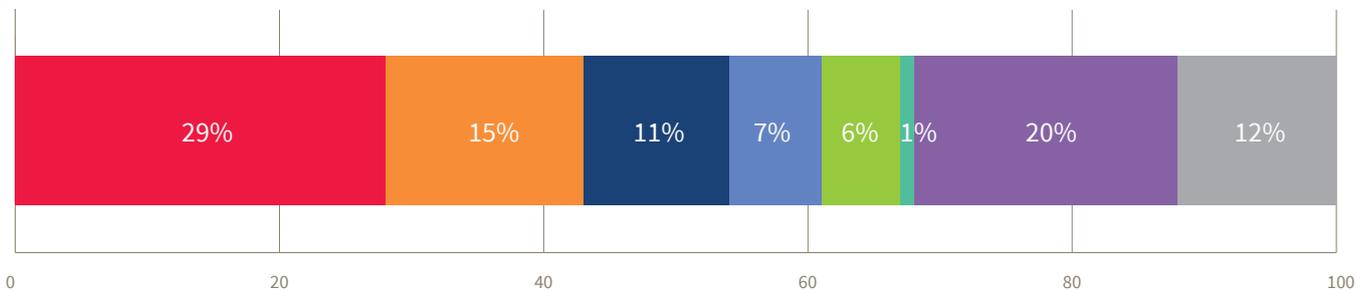
District	Registered Voters	Voters	Turnout	Turnout among all OCV
Beirut 1	125	52	42%	52%
Beirut 2	255	148	58%	54%
Zahle	380	223	59%	58%
West Bekaa - Rachaya	117	55	47%	54%
Baalbek - Hermel	232	137	59%	61%
Jbeil	49	44	90%	70%
Keserwan	32	22	69%	68%
Metn	251	107	43%	61%
Baabda	166	77	46%	60%
Aley	116	52	45%	60%
Chouf	816	458	56%	62%
Akkar	1,001	472	47%	54%
Tripoli	824	400	49%	53%
Dannieh	536	229	43%	55%
Minnieh	775	361	47%	48%
Batroun	930	648	70%	70%
Bcharre	821	563	69%	68%
Koura	649	403	62%	64%
Zgharta	2,183	1,489	68%	67%
Saida	13	4	31%	62%
Jezzine	90	67	74%	64%
Sour	61	31	51%	59%
Zahrani	98	33	34%	54%
Bint Jbeil	182	166	91%	52%
Nabatiyeh	55	27	49%	54%
Marjaayoun - Hasbaya	99	39	39%	54%
Total	10,856	6,307	58%	59%

2. RESULTS

Around 5,700 voters cast a preferential vote. Similar to the OCV average, LF was the most successful (28%), and was followed by FPM (15%). As the highest share of voters in Australia originate from Zgharta, the Independence Movement and Marada — two parties that are strong in Zgharta — received a significant amount of votes (11% and 6%, respectively). FM was the only other party that managed to win some votes (7%). Independent candidates running on party affiliated lists received as much as 20%. This was driven by their good results in the North 2 districts. Hezbollah, Amal, and PSP barely received any votes in Australia (3%, 1%, and 2%, respectively).



Figure 5: Percentage of votes for each party in Australia



THERE WERE VARIATIONS AT THE DISTRICT LEVEL, ALTHOUGH IN THE MAJORITY OF CASES, LF AND FPM WERE THE MOST SUCCESSFUL.

In Zgharta, most of the votes went to the Independence Movement (43%, 630 votes) and Marada (23%, 315 votes). The share received by the Independence Movement among Australian OCV from Zgharta was significantly higher than the share the party received among residents of Lebanon (25%) and the one it received among all OCV (32%). By contrast, residents of Lebanon from Zgharta voted significantly more for Marada (55%), which also received better results among all OCV (34%) than it did among those in Australia.

In Akkar and Minnieh, FM candidates were the most successful (27%, 119 votes in Akkar, and 50%, 163 votes in Minnieh), and in fact, the vast majority of votes the party received in Australia came from voters originating from these two districts. Among voters originating from Akkar, the share of votes FM received in Australia was higher than the OCV average (19%), however, residents of Lebanon voted significantly more for the party (49%).

Among voters originating from Tripoli, independent candidate Taha Naji, who ran with Faisal Karami, outranked all other candidates receiving 56% of preferential votes (210 votes), compared to the 5% he won among residents of Lebanon. While Naji ranked first when counting all the diaspora votes, most of his votes from the diaspora came from Australia.

Across cities in Australia, as most votes were cast in Sydney, the majority of votes received by each party came from Sydney residents.

LF performed much better than the other parties in Sydney, Brisbane, and Adelaide. In Melbourne and Perth, FM candidates obtained their best results. Perth also saw a high share of votes go to Hezbollah and Amal (under “Other parties”).

THE UNITED STATES

1. REGISTERED VOTERS AND TURNOUT

Nearly 10,400 Lebanese residing in the United States registered to vote, representing 13% of all the registered Lebanese diaspora. Only 50% of them voted (5,223 voters), a much lower rate than the OCV average (59%), and an only slightly higher one than the one among residents of Lebanon (49%).

Within the US, most Lebanese were in California, followed by Massachusetts, Michigan, and Illinois. Participation rates largely differed by state. Over 60% of residents of Massachusetts, Texas, Ohio, and Minnesota voted, while less than 45% of those in Michigan, Illinois, and Oregon did so.

Table 9: Registered voters and turnout by state in the US

	Registered voters	Voters	Turnout
California	2,144	1,066	50%
Massachusetts	1,301	867	67%
Michigan	1,184	515	43%
Illinois	1,112	185	17%
Texas	759	456	60%
Washington DC	670	370	55%
New York	668	339	51%
Florida	536	302	56%
Ohio	453	273	60%
Wisconsin	432	254	59%
Pennsylvania	251	125	50%
Arizona	241	136	56%
Georgia	205	112	55%
Oregon	173	53	31%
Minnesota	138	111	80%
Connecticut	102	59	58%
Total	10,369	5,223	50%

While the diaspora in the US did not originate from one specific district, a sizeable share of OCV originating from Beirut 1, Jbeil, Batroun, and Koura were residents of the US (over 20% in each district).

Even across districts, turnout rates in the US were, in most cases, significantly lower than the OCV average in each district. The exceptions were OCV from West Bekaa-Rachaya, Batroun, Bcharre, and Koura, who had higher participation rates in the US.

While turnout rates among those from Jbeil and Keserwan were high, they were slightly lower than the OCV average in each district. Voters from the districts of Beirut 1 and 2, North 2 (Tripoli, Dannieh, and Minnieh), South 2 (Sour and Zahrani), and South 3 (Bint Jbeil, Nabatiyeh, Marjaayoun-Hasbaya) had significantly low turnout rates.

Table 10: Number of voters and turnout rates in the US by district of origin

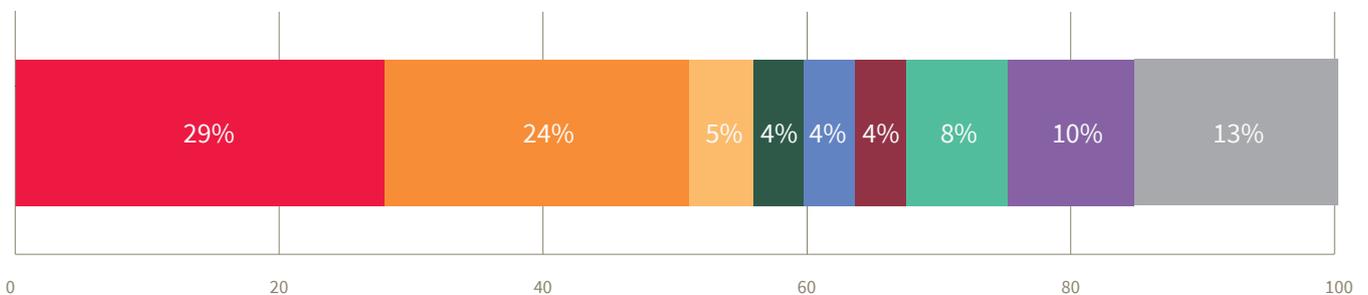
District	Registered Voters	Voters	Turnout	Turnout among all OCV
Beirut 1	1,009	351	35%	52%
Beirut 2	992	288	29%	54%
Zahle	490	266	54%	58%
West Bekaa - Rachaya	355	211	59%	54%
Baalbek - Hermel	218	126	58%	61%
Jbeil	410	277	68%	70%
Keserwan	385	250	65%	68%
Metn	797	436	55%	61%
Baabda	683	382	56%	60%
Aley	567	291	51%	60%
Chouf	644	336	52%	62%
Akkar	216	115	53%	54%
Tripoli	199	85	43%	53%
Dannieh	30	9	30%	55%
Minnieh	27	9	33%	48%
Batroun	743	538	72%	70%
Bcharre	64	47	73%	68%
Koura	700	469	67%	64%
Zgharta	498	261	52%	67%
Saida	67	33	49%	62%
Jezzine	263	154	59%	64%
Sour	182	35	19%	59%
Zahrani	243	72	30%	54%
Bint Jbeil	351	91	26%	52%
Nabatiyeh	65	22	34%	54%
Marjaayoun - Hasbaya	171	69	40%	54%
Total	10,369	5,223	50%	59%

2. RESULTS

Nearly 4,900 voters in the US cast a preferential vote. The most popular parties, similar to the OCV average, were LF and FPM (29% and 24%, respectively). Both parties received a much higher share of votes in the US than they did among all OCV or among residents of Lebanon. Tashnag, Kataeb, FM, and PSP followed. Tashnag and Kataeb candidates performed much better in the US than they did overall (5% and 4% of votes, respectively), while FM’s share was lower than its OCV average (4%), and PSP’s was similar (4%). Hezbollah and Amal candidates barely received any votes in the US (1% and 2%, respectively).



Figure 6: Percentage of votes for parties among US residents



VOTES VARIED BY STATE, PARTLY DEPENDING ON THE DISTRICT OF ORIGIN OF EACH STATE’S RESIDENTS, ALTHOUGH LF RANKED FIRST IN NEARLY ALL OF THEM.

In California, the highest share of votes was received by Tashnag candidates—explained by the high share of voters originating from Beirut 1 and Metn, many of whom are from the Armenian community where the Tashnag party is strong. California voters originating from other districts generally had more fragmented votes, mostly between LF and FM, with the exception of those from Beirut 2 who voted mostly for FM, and those from Baabda and Chouf, who gave a high share to PSP. In Massachusetts, LF was the most popular by far, and most of its votes came from those originating from Koura. Among these same voters (those in Massachusetts from Koura), SSNP ranked second with an only slightly lower number of votes than LF (98 votes, compared to 108 votes for LF). The state saw the second highest share of votes go to FPM, and the majority of its votes came from the Mount Lebanon districts as well as its other stronghold of Jezzine.

In Michigan, LF was the most popular party but was followed by Amal, which barely won any votes in other states (78 of Amal’s votes came from Michigan, out of the 108 it received in the US). The majority of Amal’s votes in Michigan came from voters originating from West Bekaa-Rachaya and Bint Jbeil. The most popular candidate in West Bekaa, however, was Ali Sobh who ran on the independent list (59 votes in Michigan, compared to the 28 received by the Amal candidate).

Table 11: Votes for parties by state

	California	Massachusetts	Michigan	Illinois	Texas	Washington DC	New York	Florida	Ohio	Wisconsin	Pennsylvania	Arizona	Georgia	Oregon	Minnesota	Connecticut	Total
Number of votes																	
LF	199	330	90	79	165	69	81	71	86	99	30	34	45	2	23	7	1,410
FPM	165	218	38	40	129	93	76	103	83	67	36	34	17	12	28	17	1,156
Tashnag	215	19	9	0	0	1	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	249
Kataeb	43	19	11	10	20	9	12	6	15	8	5	11	7	3	27	3	209
FM	38	5	24	2	28	17	16	5	11	13	0	0	4	7	2	4	176
PSP	70	16	8	1	6	26	3	13	3	6	0	3	6	8	0	6	175
Amal	5	6	78	0	3	7	3	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	2	108
Hezbollah	2	1	22	2	0	3	0	4	1	1	0	10	0	0	1	0	47
Candidates on independent lists	61	34	71	5	29	48	72	18	8	10	5	3	14	4	4	3	389
Independent candidates on party lists	122	49	54	18	34	48	30	40	10	12	12	15	8	14	20	7	493
Other parties	65	143	67	21	23	24	21	15	16	22	32	15	6	1	6	7	484
Total	985	840	472	178	437	345	318	276	233	241	120	125	108	51	111	56	4,896

FRANCE

1. REGISTERED VOTERS AND TURNOUT

Slightly less than 8,700 Lebanese voters were registered in France, representing 11% of OCV, and 58% of them voted (5,074 voters). The majority were residents of Paris and its suburbs (over 5,000 of the registered voters).³ Most of the remaining were in Nice, Marseille, and Lyon. Turnout rates were highest in the Occitanie region, in the cities of Toulouse and Montpellier (73% and 67%), followed by the municipalities of Paris and Courbevoie (67% and 66%). They were significantly lower in Nice (22%), Nantes, Tours, and Strasbourg (less than 45% in each).

Table 12: Registered voters and turnout by city in France

	Registered voters	Voters	Turnout
Paris	3,168	2,134	67%
Boulogne - Billancourt (Paris suburb)	826	479	58%
Neuilly-sur-Seine (Paris suburb)	821	494	60%
Courbevoie (Paris suburb)	570	377	66%
Nice	563	126	22%
Marseille	433	224	52%
Lyon	672	399	59%
Amiens	195	101	52%
Lille	188	110	59%
Strasbourg	173	78	45%
Metz	151	79	52%
Toulouse	170	124	73%
Montpellier	142	95	67%
Tours	241	85	35%
Nantes	222	80	36%
Bordeaux	144	89	62%
Total	8,679	5,074	58%

³ Those originating from Beirut were registered in the municipality of Neuilly-sur-Seine. Those originating from the Mount Lebanon and North districts were registered in the municipality of Paris. Those from the South districts were registered in Boulogne-Billancourt, and those from the Bekaa were registered in Courbevoie.

Across districts, the majority of Lebanese voters in France originate from the Beirut and Mount Lebanon regions (nearly 5,000 combined). A particularly high share of them originate from Jbeil, Keserwan, Metn, and Jezzine (around 20% of voters each).

Participation rates varied depending on the district of origin. They were high in Beirut 1, Zahle, Jezzine, the Mount Lebanon districts of Jbeil, Keserwan, and Metn, as well as the districts in the North region. By contrast, they were much lower than the average among voters originating from Beirut 2, and the South districts of Sour, Zahrani, and Bint Jbeil.

Table 13: Registered voters and turnout rates in France by district of origin

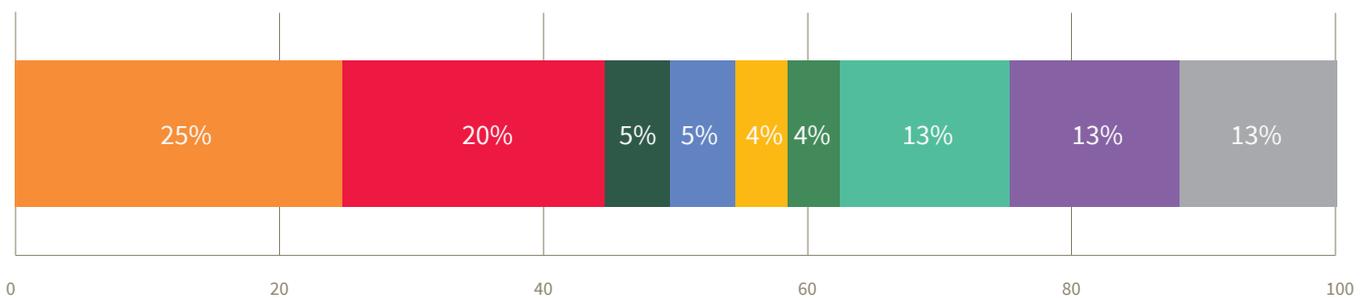
District	Registered Voters	Voters	Turnout	Turnout among all OCV
Beirut 1	571	367	64%	52%
Beirut 2	983	342	35%	54%
Zahle	412	276	67%	58%
West Bekaa - Rachaya	136	82	60%	54%
Baalbek - Hermel	337	198	59%	61%
Jbeil	395	266	67%	70%
Keserwan	450	311	69%	68%
Metn	866	562	65%	61%
Baabda	615	358	58%	60%
Aley	341	208	61%	60%
Chouf	670	380	57%	62%
Akkar	393	260	66%	54%
Tripoli	315	177	56%	53%
Dannieh	44	28	64%	55%
Minnieh	23	18	78%	48%
Batroun	300	211	70%	70%
Bcharre	103	60	58%	68%
Koura	133	90	68%	64%
Zgharta	163	107	66%	67%
Saida	58	30	52%	62%
Jezzine	349	227	65%	64%
Sour	184	82	45%	59%
Zahrani	181	83	46%	54%
Bint Jbeil	230	102	44%	52%
Nabatiyeh	232	129	56%	54%
Marjaayoun - Hasbaya	195	120	62%	54%
Total	8,679	5,074	58%	59%

2. RESULTS

A total of 4,685 Lebanese residing in France cast a preferential vote. FPM was the most popular party, and received a much higher share of votes in France than it did among all OCV in the aggregate (25% compared to 19%). LF was the second party in France, and its share of votes was only slightly higher than the OCV average (20% compared to 19%). Kataeb, FM, Hezbollah, and Amal followed with between 4% and 5% each. While Kataeb performed better in France than it did in other countries, FM, Hezbollah, and Amal received a much lower share of votes. One notable finding was that candidates running on independent, anti-establishment lists were significantly more successful in France (13%) than they were among all OCV (6%) and residents of Lebanon (3%). Overall, around 20% of the diaspora votes received by FPM, Kataeb, and candidates on independent lists came from French residents only.



Figure 7: Percentage of votes for parties in France



BY DISTRICT OF ORIGIN, FPM AND LF OBTAINED HIGH SUPPORT FROM FRENCH RESIDENTS IN NEARLY ALL THE DISTRICTS THEY RAN IN, AND IN PARTICULAR THE CHRISTIAN-MAJORITY ONES. THE THIRD BIGGEST CHRISTIAN PARTY, KATAEB, RECEIVED A SIZEABLE SHARE OF VOTES, AND PARTICULARLY AMONG FRENCH RESIDENTS ORIGINATING FROM METN, THE PARTY'S STRONGHOLD.

Support for Hezbollah, Amal, and FM was much lower among French residents than it was among those who voted from Lebanon. Although Hezbollah and Amal obtained a combined majority of votes cast from France in their strongholds of Sour, Bint Jbeil, and Nabatiyeh, their performance among in-country voters was significantly better (over 80% of votes in all three districts). In the other Hezbollah-Amal strongholds of Zahrani, Baalbek, and Marjaayoun-Hasbaya, the parties performed particularly worse among OCV in France, as they faced competition from an FPM-backed candidate in Zahrani, an LF candidate in Baalbek, and candidates from each of the two parties in Marjaayoun-Hasbaya. As for FM, it was successful in its stronghold of Saida as well as Beirut 2, but much less so in Tripoli, where other politicians received support. Furthermore, PSP barely received any votes in France (under "Other parties" in the table below). It was however successful among those originating from Chouf, the party's stronghold.

Some candidates from smaller parties were successful in certain districts.

In **Beirut 2**, Adnan Traboulsi (Al-Ahbash) was the most popular candidate among OCV in France (64 votes).

In the **northern district of Zgharta**, Marada won the majority of French residents' votes, with the second highest share going to the Independence Movement (31 votes and 24 votes, respectively, totaling a combined 58%).

In **Koura**, SSNP received some support (12% of French residents' votes, although that is only equivalent to 11 votes).

In **Tripoli, Minnieh, and Dannieh**, most of the candidates were independent politicians part of the establishment and those running on their electoral lists. Focusing on the former district (as only 15 French resident voters were registered in Minnieh, and 25 in Dannieh), popular candidates were Najib Mikati, Achraf Rifi, Faisal Karami, and Taha Naji, who each received a higher number of votes than any candidate from FM.

Independent anti-establishment lists, that ran in all districts but Saida, Jezzine, Sour, and Zahrani, performed much better among French residents, receiving in all cases a higher share of their votes compared to residents of Lebanon's votes. They received their highest share of votes among French residents originating from Beirut 1, Metn, Chouf, and Tripoli.

Table 14: Votes for parties in France by district of origin

District	FPM	LF	Kataeb	FM	Hezbollah	Amal	Candidates on independent lists	Independent candidates on party lists	Other parties
Beirut 1	57	47	45	-	-	-	85	58	59
Beirut 2	17	-	-	86	22	10	40	30	95
Zahle	50	109	7	1	12	-	15	51	21
West Bekaa Rachaya	18	-	-	20	-	5	19	1	15
Baalbek - Hermel	19	72	1	11	15	5	14	43	7
Jbeil	126	72	-	-	13	-	15	32	-
Keserwan	135	53	14	-	-	-	21	75	-
Metn	173	80	114	-	-	-	79	34	45
Baabda	108	131	21	-	13	4	41	14	8
Aley	71	45	11	-	-	-	35	30	6
Chouf	71	70	3	17	-	-	68	14	103
Akkar	94	60	-	33	-	-	16	24	15
Tripoli	6	-	-	21	-	-	42	68	33
Dannieh	-	-	-	4	-	-	8	13	-
Minnieh	-	-	-	3	-	-	2	10	-
Batroun	90	43	14	-	-	-	24	15	-
Bcharre	-	39	-	-	-	-	3	9	-
Koura	19	28	3	-	-	-	13	6	20
Zgharta	9	19	1	-	-	-	11	0	55
Saida	-	-	-	11	-	-	-	8	7
Jezzine	113	49	10	-	-	36	-	2	-
Sour	-	-	-	-	24	24	-	16	7
Zahrani	-	-	-	-	-	43	-	32	-
Bint Jbeil	-	-	-	-	35	12	13	18	6
Nabatiyeh	-	-	-	-	36	22	16	11	11
Marjaayoun - Hasbaya	10	17	-	9	19	10	10	2	26
Total	1,186	934	244	216	189	171	590	616	539

Across cities in France, **in Paris and its suburbs**, FPM won the highest share of votes in the municipality of Paris, where all registered voters originated from the Mount Lebanon and North districts. It was followed by LF and Kataeb. The three parties were the most popular among those from all districts with the exception of Chouf, where PSP performed best, and the North 2 districts, where the votes went to FM and other local politicians.

In **Boulogne-Billancourt**, which was where voters from the South electoral districts voted, Amal received the highest share of votes, and Hezbollah was also successful.

In **Neuilly-sur-Seine**, where voters from Beirut were registered, candidates on independent lists were highly successful, particularly in Beirut 1, while FM performed better among those from Beirut 2.

Finally, in **Courbevoie**, where Bekaa voters were registered, LF candidates received much better results than the others, reflecting the party's success among Christian voters in Lebanon.

FPM ranked first in all other cities but Toulouse, where LF won a few more votes.

Table 15: Number of votes for parties by city in France

	Paris	Boulogne-Billancourt	Neuilly-sur-Seine	Courbevoie	Nice	Marseille	Lyon	Amiens	Lille	Strasbourg	Metz	Toulouse	Montpellier	Tours	Nantes	Bordeaux	Total
Number of votes																	
FPM	625	88	52	54	37	58	99	23	28	12	11	17	13	25	18	26	1,186
LF	475	56	37	137	12	28	74	14	16	5	11	21	5	21	8	14	934
Kataeb	134	5	39	6	8	4	18	7	7	1	0	6	2	2	1	4	244
FM	41	7	59	29	8	11	8	6	5	6	2	10	9	3	5	7	216
Hezbollah	14	69	15	16	1	14	12	3	5	5	9	9	9	2	4	2	189
Amal	1	90	7	5	1	10	14	1	5	9	5	7	5	3	4	4	171
Candidates on independent lists	290	29	105	35	5	15	43	9	11	3	6	18	8	2	6	5	590
Independent candidates on party lists	227	52	75	62	10	16	50	18	16	17	12	19	13	11	8	10	616
Other parties	189	29	67	21	25	52	43	10	8	13	12	7	27	7	17	12	539

GERMANY

1. REGISTERED VOTERS AND TURNOUT

Around 7,500 Lebanese residing in Germany registered to vote in the elections, representing 9% of all OCV, and 60% of them voted (4,489). The majority of them were in Berlin and Düsseldorf (around 2,700 and 1,700, respectively). Turnout rates varied across cities, but in all cases, the majority of registered voters voted. They were highest in Frankfurt and Saarbrücken (above 70%), and much lower than Germany's average in Düsseldorf, Bremen, and Freiburg im Breisgau (51%-52%).

Table 16: Registered voters and turnout by city in Germany

	Registered voters	Voters	Turnout
Berlin	2,660	1,734	65%
Düsseldorf	1,744	913	52%
Hanover	882	513	58%
Bremen	780	400	51%
Hamburg	488	308	63%
Freiburg im Breisgau	410	208	51%
Saarbrücken	293	208	71%
Frankfurt	254	205	81%
Total	7,511	4,489	60%

The majority of voters who registered in Germany originate from the South Lebanon and Nabatiyeh regions, and more specifically the electoral districts of South 2 (Sour and Zahrani) and South 3 (Bint Jbeil, Nabatiyeh, and Marjaayoun-Hasbaya). In other words, most of the German diaspora that registered to vote originate from Shia majority districts. Beirut 2, another district with a sizeable Shia population, also had high numbers of voters registered in Germany. In addition, between 20% and 30% of all OCV originating from the South 2, South 3, and Beirut 2 districts were residents of Germany.

Table 17: Registered voters and turnout in Germany by district of origin

District	Registered Voters	Voters	Turnout	Turnout among all OCV
Beirut 1	105	50	48%	52%
Beirut 2	1,714	1,203	70%	54%
Zahle	125	64	51%	58%
West Bekaa - Rachaya	51	33	65%	54%
Baalbek - Hermel	425	265	62%	61%
Jbeil	101	62	61%	70%
Keserwan	11	8	73%	68%
Metn	50	26	52%	61%
Baabda	190	97	51%	60%
Aley	25	11	44%	60%
Chouf	63	32	51%	62%
Akkar	85	40	47%	54%
Tripoli	126	72	57%	53%
Dannieh	10	6	60%	55%
Minnieh	28	9	32%	48%
Batroun	15	12	80%	70%
Bcharre	1	1	100%	68%
Koura	13	11	85%	64%
Zgharta	8	7	88%	67%
Saida	23	15	65%	62%
Jezzine	43	29	67%	64%
Sour	1,421	828	58%	59%
Zahrani	927	577	62%	54%
Bint Jbeil	720	364	51%	52%
Nabatiyeh	569	317	56%	54%
Marjaayoun - Hasbaya	662	350	53%	54%
Total	7,511	4,489	60%	59%

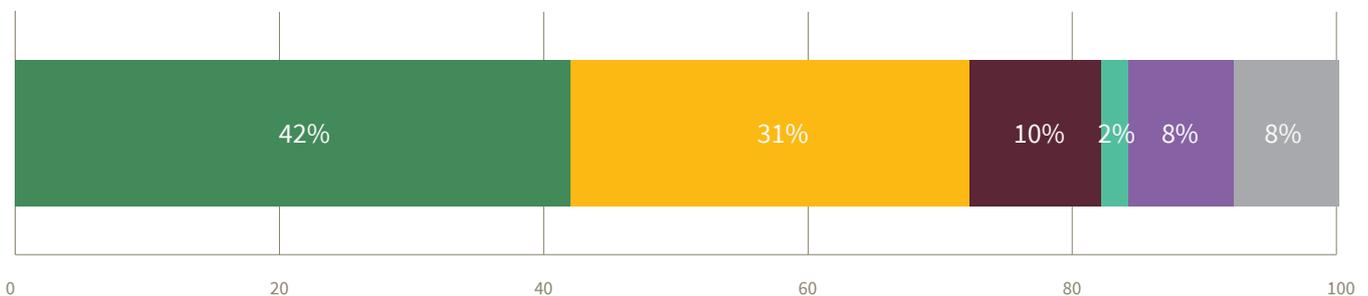
2. RESULTS

Amal and Hezbollah received most of the votes in Germany—possibly driven by the high share of Shia voters in the country, who also voted mostly for the two parties. Out of the 4,230 preferential votes cast, 42% went to Amal and 31% went to Hezbollah candidates. These shares are significantly higher than those the parties obtained among all OCV (11% for Amal and 9% for Hezbollah), and those the parties obtained among residents of Lebanon (12% for Amal and 17% for Hezbollah). The two parties outperformed all others among German voters in nearly all districts. The only other party that obtained a significant share of votes was Al-Ahbash (10%). Over one third of the diaspora votes received by Amal, Hezbollah, and Al-Ahbash, came from residents of Germany.

The other main traditional parties, FM, LF, FPM, and PSP, won a combined 6% (representing 253 votes only), while candidates on independent anti-establishment lists obtained 2% (68 votes), much lower than the 6% they won among all the diaspora. Most of the remaining votes therefore went to independent candidates on party-affiliated lists (8%).



Figure 8: Percentage of votes for parties in Germany



AT THE REGIONAL LEVEL, AMAL AND HEZBOLLAH OUTPERFORMED THE OTHER PARTIES IN NEARLY ALL DISTRICTS. HOWEVER, OTHER PARTIES RECEIVED A HIGH NUMBER OF VOTES IN BEIRUT 2.

This was driven by support for Al-Ahbash candidate Adnan Traboulsi, who won a seat in the district and ranked second among German voters registered there (409 votes).⁵ Additionally, independent candidates running on party-affiliated lists were successful in Beirut 2 and Baalbek, driven by the popularity of Ali Chaer in the former district and Jamil al Sayyed in the latter. Chaer ran on the FM list as a Shia candidate in Beirut 2, and outperformed all candidates in his list among the German diaspora; and al Sayyed ran on the Hezbollah-Amal list in Baalbek, and ranked first among German voters in the district.⁶ Candidates on independent lists received only 68 votes among German OCV, the highest share of which came from Beirut 1 and 2 (18 and 10 votes, respectively).

Most preferential votes were cast in Berlin and Düsseldorf. In Berlin, Amal received more votes than Hezbollah, however, the Hezbollah candidate performed better in Beirut 2, Amal received more votes among those originating from Sour and Zahrani. In Düsseldorf, where most voters came from Beirut 2, Adnan Traboulsi outperformed the other candidates by far. This was also the case among Beirut 2 voters in Hanover and Bremen, while Amal received much more votes among those in these cities originating from South 2 and 3.

5. Traboulsi performed well among all OCV originating from Beirut 2, receiving nearly 950 votes among OCV (representing 24% of their votes).

6. Chaer won a total of 132 votes among OCV, 98 of which came from Germany. As for al Sayyed, he won 318 votes among OCV, 93 of which came from Germany.

Table 18: Votes for parties in Germany by district of origin

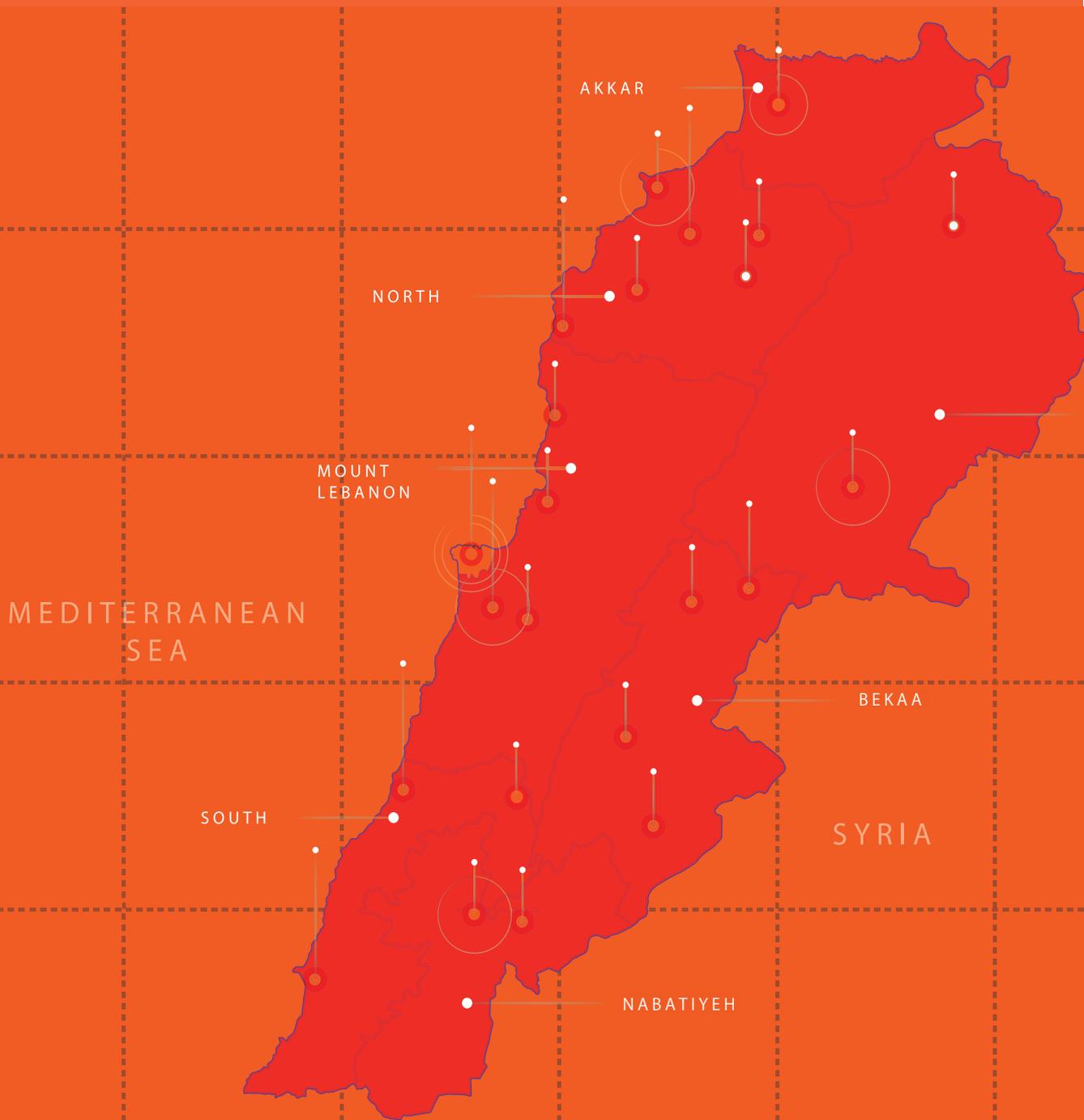
District	Amal	Hezbollah	FM	LF	FPM	PSP	Candidates on independent lists	Independent candidates on party lists	Other parties
Beirut 1	-	-	-	1	3	-	18	24	2
Beirut 2	181	429	24	-	1	1	10	112	409
Zahle	-	27	8	21	1	-	2	1	3
West Bekaa Rachaya	27	-	0	-	0	1	2	0	2
Baalbek - Hermel	83	31	5	12	2	-	3	109	11
Jbeil	-	41	-	12	3	-	0	3	0
Keserwan	-	-	-	1	3	-	1	0	0
Metn	-	-	-	2	2	-	7	8	3
Baabda	13	44	-	9	11	9	3	5	0
Aley	-	-	-	2	1	1	1	1	0
Chouf	-	-	2	7	2	9	5	1	3
Akkar	-	-	13	10	7	-	2	3	1
Tripoli	-	-	20	-	0	-	6	31	10
Dannieh	-	-	3	-	-	-	0	3	0
Minnieh	-	-	7	-	-	-	1	1	0
Batroun	-	-	-	2	6	-	1	2	0
Bcharre	-	-	-	1	-	-	0	0	0
Koura	-	-	-	3	1	-	2	2	3
Zgharta	-	-	-	3	1	-	0	0	3
Saida	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	0	9
Jezzine	17			0	11	-	-	0	0
Sour	495	284	-	-	-	-	-	4	7
Zahrani	532	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	0
Bint Jbeil	145	191	-	-	-	-	2	2	1
Nabatiyeh	128	131	-	-	-	-	2	3	2
Marjaayoun - Hasbaya	172	122	6	0	0	-	0	1	24
Total	1,793	1,300	91	86	55	21	68	323	493

Table 19: Votes for parties by city in Germany

	Berlin	Düsseldorf	Hanover	Bremen	Hamburg	Freiburg im Breisgau	Saarbrücken	Frankfurt	Total
Number of votes									
Amal	803	259	204	153	109	110	93	62	1,793
Hezbollah	523	286	160	91	73	54	97	16	1,300
Al-Ahbash	98	140	63	45	26	4	1	34	411
FM	20	30	8	2	21	5	0	5	91
LF	22	23	7	0	4	1	3	26	86
FPM	10	12	10	12	0	0	4	7	55
PSP	5	5	4	1	0	1	0	5	21
Candidates on independent lists	21	14	3	3	8	6	0	13	68
Independent candidates on party lists	135	78	15	50	19	9	1	16	323
Other parties	19	16	7	16	7	6	3	8	82

> PART III

DISTRICT LEVEL ANALYSIS



I. Beirut 1

1. REGISTERED VOTERS AND TURNOUT

Nearly 138,000 voters were registered in Beirut 1: 134,003 were registered in Lebanon, and 3,730 registered out of the country. Most of them were residents of the US (1,009), followed by Canada (849) and France (571).

While Beirut 1 was the district with the lowest participation rates, they were much higher among OCV (52% compared to 32% among residents of Lebanon). Among the three main countries, France had the highest turnout (64%), followed by Canada (57%), while turnouts in the US were significantly lower (35%). One other country with a high number of voters originating from Beirut 1, the UAE, had high participation rates (67%).

Table 20: Registered voters and turnout in Beirut 1

	Registered voters	Voters	Turnout
Residents	134,003	42,775	32%
Diaspora	3,730	1,939	52%
Total	137,733	44,714	32%

2. RESULTS

FIVE ELECTORAL LISTS RAN AND THREE OF THEM WON SEATS:

- The list formed by FPM and Tashnag: 42% of votes and four seats;
- The list formed by LF and Kataeb: 39% and three seats; and
- Kulluna Watani: 16% and one seat.

Nearly 1,900 OCV from Beirut 1 voted for a list, representing 4% of the total votes for lists in the district. In- and OCV showed support for the same lists. However, FPM-Tashnag received a particularly higher share of OCV's votes (47% compared to 42% of residents' votes), and the LF-Kataeb list a lower one (33% compared to 39%).

By party rather than list, Tashnag was the most popular, among OCV, followed by LF.

OCV voted much less for non-party members on both the FPM-Tashnag and LF-Kataeb lists, such as Massoud Achkar on the FPM-Tashnag list (who was among the most popular candidates among residents in Lebanon), and Michel Pharaon and Jean Talouzian on the LF-Kataeb list (who, similarly, were among the most popular among residents). The preferred candidate for OCV was Imad Wakim (LF), followed by Nicolas Sehnaoui (FPM), Hagop Terzian (Tashnag), and Nadim Gemayel (Kataeb, between 10% and 15% of their preferential votes each).

Table 21: Votes for lists in Beirut 1

Party	Number of votes			Percentage of votes		
	Residents	Diaspora	Total	Residents	Diaspora	Total
FPM-Tashnag	17,491	882	18,373	42%	47%	42%
LF-Kataeb	16,147	625	16,772	39%	33%	39%
Kulluna Watani	6,497	345	6,842	16%	18%	16%
We Are Beirut	1,234	38	1,272	3%	2%	3%
Loyalty to Beirut	92	2	94	0%	0%	0%
Total list votes	41,461	1,892	43,353	100%	100%	100%

Table 22: Votes for parties in Beirut 1

List	Party	Number of votes			Percentage of votes		
		Residents	Diaspora	Total	Residents	Diaspora	Total
FPM-Tashnag	FPM	5,058	269	5,327	12%	15%	13%
	Tashnag	6,146	398	6,544	15%	22%	15%
	Others on list	5,994	185	6,179	15%	10%	15%
LF-Kataeb	LF	4,068	296	4,364	10%	16%	10%
	Kataeb	3,898	198	4,096	10%	11%	10%
	Others on list	7,846	118	7,964	19%	6%	19%
Kulluna Watani		6,366	332	6,698	16%	18%	16%
We Are Beirut		1,210	37	1,247	3%	2%	3%
Loyalty to Beirut		83	0	83	0%	0%	0%
Total		40,669	1,833	42,502	100%	100%	100%

II. Beirut 2

1. REGISTERED VOTERS AND TURNOUT

Nearly 358,000 voters were registered in the district of Beirut 2: 349,580 were registered in Lebanon, and 7,815 registered abroad across 39 different countries. Most of them were residents of Germany (1,714 registered voters, among whom 1,203 voted), followed by the US (992 registered, 288 voted), and France (983 registered, 342 voted), Canada (798 registered, 471 voted), the UAE (590 registered, 334 voted), and Saudi Arabia (539 registered, 334 voted).

The total turnout rate in Beirut 2 was 41%, and much higher among the diaspora (54%). Among the countries that had the highest share of registered voters, turnout was particularly high in Germany (70%), Saudi Arabia, Canada, and the UAE (between 57% and 62%), but much lower in France and the US (35% and 29%).

2. RESULTS

NINE ELECTORAL LISTS RAN AND THREE OF THEM WON SEATS:

- “Future for Beirut,” formed by FM, affiliated candidates, and PSP: 44% of votes, six seats;
- “Beirut’s Unity,” formed by the Al-Ahbash party, Hezbollah, Amal, and FPM: 33% of votes, four seats;
- “Lebanon Is Worth It”: Headed by Fouad Makhzoumi (National Democratic Party): 11% of votes, one seat.

ONLY TWO OTHER LISTS WON OVER 1% OF VOTES:

- “Beirut El-Watan,” headed by Imad El-Hout, former MP, from Jama’a al-Islamiyyah: 5% of votes;
- “Kelna Beirut,” formed by independent candidates: 4% of votes.

THE FOUR OTHER LISTS THAT RAN RECEIVED LESS THAN 1% OF VOTES EACH (A COMBINED 2%).

Lebanese residents and OCV had different preferences. 4,150 OCV voted for a list, representing 3% of the total votes for lists. Preferences for lists and parties significantly varied: “Beirut’s Unity” ranked first among OCV (53% of their votes, compared to 32% among residents), and “Future for Beirut” performed much worse (25% compared to 45% among residents), and 15% of their preferential votes each).

While all candidates in “Beirut’s Unity” received a higher share of votes among OCV than they did among residents, most OCV who voted for the list chose Adnan Traboulsi. Traboulsi won 948 votes from the diaspora (representing 7% of his total votes). Amine Chirri from Hezbollah ranked second with 792 votes from the diaspora. On other lists, Saad Hariri and Fouad Makhzoumi received much less support from the diaspora than they did from residents.

Table 23: Registered voters and turnout in Beirut 2

	Registered voters	Voters	Turnout
Residents	349,580	143,556	41%
Diaspora	7,815	4,245	54%
Total	357,395	147,801	41%

Table 24: Votes for parties in Beirut 2

List	Party	Number of votes			Percentage of votes		
		Residents	Diaspora	Total	Residents	Diaspora	Total
Future for Beirut	FM	55,745	833	56,578	41%	21%	41%
	PSP	1,865	37	1,902	1%	1%	1%
	Others	2,330	132	2,462	2%	3%	2%
LF-Kataeb	Hezbollah	22,169	792	22,961	16%	20%	17%
	Al-Ahbash	12,070	948	13,018	9%	24%	9%
	Amal	7,535	299	7,834	6%	7%	6%
	FPM	1,808	111	1,919	1%	3%	1%
	Others	502	32	534	0%	1%	0%
Lebanon Is Worth It	Fouad Makhzoumi	11,265	81	11,346	8%	2%	8%
	Others	3,416	179	3,595	3%	4%	3%
Beirut al Watan	Jama'a al Islamiyyah	3,875	63	3,938	3%	2%	3%
	Others	3,327	59	3,386	2%	1%	2%
Kelna Beirut		5,622	347	5,969	4%	9%	4%
Other lists		2,977	118	3,095	2%	3%	2%
Total		134,506	4,031	138,537	100%	100%	100%

AMONG THE MAIN COUNTRIES IN BEIRUT 2, WHERE AT LEAST 40 LIST VOTES WERE CAST, THE VOTING CHOICES OF OCV IN SAUDI ARABIA, UAE, AND QATAR, WERE MOST SIMILAR TO SUNNIS' REGISTERED IN LEBANON. THEY VOTED MOSTLY FOR THE FM LIST, EVEN THOUGH THEIR SHARE WAS LOWER THAN THAT AMONG SUNNIS. THE MAIN DIFFERENCE, HOWEVER, WAS IN THEIR HIGHER SUPPORT FOR KELNA BEIRUT. IN GERMANY, THE VOTING CHOICES WERE MORE SIMILAR TO SHIA VOTERS' PREFERENCES.

III. Bekaa 1

1. REGISTERED VOTERS AND TURNOUT

A total of 178,411 Lebanese voters were registered in the district of Zahle: 174,810 were registered in Lebanon, and 3,601 registered abroad (representing 2% of voters). Most of them were residents of Canada (833 registered voters), the US (490), France (412), Australia (380), and the United Arab Emirates (196).⁷

The total turnout rate in Zahle was 53%, and higher among the diaspora (58% compared to 53% among residents of Lebanon). Among the countries that had the highest share of registered voters, turnout was particularly high in France (67%), and the UAE (63%). Participation rates in Canada and Australia were only slightly higher than the diaspora average (59%), and those in the USA slightly higher than the total in Zahle (54%). In some of the countries where over 100 voters were registered, turnout was highest in Belgium and Qatar (76% and 73%).⁸

Table 25: Registered voters and turnout in Zahle

	Registered voters	Voters	Turnout
Residents	174,810	91,996	53%
Diaspora	3,601	2,086	58%
Total	178,411	94,082	53%

7. In addition to these countries, only six others had over 100 registered voters: Brazil (157), Germany (125), Belgium (123), Qatar (120), Sweden (114), and Saudi Arabia (104).

8. Among the other countries mentioned in the footnote above, turnout was high in Sweden (69%) and Saudi Arabia (59%), and much lower in Germany and Brazil (51% and 38%).

2. RESULTS

FIVE ELECTORAL LISTS RAN AND THREE OF THEM WON SEATS:

- The FPM-FM list: 40% of votes, three seats;
- Hezbollah with independents list: 26%, two seats; and
- Lebanese Forces and Kataeb: 21%, two seats.

THE TWO OTHER LISTS WERE:

- Popular Bloc (12% of votes)
- Kulluna Watani (2%)

Nearly half of OCV voted for LF-Kataeb (46% compared to 20% in Lebanon), while they voted much less for the Hezbollah list (8% compared to 26% in Lebanon). Across parties, OCV voted much more for LF and FPM, and much less for LF and Hezbollah.

George Okais (LF) was by far the most popular, and obtained 36% by himself (compared to the 12% he won among residents), and 6% of his total votes came from abroad (714 votes). Salim Aoun (FPM) followed with 16% (compared to 6% he won among residents), and 6% of his votes also came from the diaspora (322 votes).

By contrast, the Hezbollah candidate Anwar Jomaa, who ranked first in the country (18%), received a significantly lower percentage of OCV's votes (6%). The only country where he beat other candidates was Germany (only 27 votes over 63 total preferential votes), and Paraguay (only nine votes, over 10 preferential votes). On the same list, politician Nicholas Fattoush, who performed well in the country, barely received any OCV votes (1%, compared to 8% in Lebanon). FM was also much less popular among OCV (6% of votes).

Table 26: Votes for parties in Zahle

List	Party	Number of votes			Percentage of votes		
		Residents	Diaspora	Total	Residents	Diaspora	Total
FPM-FM	FPM	5,245	322	5,567	6%	16%	6%
	FM	11,062	109	11,171	13%	6%	13%
	Others	18,452	266	18,718	21%	13%	21%
Hezbollah-Independents	Hezbollah	15,488	113	15,601	18%	6%	18%
	Syrian Social Nationalist Party	522	6	528	1%	0%	1%
	Others	6,716	33	6,749	8%	2%	8%
LF-Kataeb	LF	14,099	818	14,917	16%	41%	17%
	Kataeb	1,149	64	1,213	1%	3%	1%
	Others	2,158	17	2,175	2%	1%	2%
Popular Bloc		10,398	165	10,563	12%	8%	12%
Kulluna Watani		1,412	66	1,478	2%	3%	2%
Total		86,701	1,979	88,680	100%	100%	100%

IV. Bekaa 2

1. REGISTERED VOTERS AND TURNOUT

Around 147,500 Lebanese voters were registered in the district of West Bekaa-Rachaya: 144,135 were registered in Lebanon, and 3,373 registered abroad. Most of them were registered in Canada (1,078), followed by Venezuela (568) and the United States (355). Other countries in which a sizeable number of voters were registered were Brazil, the UAE, Paraguay, and Saudi Arabia (between 150 and 200 registered voters in each).

The total turnout rate in West Bekaa-Rachaya was 46%, and much higher among the diaspora (54%). Among the main countries, turnout was particularly high in Paraguay (74%), Saudi Arabia (66%), UAE (63%), and the US (59%). It was lower in Canada (51%).

Table 27: Registered voters and turnout in West Bekaa-Rachaya

	Registered voters	Voters	Turnout
Residents	144,135	66,422	46%
Diaspora	3,373	1,805	54%
Total	147,508	68,227	46%

2. RESULTS

THREE ELECTORAL LISTS RAN AND TWO OF THEM WON SEATS:

- Amal and Ittihad party (49% of votes and three seats);
- FM and PSP (48% and three seats), and
- Independent candidates.

OCV voted much less (compared to residents) for the Amal-Ittihad list (42%), and much more for the independent list (10%).

By candidate, Abdul Rahim Mourad (Ittihad) and Wael Abou Faour (PSP) ranked first and second among both residents and OCV, however, the former received a much lower share of votes among OCV (18%, compared to 24% in the country). The candidate who performed particularly better among the diaspora was Elie Ferzli from FPM (16% compared to 7% in Lebanon), as well as Henri Chedid from FM (8% compared to 2%).

Across countries, half of **Mourad's** diaspora votes came from **Venezuela**. **Abou Faour** won a high number in **Canada**, mostly Edmonton (in the Canadian Druze Center, highlighting that emigrants may vote along confessional lines as well). Abou Faour was also the most popular in **Brazil, the UAE, and Kuwait**.

In Germany, Mohammad Nasrallah (Amal) received his highest share of votes. The candidate also won some votes in **Michigan, in the US**, where Ali Sobh (independent list) also received most of his votes from. **Both Germany and Michigan saw the majority of votes go to Shia candidates. In Australia and France, most of the votes went to Christian candidates**, most notably Elie Ferzli, Henri Chedid, and Maguy Aoun (Maronite candidate on the independent list). **In Saudi Arabia and Paraguay, the majority of votes went to Sunni candidates, and FM candidate Ziad Kadri** was the most popular.

Table 28: Votes for parties in West Bekaa-Rachaya

List	Party	Number of votes			Percentage of votes		
		Residents	Diaspora	Total	Residents	Diaspora	Total
Amal-Ittihad	Ittihad	14,827	284	15,111	24%	18%	23%
	Amal	8,786	111	8,897	14%	7%	14%
	FPM	4,654	245	4,899	7%	16%	8%
	Lebanese Arab Struggle Movement	2,035	6	2,041	3%	0%	3%
	Others	827	11	838	1%	1%	1%
FM-PSP	PSP	10,394	283	10,677	17%	18%	17%
	FM	18,337	407	18,744	29%	26%	29%
	Democratic Left Movement	732	9	741	1%	1%	1%
	Independent	939	56	995	1%	4%	2%
Independent		1,276	157	1,433	2%	10%	2%
Total		62,807	1,569	64,376	100%	100%	100%

V. Bekaa 3

1. REGISTERED VOTERS AND TURNOUT

Nearly 320,000 voters were registered in Baalbek-Hermel: 316,060 in Lebanon and 2,590 abroad. Most of them were residents of Germany (425), Canada (397), and France (337), while Australia, the US, Sweden, and the UAE also each had a high number (between 150 and 250 each).

The total turnout in Baalbek-Hermel was 60%, one of the highest in the country, and was only slightly higher among the diaspora (61%). Among the main countries, it was highest in the UAE (70%), Canada (66%), and Germany (62%), but much lower in Australia, France, the US, and Sweden (between 58% and 59% each).

Table 29: Registered voters and turnout in Baalbek-Hermel

	Registered voters	Voters	Turnout
Residents	316,060	188,684	60%
Diaspora	2,590	1,584	61%
Total	318,650	190,268	60%

2. RESULTS

SIX ELECTORAL LISTS RAN AND TWO OF THEM WON SEATS:

- Hezbollah and Amal (76% of votes and eight seats)
- LF and FM (19% of votes and two seats).

The LF-FM list received a significantly higher share of votes among OCV (44%) and the Hezbollah-Amal one a lower one (also 44%). OCV voted less for all Hezbollah and Amal candidates.

LF candidate Antoine Habchi ranked first by far among OCV (39%), and the second candidate was Jamil al Sayyed (21%). In most countries, the two candidates were the most popular.

Table 30: Votes for parties in Baalbek-Hermel

List	Party	Number of votes			Percentage of votes		
		Residents	Diaspora	Total	Residents	Diaspora	Total
Hezbollah - Amal	Hezbollah	75,117	128	75,245	42%	8%	41%
	Amal	17,648	119	17,767	10%	8%	10%
	Jamil al Sayyed	32,905	318	33,223	18%	21%	18%
	Others	11,244	87	11,331	6%	6%	6%
LF - FM	LF	14,269	589	14,858	8%	39%	8%
	FM	10,934	34	10,968	6%	2%	6%
	Others	8,830	49	8,879	5%	3%	5%
FPM - Independents	FPM	2,653	89	2,742	1%	6%	2%
	Others	2,521	50	2,571	1%	3%	1%
Independent list		3,862	44	3,906	2%	3%	2%
Kataeb-Independents		455	4	459	0%	0%	0%
Total		180,438	1,511	181,949	100%	100%	100%

VI. Mount Lebanon 1

1. REGISTERED VOTERS AND TURNOUT

A total of 180,203 Lebanese voters were registered in the electoral district of Mount Lebanon 1: 176,291 were registered in Lebanon, and 3,912 registered abroad. In both Jbeil and Keserwan, most OCV were residents of the US, France, and Canada, with a few registered in the UAE.

The total turnout rate in Mount Lebanon 1 was 65%—the highest across the country. It was higher among OCV in both districts. Among the countries that had the highest share of registered voters, turnout was highest in the UAE (72%), followed by Canada (69%), France (68%), and the US (66%).

2. RESULTS

FIVE ELECTORAL LISTS RAN AND THREE OF THEM WON SEATS:

- FPM which won 47% of votes and four seats (three in Keserwan and one in Jbeil);
- LF which won 23% and two seats (one in each district);
- Farid El Khazen, Kataeb and independent candidates which won 16% of votes and two seats (one in each district);
- Hezbollah and independent candidates, which won 11% and no seat; and
- Kulluna Watani, which won 2% and no seat.

Table 31: Registered voters and turnout in Mount Lebanon 1

		Registered voters	Voters	Turnout
Jbeil	Residents	82,333	53,078	64%
	Diaspora	1,898	1,322	70%
	Total	84,231	54,400	65%
Keserwan	Residents	93,958	61,841	66%
	Diaspora	2,014	1,362	68%
	Total	95,972	63,203	66%
Mount Lebanon 1	Residents	176,291	114,919	65%
	Diaspora	3,912	2,684	69%
	Total	180,203	117,603	65%

Around 2,650 OCV voted for a list, representing only 2% of the total votes for lists. Both in-country and OCV gave the highest share of their votes to the FPM list. Compared to resident voters, OCV voted much more for the LF list (33%, compared to 23%), and less for the list formed by Khazen-Kataeb (9% compared to 16%) and the Hezbollah list (6% compared to 11%). This was the case in both Jbeil and Keserwan.

Table 32: Votes for lists in Mount Lebanon 1

District	Lists	Number of votes			Percentage of votes		
		Residents	Diaspora	Total	Residents	Diaspora	Total
Jbeil	FPM	18,327	485	18,812	35%	37%	35%
	LF	15,382	521	15,903	30%	40%	30%
	Khazen-Kataeb-Independent	6,151	101	6,252	12%	8%	12%
	Hezbollah-Independent	10,822	134	10,956	21%	10%	21%
	Kulluna Watani	1,184	65	1,249	2%	5%	2%
Total		51,866	1,306	53,172	100%	100%	100%
Keserwan	FPM	34,984	748	35,732	58%	55%	58%
	LF	10,723	354	11,077	18%	26%	18%
	Khazen-Kataeb-Independent	12,151	150	12,301	20%	11%	20%
	Hezbollah-Independent	1,577	18	1,595	3%	1%	3%
	Kulluna Watani	1,199	78	1,277	2%	6%	2%
Total		60,634	1,348	61,982	100%	100%	100%
Mount Lebanon 1	FPM	53,311	1,233	54,544	47%	46%	47%
	LF	26,105	875	26,980	23%	33%	23%
	Khazen-Kataeb-Independent	18,302	251	18,553	16%	9%	16%
	Hezbollah-Independent	12,399	152	12,551	11%	6%	11%
	Kulluna Watani	2,383	143	2,526	2%	5%	2%
Total		112,500	2,654	115,154	100%	100%	100%

VII. Mount Lebanon 2

1. REGISTERED VOTERS AND TURNOUT

A total of 183,740 Lebanese voters were registered in the district of Metn: 179,107 were registered in Lebanon, and 4,633 registered abroad across 38 different countries. Most OCV were residents of Canada, France, the US, and to some extent the UAE and Australia.

The total turnout rate in Metn was 50%, and much higher among OCV (61%). Among the countries that had the highest share of registered voters, turnout was highest in the UAE (74%), followed by France (65%), and much lower in Canada (60%), the US (55%), and Australia (43%).

Table 33: Registered voters and turnout in Metn

	Registered voters	Voters	Turnout
Residents	179,107	89,624	50%
Diaspora	4,633	2,822	61%
Total	183,740	92,446	50%

2. RESULTS

FIVE ELECTORAL LISTS RAN AND FOUR OF THEM WON SEATS:

- The FPM-Tashnag list: 43% of votes, four seats;
- Kataeb list: 21%, two seats;
- Michel Murr's list: 15%, one seat; and
- The LF list: 15%, one seat.

Compared to residents, OCV voted more for LF (18%) and Tashnag (13%). They voted much less for Michel Murr, who barely received any votes from them (3%). Majed Eddy Abilamaa (LF) ranked first with 459 votes, a high share of which came from Canada (122 votes). He was followed by Sami Gemayel, who won 367 votes, the highest share of which came from France (101 votes), and Tashnag candidate Hagop Pakradounian (347 votes), who also won his highest number of votes from Canada (118, mostly from Toronto).

Table 34: Votes for parties in Metn

List	Party	Number of votes			Percentage of votes		
		Residents	Diaspora	Total	Residents	Diaspora	Total
FPM-Tashnag	FPM	26,604	826	27,430	31%	31%	31%
	Tashnag	6,835	347	7,182	8%	13%	8%
	SSNP	2,673	84	2,757	3%	3%	3%
	Independent	674	22	696	1%	1%	1%
Kataeb	Kataeb	16,140	411	16,551	19%	15%	19%
	Ahrar	575	5	580	1%	0%	1%
	Green party	235	7	242	0%	0%	0%
	Independent	1,215	21	1,236	1%	1%	1%
Michel Murr	Murr	11,855	90	11,945	14%	3%	14%
	Independent	1,345	22	1,367	2%	1%	2%
LF	LF	9,665	469	10,134	11%	18%	12%
	Ramgavar	146	10	156	0%	0%	0%
	Independent	2,487	95	2,582	3%	4%	3%
Kulluna Watani		4,543	269	4,812	5%	10%	5%

VIII. Mount Lebanon 3

1. REGISTERED VOTERS AND TURNOUT

Nearly 169,000 voters were registered in the district of Baabda: 164,885 were registered in Lebanon and 4,037 registered out of the country. Most of them were residents of the US (683 registered voters), Canada (637 registered voters), France (615 registered voters), and the UAE (434 registered voters).

Only 47% of Baabda’s voters voted, but the rate was significantly higher among those who registered out of the country (60%). Among the main countries, turnouts were highest in Canada and the UAE (63% and 62%), and lowest in France and the US (58% and 56%). Some countries with very high turnouts include Brussels (95%, 75 registered voters), Kuwait (79%, 200 registered voters), Nigeria (78%, 55 registered voters), Qatar (75%, 123 registered voters), and Sweden (73%, 66 registered voters).

Table 35: Registered voters and turnout in Baabda

	Registered voters	Voters	Turnout
Residents	164,885	77,649	47%
Diaspora	4,037	2,403	60%
Total	168,922	80,052	47%

Table 36: Votes for parties in Baabda

List	Party	Number of votes			Percentage of votes		
		Residents	Diaspora	Total	Residents	Diaspora	Total
FPM-Hezbollah-Amal	FPM	16,885	659	17,544	23%	29%	23%
	Hezbollah	13,542	150	13,692	18%	7%	18%
	Amal	6,299	49	6,348	9%	2%	8%
	LDP	2,243	14	2,257	3%	1%	3%
LF-PSP	LF	12,823	675	13,498	17%	30%	18%
	PSP	11,477	367	11,844	16%	16%	16%
	Independent	770	12	782	1%	1%	1%
Kataeb-Ahrar	Kataeb	2,503	83	2,586	3%	4%	3%
	Ahrar	1,884	28	1,912	3%	1%	3%
	Independent	1,059	63	1,122	1%	3%	1%
Kulluna Watani		4,544	181	4,725	6%	8%	6%

2. RESULTS

FOUR ELECTORAL LISTS RAN AND TWO OF THEM WON SEATS:

- FPM, Hezbollah, and Amal (52%, four seats);
- LF and PSP (34%, two seats)
- Kataeb and Ahrar (7%), and
- Kulluna Watani (6%).

Compared to residents, OCV voted much more for the LF-PSP list (46%), driven by support for the LF candidate Pierre Bou Assi (30%). They voted less for the FPM-Hezbollah-Amal list (39%), however, this was driven by much lower support for Hezbollah and Amal, rather than FPM. The PSP candidate Hadi Abou Hassan obtained a similar share of votes among residents and OCV. Most of his votes from the diaspora came from voters in Kuwait (106 votes).

Similar to most districts, votes in **Canada and France** went mostly to **LF and FPM**.

In the **Gulf countries of Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the UAE, and Kuwait**, most of the votes were received by the **LF-PSP** list.

In **Germany**, although a low number of votes were cast, Ali Ammar from **Hezbollah** received half of the votes (equivalent to 44).

IX. Mount Lebanon 4

1. REGISTERED VOTERS AND TURNOUT

Nearly 340,000 Lebanese voters were registered in the electoral district of Mount Lebanon 4: 330,296 of them were registered in Lebanon, and 8,157 registered abroad across 40 different countries. Most were residents of Canada, the US, the UAE, France, and to some extent Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Qatar.

Participation rates in Mount Lebanon 4 stood at 51%, and were much higher among OCV (61%). OCV voted more than residents in both Aley and Chouf. Among the main countries, voters in the Gulf were much more mobilized: Turnout was highest in Qatar (81%), followed by Kuwait (76%), Saudi Arabia (70%), and the UAE (69%). They were followed by Canada (65%), while turnout rates in France, Australia, and the US were lower than the OCV average in Mount Lebanon 4 (58% in France, 55% in Australia, and 52% in the US). These patterns were similar in Aley and Chouf.

2. RESULTS

TWO LISTS WON SEATS:

- The PSP-LF list which won 59% and nine seats,
- FPM-LDP list which won 23% and four seats.

Compared to residents, OCV voted significantly more for LF and FPM (23% and 20%), and much less for PSP, FM, and LDP.

In Aley, Raji Saad, an independent candidate running with PSP-LF, ranked second among OCV—just after Anis Nassar (LF, 451 votes among the diaspora)—and received 24% of their votes (406 votes). Most of these came from voters in the Gulf countries (Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE, 210 votes). In Canada and France, similar to most districts, LF and FPM candidates were the most popular. In the US, Anis Nassar received most votes in all states.

Table 37: Registered voters and turnout in Mount Lebanon 4

		Registered voters	Voters	Turnout
Aley	Residents	127,125	62,427	49%
	Diaspora	2,938	1,764	60%
	Total	130,063	64,191	49%
Chouf	Residents	203,171	105,906	52%
	Diaspora	5,219	3,223	62%
	Total	208,390	109,129	52%
Mount Lebanon 4	Residents	330,296	168,333	51%
	Diaspora	8,157	4,987	61%
	Total	338,453	173,320	51%

In Chouf, although PSP candidates, combined, received a lower share of votes among the diaspora, the most popular candidate was Neemat Tohme (Greek Catholic candidate affiliated with PSP), who won 780 votes from OCV (25%, compared to 6% he won among residents). All other PSP candidates received a much lower share of votes from the diaspora. The majority of Tohme's votes came from the Gulf countries (455 votes, representing 47% of votes there). The second candidate among the diaspora was George Adwan from LF (663 votes, 22%, compared to the 9% he won among residents). He won most of his votes from Australia and Canada, and was also the most popular candidate in France and the US (followed by Tohme in both countries).

Table 38: Votes for parties in Mount Lebanon 4

List	Party	Number of votes			Percentage of votes		
		Residents	Diaspora	Total	Residents	Diaspora	Total
PSP-LF	PSP	60,583	1,133	61,716	38%	24%	37%
	LF	16,714	1,114	17,828	10%	23%	11%
	FM	14,842	159	15,001	9%	3%	9%
	Independent	1,723	406	2,129	1%	9%	1%
FPM-LDP	FPM	24,182	968	25,150	15%	20%	15%
	LDP	8,894	51	8,945	6%	1%	5%
	SSNP	744	26	770	0%	1%	0%
	Independent	3,362	12	3,374	2%	0%	2%
Tawhid	Tawhid	7,412	81	7,493	5%	2%	5%
	Independent	4,780	57	4,837	3%	1%	3%
Kataeb-Ahrar	Kataeb	1,685	58	1,743	1%	1%	1%
	Ahrar	1,221	35	1,256	1%	1%	1%
	Independent	2,218	48	2,266	1%	1%	1%
Kulluna Watani		8,934	465	9,399	6%	10%	6%
Madaniyya		2,573	148	2,721	2%	3%	2%

X. North 1

1. REGISTERED VOTERS AND TURNOUT

Nearly 290,000 Lebanese voters were registered in the district of Akkar—284,786 in Lebanon and 3,621 out of the country. Over a quarter of them were residents of Australia (around 1,000), with a high share in Canada (600) and France (400).

The total turnout rate in Akkar was 47%, and much higher among OCV (54%). While Australia had the highest share of registered voters, they were not heavily mobilised (47% turnout). By region in Australia, participation rates among Akkar voters were higher in Sydney than those in Melbourne (50% compared to 46%).⁹ Turnout in France was significantly higher than the OCV average (66%), and in Paris, where most were registered, participation rates were even higher (72%). Turnout in Canada was only slightly higher than the OCV average (56%), and among the main cities, it was higher in Halifax and Ottawa (62% and 59%) than Montreal and Toronto (56% and 55%).¹⁰

In other countries that had at least 100 registered voters originating from Akkar, turnout was high in the UAE (60%), and around the average in Saudi Arabia and the US (55% and 53%, respectively).¹¹

2. RESULTS

SIX ELECTORAL LISTS RAN AND TWO OF THEM WON SEATS:

- FM and LF, which won 58% and five of the seven seats; and
- FPM and smaller parties which won 26% and the two remaining seats.

The other lists were one formed by Marada and SSNP (11% of votes), one formed by independent candidates and backed by Ashraf Rifi (4%), and two independent anti-establishment lists, Akkar's Decision (2%) and Women of Akkar (0.4%).

While the FM-LF list received the majority of votes among both residents and the diaspora, it was much more popular among residents (58% compared to 50% of the diaspora's votes), while the FPM list was more popular among the diaspora than it was among residents (35% compared to 26%).

Results for parties show that FPM and LF were much more successful among the diaspora. The single LF candidate, Wehbi Qatisha, won 26% of emigrants' votes compared to 6% of residents', while all FM candidates on his list performed much worse among the diaspora. Qatisha was overall the most successful candidate among the diaspora. Regarding FPM, the first candidate Jimmy Jabbour obtained 17% of votes among emigrants (compared to 7% among residents) and Assaad Dergham obtained 13% (compared to 6% among emigrants).

Among the main countries, LF and FPM performed particularly better than the other parties in Canada, France, and the US. In Canada, Wehbi Qatisha, followed by Assaad Dergham, was most successful, in France, Jimmy Jabbour performed better, and in the US, Qatisha ranked first. In Australia, the votes were more fragmented: Wehbi Qatisha and Jimmy Jabbour were the most successful in Sydney, while Jean Moussa (independent on FM-LF list) and Walid Baarini (FM) were much more popular in Melbourne. A near majority of voters in Saudi Arabia chose FM candidates. Finally, in the UAE, Riad Rahal (independent on the FPM list) outranked all candidates.

9. In Australia, most voters from Akkar were registered in Melbourne (580) and Sydney (393).

10. Most registered voters were residents of Montreal (389) followed by Halifax (104), with a few in Ottawa and Toronto (51 registered in each).

11. 187 voters were registered in the UAE, 195 were in Saudi Arabia, and 216 in the US.

Table 39: Turnout rates in Akkar

	Registered voters	Voters	Turnout
Residents	284,786	134,997	47%
Diaspora	3,621	1,950	54%
Total	288,407	136,947	47%

Table 40: Results for electoral lists in Akkar

Party	Number of votes			Percentage of votes		
	Residents	Diaspora	Total	Residents	Diaspora	Total
FM-LF	75,510	942	76,452	58%	50%	58%
FPM-Others	33,774	656	34,430	26%	35%	26%
Marada-SSNP	14,303	146	14,449	11%	8%	11%
Backed by Ashraf Rifi	4,642	71	4,713	4%	4%	4%
Akkar's Decision (independent)	1,991	41	2,032	2%	2%	2%
Women of Akkar (independent)	458	40	498	0.4%	2%	0.4%

Table 41: Votes for parties in Akkar

List	Party	Number of votes			Percentage of votes		
		Residents	Diaspora	Total	Residents	Diaspora	Total
Future for Akkar	FM	62,747	351	63,098	49%	19%	49%
	LF	7,441	470	7,911	6%	26%	6%
	Independent	3,668	91	3,759	3%	5%	3%
Strong Akkar	FPM	15,555	547	16,102	10%	16%	10%
	Jama'a al Islamiyyah	5,260	17	5,277	4%	1%	4%
	Lebanese Popular Movement	1,329	24	1,353	1%	1%	1%
	Independent	11,015	61	11,076	9%	3%	9%
The Decision for Akkar	SSNP	4,816	99	4,915	4%	5%	4%
	Marada	2,569	21	2,590	2%	1%	2%
	Independent	6,611	21	6,632	5%	1%	5%
Sovereign Lebanon		4,503	67	4,570	4%	4%	4%
Akkar's Decision		1,928	39	1,967	2%	2%	2%
Women of Akkar		400	34	434	0%	2%	0%
Total		127,842	1,842	129,684	100%	100%	100%

XI. North 2

1. REGISTERED VOTERS AND TURNOUT

Around 350,000 Lebanese voters were registered in the electoral district of North 2: 349,236 were registered in Lebanon, and 4,842 registered abroad. Most of them were registered in Tripoli (nearly 3,000, while less than 1,000 were registered in each of Dannieh and Minnieh). In all three districts, most OCV, particularly those originating from Dannieh and Minnieh, were registered in Australia (2,135). A significant share were residents of Canada, Saudi Arabia, the UAE, and France (approximately 300 to 400 in each country).

The total turnout rate in North 2 was 43%, and was higher among OCV (52%). Across the three districts, Tripoli had the lowest turnout (39%), however the difference between residents and emigrants was particularly large, with 53% of the diaspora voting. Turnout rates among OCV from Dannieh were also higher (55% compared to 51% among residents in the districts) while those in Minnieh were slightly lower (48% compared to 49% among residents).

While most voters were registered in Australia, their participation rates were lower compared to the OCV average (46%), and this was the case in all three districts (49% in Tripoli, 43% in Dannieh, and 47% in Minnieh). The Gulf countries recorded high turnouts: 85% in Oman, 73% in Kuwait, 61% in Saudi Arabia, and 56% in the UAE. Among the other main countries, turnout rates were high in Canada and France (59% and 58%), and significantly low in the US (40%).

2. RESULTS

EIGHT ELECTORAL LISTS RAN AND THREE OF THEM WON SEATS:

- FM (36% of votes and five seats),
- Azm list (29% and four seats),
- Faisal Karami and independent candidates (20% and two seats).

In all three districts, diaspora voters gave a higher share of votes to the Karami-Independent list than residents did. It was their preferred list, by far, in Tripoli and Dannieh, while the FM list ranked first among them in Minnieh. While residents of Minnieh voted mostly for the FM list as well, compared to the diaspora, those in Tripoli voted significantly more for the Azm list, and those in Dannieh significantly more for the FM list.

In Tripoli, compared to residents, OCV voted much less for the Azm list, with Mikati receiving 8% of their votes (compared to 25% among residents), while they voted more for the list headed by Karami. This was driven by high support for Taha Naji (independent candidate on the list, 25% among emigrants compared

Table 42: Registered voters and turnout in North 2

		Registered voters	Voters	Turnout
Tripoli	Residents	236,085	92,488	39%
	Diaspora	2,939	1,559	53%
	Total	239,024	94,047	39%
Dannieh	Residents	68,653	34,872	51%
	Diaspora	938	513	55%
	Total	69,591	35,385	51%
Minnieh	Residents	44,498	21,861	49%
	Diaspora	965	466	48%
	Total	45,463	22,327	49%
North 2	Residents	349,236	149,221	43%
	Diaspora	4,842	2,538	52%
	Total	354,078	151,759	43%

to 5% among residents) rather than the head of the list. Naji performed particularly well in Australia (56%, 210 votes). The FM list, which won a slightly lower share of votes among the diaspora, performed better than all the other lists in Canada (34%), and the Gulf countries of Saudi Arabia (40%), the UAE (35%), Kuwait (28%), and Qatar (24%). Among the other lists, Kulluna Watani ranked first in France (23%).

In Dannieh, OCV voted less for the FM candidates, and much more for Jihad al Samad (Karami's list). Across countries, nearly half of votes came from Australia (229), and only in Kuwait and Oman were over 40 votes cast (51 and 47 respectively). In Australia, votes were divided between different lists. Al Samad ranked first (58 votes) and was followed by Mohammad Fadel (Azm list, 46 votes). In both Kuwait and Oman, Al Samad performed significantly better than the other candidates.

In Minnieh, barely any votes came from outside Australia. Winner Osman Alameddine was the most successful candidate.

Table 43: Votes for lists in North 2

District	Lists	Number of votes			Percentage of votes		
		Residents	Diaspora	Total	Residents	Diaspora	Total
North 2	FM	51,221	716	51,937	36%	29%	36%
	AZM	41,607	412	42,019	29%	17%	29%
	Karami-Independent	28,398	703	29,101	20%	28%	20%
	Rifi-Independent	9,452	204	9,656	7%	8%	7%
	Jama'a-Independent	4,088	96	4,184	3%	4%	3%
	FPM-Independent	3,948	174	4,122	3%	7%	3%
	Kulluna Watani	2,523	157	2,680	2%	6%	2%
	Independent Civil Society	421	27	448	0%	1%	0%
Tripoli	FM	26,230	390	26,620	30%	25%	30%
	AZM	30,234	212	30,446	35%	14%	34%
	Karami-Independent	15,918	478	16,396	18%	31%	18%
	Rifi-Independent	7,815	171	7,986	9%	11%	9%
	Jama'a-Independent	3,224	83	3,307	4%	5%	4%
	FPM-Independent	1,241	51	1,292	1%	3%	1%
	Kulluna Watani	2,145	129	2,274	2%	8%	3%
	Independent Civil Society	371	23	394	0%	1%	0%
Dannieh	FM	14,611	116	14,727	44%	24%	43%
	AZM	4,360	83	4,443	13%	17%	13%
	Karami-Independent	11,874	179	12,053	35%	36%	35%
	Rifi-Independent	1,269	18	1,278	4%	4%	4%
	Jama'a-Independent	585	11	596	2%	2%	2%
	FPM-Independent	500	63	563	1%	13%	2%
	Kulluna Watani	299	19	318	1%	4%	1%
	Independent Civil Society	30	3	33	0%	1%	0%
Minnieh	FM	10,380	210	10,590	50%	46%	49%
	AZM	7,013	117	7,130	33%	25%	33%
	Karami-Independent	606	46	652	3%	10%	3%
	Rifi-Independent	368	15	383	2%	3%	2%
	Jama'a-Independent	279	2	281	1%	0%	1%
	FPM-Independent	2,207	60	2,267	11%	13%	11%
	Kulluna Watani	79	9	88	0%	2%	0%
	Independent Civil Society	20	1	21	0%	0%	0%

XII. North 3

1. REGISTERED VOTERS AND TURNOUT

Nearly 260,000 voters were registered in the electoral district of North 3: 248,747 were residents of Lebanon and 11,245 registered out of the country, representing 4% of North 3 registered voters. Out of all voters registered in each of the districts, Batroun and Zgharta had a particularly higher share of emigrants who registered to vote (5% of their total registered voters).

Most OCV were resident of Australia (almost 4,600 in total), followed by the US (2,000). There were some variations across districts. Across districts, the majority of those in both Bcharre and Zgharta were Australian residents. In Bcharre, the second highest share were in Canada. A high number of voters from Zgharta were registered in the US and Venezuela. In Batroun and Koura, around one third of all OCV were in each of Australia and the US. Canada, France, and the UAE followed.

Turnout rates in North 3 stood at 45% and were much higher among OCV (67%). This was the case in all four districts (70% in Batroun, 68% in Bcharre, 64% in Koura, and 67% in Zgharta). There were variations across countries. Among the main ones, they were highest in the UAE (70%), particularly among those originating from Batroun and Zgharta. Australia followed (68%), with high turnout rates in all of Batroun, Bcharre, and Zgharta, but not Koura. Participation rates were at or slightly lower than the average in the US, Canada, and France (between 65% and 67%).

2. RESULTS

FOUR ELECTORAL LISTS RAN AND THREE OF THEM WON SEATS:

- Marada, SSNP, and independent politicians: 36%, four seats;
- LF and Kataeb: 33%, three seats;
- FPM and the Independence Movement: 29%, three seats; and
- Kulluna Watani: 3%, no seat.

Compared to residents of Lebanon, the diaspora voted more for the LF-Kataeb list (39% compared to 32%) and FPM-IM list (34% compared to 29%), and much less for the Marada-SSNP list, which was the most popular one in the country (24% compared to 36%). The LF-Kataeb list performed better among the diaspora in all four districts, and the Marada-SSNP list worse in all four districts, while the higher share of votes for the FPM-IM list was particularly driven by its better performance in Zgharta.

Table 44: Registered voters and turnout in North 3

		Registered voters	Voters	Turnout
Batroun	Residents	60,603	31,677	52%
	Diaspora	3,044	2,119	70%
	Total	63,647	33,796	53%
Bcharre	Residents	49,558	18,769	38%
	Diaspora	1,542	1,043	68%
	Total	51,100	19,812	39%
Koura	Residents	60,958	26,245	43%
	Diaspora	2,381	1,513	64%
	Total	63,339	27,758	44%
Zgharta	Residents	77,628	33,592	43%
	Diaspora	4,278	2,853	67%
	Total	81,906	36,445	44%
North 2	Residents	248,747	110,283	44%
	Diaspora	11,245	7,528	67%
	Total	259,992	117,811	45%

BY PARTY, OCV VOTED MUCH MORE FOR LF, FPM, AND THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT, AND MUCH LESS FOR MARADA.

There were variations across districts and countries. In **Batroun**, in Canada, France, and the US, FPM (Gebran Bassil) and LF (Fadi Saad) were the most popular. However, in Australia, Boutros Harb (independent, Marada-SSNP) ranked first, and was followed by Fadi Saad (LF), while Gebran Bassil (FPM) received much less support than these two candidates.

In **Bcharre**, LF candidates received more votes than the others by far (820 votes, 86%). In contrast to residents, OCV voted more for Joseph Ishaac (439) than Sethrida Geagea (381) although by a small margin. LF candidates performed better than all others in all countries.

In **Koura**, the LF candidate Fadi Karam was again the most successful (649 votes). The SSNP candidate Salim Saade ranked second with 265 votes (18% among OCV in Koura), most of which came from the US (135).

In **Zgharta**, the Independence Movement was the most successful: Michel Moawad received 852 votes, more than Tony Frangieh (606 votes). The vast majority of Moawad’s votes came from Australia (622 votes, 45% in Australia), while Frangieh received significant support in Venezuela (152 votes, 55% there).

Table 45: Votes for lists in North 3

Party	Number of votes			Percentage of votes		
	Residents	Diaspora	Total	Residents	Diaspora	Total
Marada-SSNP	39,022	1,766	40,788	36%	24%	36%
LF-Kataeb	34,510	2,866	37,376	32%	39%	33%
FPM-IM	30,846	2,496	33,342	29%	34%	29%
Kulluna Watani	2,929	231	3,160	3%	3%	3%

Table 46: Votes for parties in North 3

List	Party	Number of votes			Percentage of votes		
		Residents	Diaspora	Total	Residents	Diaspora	Total
Marada-SSNP	Marada	21,667	989	22,656	21%	14%	20%
	SSNP	4,998	265	5,263	5%	4%	5%
	Independent	11,158	450	11,608	11%	6%	10%
LF-Kataeb	LF	30,537	2,570	33,107	29%	36%	30%
	Kataeb	2,959	147	3,106	3%	2%	3%
	Democratic Left Movement	294	11	305	0%	0%	0%
	Independent	21	10	31	0%	0%	0%
FPM-IM	FPM	18,081	1,438	19,519	17%	20%	18%
	Independence Movement	7,813	867	8,680	7%	12%	8%
	Independent	4,361	114	4,475	4%	2%	4%
Kulluna Watani		2,536	199	2,735	2%	3%	2%

XIII. South 1

1. REGISTERED VOTERS AND TURNOUT

Nearly 125,000 voters were registered in South 1: 122,133 were in the country and 2,441 registered abroad. The total turnout was 54%, and higher among the diaspora (64%). Most OCV in South 1 were from Jezzine (1,719) rather than Saida (722).

Across countries, the highest share of those originating from Saida were residents of Saudi Arabia (210 voters), where participation rates were by far higher than the Saida average (79%), followed by the UAE (78, 54% turnout) and US (67, 49% turnout only).

In Jezzine, most of the diaspora voters were residents of Canada (422), where participation rates were highest (67%), followed by France (349, 65% turnout) and the US (263, 59%).

2. RESULTS

FOUR ELECTORAL LISTS RAN AND THREE OF THEM WON SEATS:

- Popular Nasserist Organization and Amal (34%, two seats)
- FPM (31%, two seats),
- FM (25%, one seat).
- LF and Kataeb (10% of votes).

In Saida, while FM was the most popular among both residents and OCV, it received a higher share of votes from the latter, while PNO was less popular. This was the case in all countries.

In Jezzine, the votes significantly varied across residencies: Compared to residents the diaspora voted more for FPM and LF, and less for the Amal-affiliated candidate Ibrahim Azar. The most popular candidates were Ziad Assouad from FPM (308 votes) and Ajaj Haddad from LF (303 votes). They outperformed all other candidates in the main countries of Canada, France, and the US.

Table 47: Registered voters and turnout in South 1

		Registered voters	Voters	Turnout
Saida	Residents	62,655	35,133	56%
	Diaspora	722	449	62%
	Total	63,377	35,657	56%
Jezzine	Residents	59,478	30,657	52%
	Diaspora	1,719	1,107	64%
	Total	61,197	31,764	52%
South 1	Residents	122,133	65,790	54%
	Diaspora	2,441	1,556	64%
	Total	124,574	67,346	54%

Table 48: Votes for parties in South 1

District	List	Party	Number of votes			Percentage of votes		
			Residents	Diaspora	Total	Residents	Diaspora	Total
Saida	PNO-Amal	PNO	9,829	87	9,916	31%	21%	30%
	FPM-Jama'a al Islamiyyah	Jama'a	3,164	40	3,204	10%	10%	10%
		Independent	3,457	52	3,509	11%	13%	11%
	FM		14,543	222	14,765	45%	54%	45%
	LF-Kataeb	Independent	1,187	11	1,198	4%	3%	4%
Jezzine	PNO-Amal	PNO	11,475	188	11,663	39%	18%	38%
	FPM-Jama'a al Islamiyyah	Jama'a	30	1	31	0%	0%	0%
		Independent	12,514	480	12,994	42%	46%	42%
	FM		1,086	31	1,117	4%	3%	4%
	LF-Kataeb	LF	4,091	303	4,394	14%	29%	14%
Kataeb		435	37	472	1%	4%	2%	

XIV. South 2

1. REGISTERED VOTERS AND TURNOUT

Nearly 312,000 voters were registered in the electoral district of South 2, with 304,221 in Lebanon and 7,732 out of the country. The total turnout was 48%, and higher among the diaspora (58%), particularly in Sour, where 59% of OCV voted, compared to 46% of residents.

The highest share of voters in both Sour and Zahrani were residents of Germany, followed by Côte D'Ivoire (2,348 and 1,634, respectively). Turnout rates in Germany were only slightly higher than the OCV average (60%), but those in Côte D'Ivoire were by far higher (70%). Most other voters were residents of the US, Canada, France, and Nigeria (between 365 and 425 each). In both Sour and Zahrani, turnout rates were lowest in the US (25%), Canada (43%), and France (45%). Nigeria recorded one of the highest turnouts (79%).

Table 49: Votes for lists in South 2

		Registered voters	Voters	Turnout
Sour	Residents	191,028	88,503	46%
	Diaspora	4,857	2,887	59%
	Total	195,885	91,390	47%
Zahrani	Residents	113,193	57,314	51%
	Diaspora	2,875	1,560	54%
	Total	116,068	58,874	51%
South 2	Residents	304,221	145,817	48%
	Diaspora	7,732	4,447	58%
	Total	311,953	150,264	48%

2. RESULTS

TWO ELECTORAL LISTS RAN:

- Hezbollah and Amal which won nearly all votes (92%),
- Independent candidates, the Communist party, and one backed by FPM (8%).

THERE WERE VARIATIONS IN THE VOTES RECEIVED ACROSS CONTINENTS.

Nearly all voters in African and South American countries voted for Hezbollah-Amal (97% and 98%, respectively). In Europe, the list received 92%, however, this was driven by its results in Germany (98% of votes). When excluding Germany, the list obtained 74% in total in the other European countries. In the Gulf, North America, and Australia, only slightly more than the majority voted for Hezbollah-Amal.

Hezbollah did not run in Zahrani. In Sour, where both Hezbollah and Amal candidates ran, Amal was more successful.

Table 50: Votes for lists in South 2

District	List	Number of votes			Percentage of votes		
		Residents	Diaspora	Total	Residents	Diaspora	Total
Sour	Hezbollah- Amal	81,615	2,629	84,244	95%	94%	95%
	Independent	4,411	165	4,576	5%	6%	5%
Zahrani	Hezbollah- Amal	48,580	1,244	49,824	88%	82%	88%
	Independent	6,635	270	6,905	12%	18%	12%
South 2	Hezbollah- Amal	130,195	3,873	134,068	92%	90%	92%
	Independent	11,046	435	11,481	8%	10%	8%

XV. South 3

1. REGISTERED VOTERS AND TURNOUT

Nearly 470,000 voters were registered in the electoral district of South 3: 461,932 were in Lebanon and 7,911 registered outside of the country. The total turnout was 49%, and higher among the diaspora (53%). Most OCV were residents of Germany (1,951), where turnout rates were similar to the total among the South 3 diaspora. A high share was also in France (53% turnout), Canada (52%), the US (31%), and Sweden (55%).

In Bint Jbeil, high numbers were residents of Australia, where turnout reached 91%, and Côte D'Ivoire (79% turnout). In Nabatiyeh, a high share was also in Côte D'Ivoire as well as Gabon (66% and 71% turnout). Finally, in Marjaayoun-Hasbaya, the country with the second-highest diaspora (after Germany) was Paraguay, where turnout rates were 65%. Significant numbers were also in Brazil (only 29% turnout), and the Gulf countries of Kuwait (63% turnout), Saudi Arabia (52%), and the UAE (51%).

Table 51: Votes for lists in South 3

		Registered voters	Voters	Turnout
Bint Jbeil	Residents	149,598	63,826	43%
	Diaspora	2,799	1,445	52%
	Total	152,397	65,271	43%
Nabatiyeh	Residents	148,759	80,953	54%
	Diaspora	2,105	1,143	54%
	Total	150,864	82,096	54%
Marjaayoun-Hasbaya	Residents	163,575	79,559	49%
	Diaspora	3,007	1,637	54%
	Total	166,582	81,196	49%
South 3	Residents	461,932	224,338	49%
	Diaspora	7,911	4,225	53%
	Total	469,843	228,563	49%

2. RESULTS

SIX LISTS RAN AND THE HEZBOLLAH-AMAL ONE WON ALL SEATS WITH 86% OF THE VOTES.

Although the list received most votes among both residents and OCV, its share among the former was higher (87%, compared to the 77% it won among the diaspora). OCV voted less for the Hezbollah-Amal list in all districts, and more for a list that included FPM, FM, and LDP candidates as well as the one that included a candidate from LF.

Table 52: Votes for lists in South 3

District	List	Number of votes		Percentage of votes	
		Residents	Diaspora	Residents	Diaspora
Bint Jbeil	Hezbollah- Amal	57,058	1,170	91%	83%
	FPM-FM-LDP	1,873	52	3%	4%
	Communist party	1,332	43	2%	3%
	LF-independent	1,682	77	3%	5%
	Kulluna Watani	549	53	1%	4%
	LOP-independent	133	10	0%	1%
Nabatiyeh	Hezbollah- Amal	73,190	821	92%	83%
	FPM-FM-LDP	2,070	64	3%	6%
	Communist party	2,563	30	3%	3%
	LF-independent	422	24	1%	2%
	Kulluna Watani	700	46	1%	5%
	LOP-independent	230	2	0%	0%
Marjaayoun-Hasbaya	Hezbollah- Amal	59,908	1,077	77%	68%
	FPM-FM-LDP	12,755	244	16%	15%
	Communist party	1,874	53	2%	3%
	LF-independent	2,359	146	3%	9%
	Kulluna Watani	855	59	1%	4%
	LOP-independent	271	13	0%	1%
South 3	Hezbollah- Amal	190,156	3,068	87%	77%
	FPM-FM-LDP	16,698	360	8%	9%
	Communist party	5,769	126	3%	3%
	LF-independent	4,463	247	2%	6%
	Kulluna Watani	2,104	158	1%	4%
	LOP-independent	634	25	0%	1%

ABOUT THE ARAB REFORM INITIATIVE

The Arab Reform Initiative is an independent think tank working with expert partners in the Middle East and North Africa and beyond to articulate a home-grown agenda for democratic change and social justice. It conducts research and policy analysis and provides a platform for inspirational voices based on the principles of diversity, impartiality, and gender equality.

ABOUT THE POLICY INITIATIVE

The Policy Initiative, a Beirut based think tank which was established in February 2021, aims to inform the public, engage key stakeholders, and empower local communities through shaping policies, incentives and behaviors of state and societal actors.

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