



Arab
Reform
Initiative

HOW DID THE LEBANESE DIASPORA VOTE IN THE 2022 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS?

In Partnership with

THE
POLICY
INITIATIVE

Georgia Dagher

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Georgia Dagher is a political researcher. Her main areas of interest are political participation, behavior, and representation. She has previously worked with two Beirut-based think tanks, The Policy Initiative and the Lebanese Center for Policy Studies, where she led research projects on Lebanese parliamentary elections, including the campaign strategies of political parties and voter behavior.

© 2024 Arab Reform Initiative. All Rights Reserved.



This license allows reusers to distribute, remix, adapt, and build upon the material in any medium or format for non-commercial purposes only, and only so long as attribution is given to the creator. If you remix, adapt, or build upon the material, you must license the modified material under identical terms.

Cover Image: Ink on fingers of diaspora voters in the 2022 Lebanese elections 2022 in France | © Ziad S Hassan/Shutterstock

January 2024

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | | |
|-------------|---|-----------|
| I . | Results and turnout in the aggregate | 6 |
| | Turnout | 7 |
| | Results for parties nationally | 8 |
| | Results across continents | 10 |
| II . | Country level results | 12 |
| | France | 13 |
| | The United States | 17 |
| | Canada | 21 |
| | The United Arab Emirates | 25 |
| | Australia | 29 |
| | Germany | 33 |
| | Saudi Arabia | 37 |
| III. | District level analysis | 41 |
| | Beirut 1 | 42 |
| | Beirut 2 | 44 |
| | Bekaa 1 | 46 |
| | Bekaa 2 | 48 |
| | Bekaa 3 | 50 |
| | Mount Lebanon 1 | 52 |
| | Mount Lebanon 2 | 54 |
| | Mount Lebanon 3 | 56 |
| | Mount Lebanon 4 | 58 |
| | North 1 | 60 |
| | North 2 | 62 |
| | North 3 | 65 |
| | South 1 | 67 |
| | South 2 | 69 |
| | South 3 | 71 |

HOW DID LEBANESE EXPATRIATE VOTERS VOTE IN THE 2022 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS?

The 2022 Lebanese parliamentary elections saw increased mobilization from Lebanese citizens abroad, who constituted 6% of the electorate, three times as much as they did in 2018. Not only did registration numbers increase, but their turnout was also higher than in 2018.

While in 2018, the diaspora's votes did not have an impact on the overall results, higher participation in 2022 contributed to the election of seven candidates. The voting behavior of the diaspora was significantly different from that of in-country voters, and much more so than in 2018. For instance, anti-establishment candidates and parties performed much better with the diaspora than with in-country voters. In addition, while some traditional parties (notably the Lebanese Forces and Hezbollah) generally maintained the same level of support in the diaspora between 2018 and 2022, other parties like the Free Patriotic Movement, Amal, or Tashnag, saw a massive drop in their support abroad.

This switch in political preferences suggests an increased mobilization in the diaspora for political change in Lebanon. While registrants abroad include long-time emigrants, a large part of them are Lebanese who left the country in recent years. As these Lebanese were pushed to leave since the onset of the financial crisis in 2019 and the Beirut blast on 4 August 2020—which all segments of the ruling political class were responsible for—a large share of them, as could have been expected, voted in favor of anti-establishment candidates.

This study provides an in-depth analysis of the Lebanese diaspora's voting behavior in the 2022 election. The analysis is founded on a comparison between the results in Lebanon and those abroad, and a comparison between the diaspora votes in 2018 and those in 2022.

The first section focuses on the results at the national level. While in the aggregate, these are already quite telling, a granular analysis is essential as Lebanese in the diaspora are not one unified bloc of voters. Indeed, the confessional configuration, age, and districts of origin of Lebanese emigrants vary, and so do their political preferences. In the second section, we therefore zoom in on seven countries where the largest numbers of diaspora members registered to vote: France, the United Arab Emirates, the United States, Canada, Australia, Germany, and Saudi Arabia. Finally, in the third section, we provide a district-level analysis and highlight those in which Lebanese abroad

had a determining role in who was elected to parliament. We find that the diaspora vote was determinant for at least seven seats, including five won by anti-establishment candidates.

Our study relies on the official election results disaggregated by polling stations, as well as the official voters' lists obtained from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities.¹ Both datasets were classified according to country and district in order to calculate preferences for political parties and turnout. The results at the polling station level specify the location of the polling station, such as country and district, the total number of votes cast in each polling station, and the number of votes for each electoral list and candidate. This data enabled us to calculate preferences for political parties. In order to calculate turnout, we merged this dataset with the voters' lists, which specify the country each voter was registered in.

1. The results at the polling station level are available at: www.elections.gov.lb. The voters' lists are not publicly available and were requested from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities by The Policy Initiative.

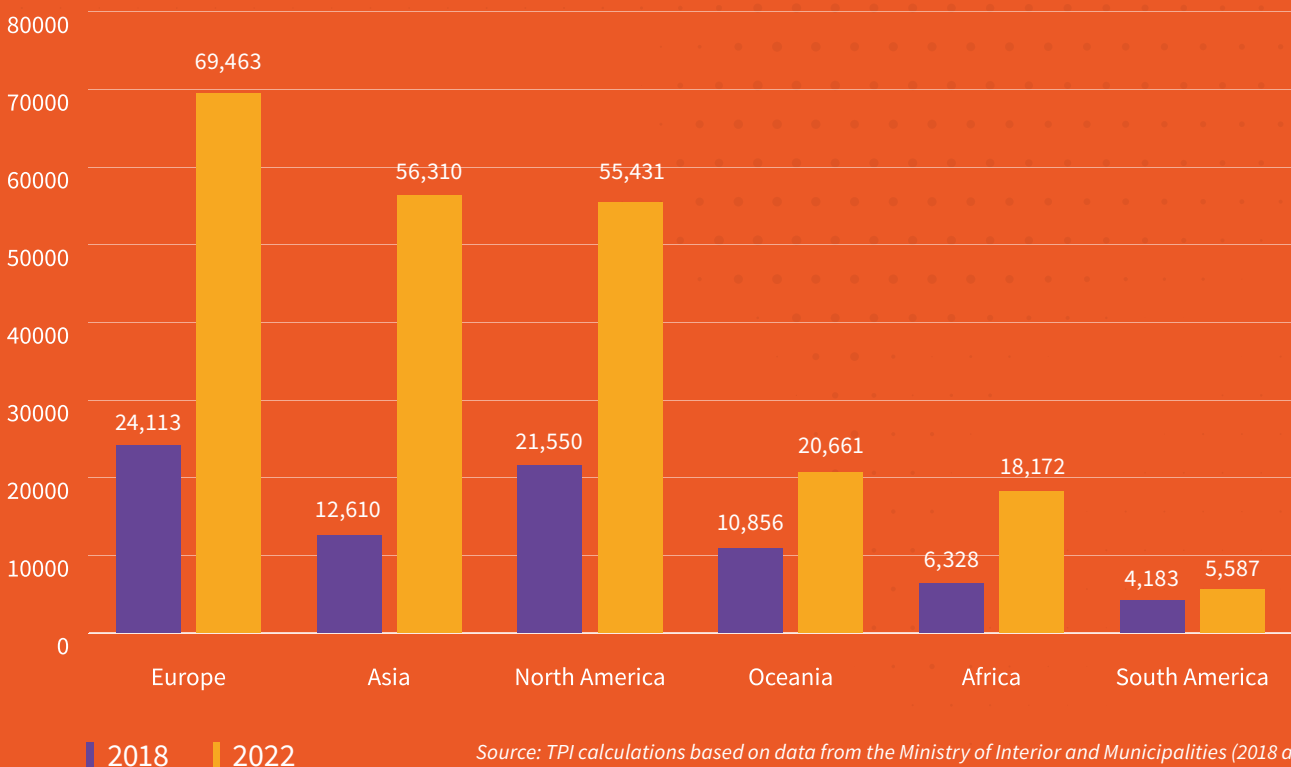
RESULTS AND TURNOUT IN THE AGGREGATE

Nearly 4 million Lebanese citizens were eligible to vote in the 2022 parliamentary election, with 225,624 voters registered outside the country—compared to less than 80,000 in 2018, when out-of-country voting was introduced—representing 6% of all registered voters.

Across continents, the largest share of out-of-country voters was registered in Europe (31%, 69,463 voters), followed by Asia and North America (25% each, 56,310 and 55,431, respectively), and the lowest in Australia (9%, 20,661), Africa (8%, 18,172), and South America (2%, 5,587).²

2. Of note is that 341 Lebanese voters were registered in Ukraine, where the voting was cancelled due to the Russia-Ukraine conflict.

Figure 1: Number of registered voters by continent in the 2018 and 2022 elections



Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

TURNOUT

Turnout rates among out-of-country voters were higher than those among Lebanese residents. While participation rates in the country decreased slightly (48% compared to 49% in 2018), those abroad increased from 59% in 2018 to 63% in 2022, highlighting higher political engagement among the Lebanese diaspora.

Participation rates varied across continents. They were highest in Europe (65%), Asia (65%), and Africa (64%), followed by North America (61%) and Australia (57%), with South America coming last, similar to 2018 (42%). Compared to 2018, voters in Europe and North America were more mobilized (6 percentage points increase in turnout). Turnouts remained the same in Asia and South America, while they decreased in Australia, and particularly Africa.

Figure 2: Participation rates by continent among out-of-country voters in the 2018 and 2022 parliamentary elections



Participation rates also varied across electoral districts and were higher among out-of-country voters in all of them. These higher turnouts are partly explained by the fact that Lebanese abroad had to register to vote, while those in the country were automatically registered to do so. However, looking back at the 2018 results shows that

2022 saw increases in out-of-country voters' participation rates in all districts but two (North 3 and South 1), hinting at other explanations. For example, it could be that a large share of those who registered abroad were first-time voters or recent emigrants who were keen to vote.

Table 1: Registered voters and turnout rates by electoral district in the 2022 parliamentary election

| Electoral district | Lebanon registered voters | Lebanon voters | Diaspora registered voters | Diaspora voters | Lebanon turnout | Diaspora turnout | Diaspora turnout in 2018 |
|--------------------|---------------------------|------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| Beirut 1 | 125,175 | 41,941 | 9,650 | 6,370 | 34% | 66% | 52% |
| Beirut 2 | 344,437 | 138,239 | 26,425 | 16,482 | 40% | 62% | 54% |
| Bekaa 1 | 173,789 | 89,222 | 9,636 | 6,155 | 51% | 64% | 58% |
| Bekaa 2 | 146,817 | 63,984 | 7,158 | 4,362 | 44% | 61% | 54% |
| Bekaa 3 | 333,397 | 190,246 | 7,866 | 4,870 | 57% | 62% | 61% |
| Mount Lebanon 1 | 169,171 | 112,562 | 12,932 | 9,131 | 67% | 71% | 69% |
| Mount Lebanon 2 | 169,847 | 86,285 | 13,594 | 9,568 | 51% | 70% | 61% |
| Mount Lebanon 3 | 158,475 | 78,343 | 13,271 | 8,771 | 49% | 66% | 60% |
| Mount Lebanon 4 | 320,895 | 167,196 | 25,556 | 17,006 | 52% | 67% | 61% |
| North 1 | 301,039 | 149,082 | 8,478 | 4,796 | 50% | 57% | 54% |
| North 2 | 361,835 | 142,732 | 15,276 | 8,789 | 39% | 58% | 52% |
| North 3 | 231,250 | 108,565 | 26,714 | 17,453 | 47% | 65% | 67% |
| South 1 | 120,874 | 58,304 | 8,355 | 5,062 | 48% | 61% | 64% |
| South 2 | 309,372 | 156,406 | 18,692 | 11,151 | 51% | 60% | 58% |
| South 3 | 475,510 | 227,001 | 22,021 | 11,609 | 48% | 53% | 53% |
| Total | 3,741,883 | 1,810,108 | 225,624 | 141,575 | 48% | 63% | 59% |

Note: Percentages rounded up.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

RESULTS FOR PARTIES NATIONALLY

The 2022 election saw changes in the Lebanese parliament's composition, with a number of breakthroughs for anti-establishment political groups. A total of 34 electoral lists were formed by anti-establishment political groups and candidates—in contrast to 18 lists in the 2018 election—and they ran in all 15 electoral districts. These political groups and candidates are considered as those unaffiliated to any traditional political party or establishment politician.³ Thirteen of them made it to parliament, in contrast to only one in the 2018 election.⁴

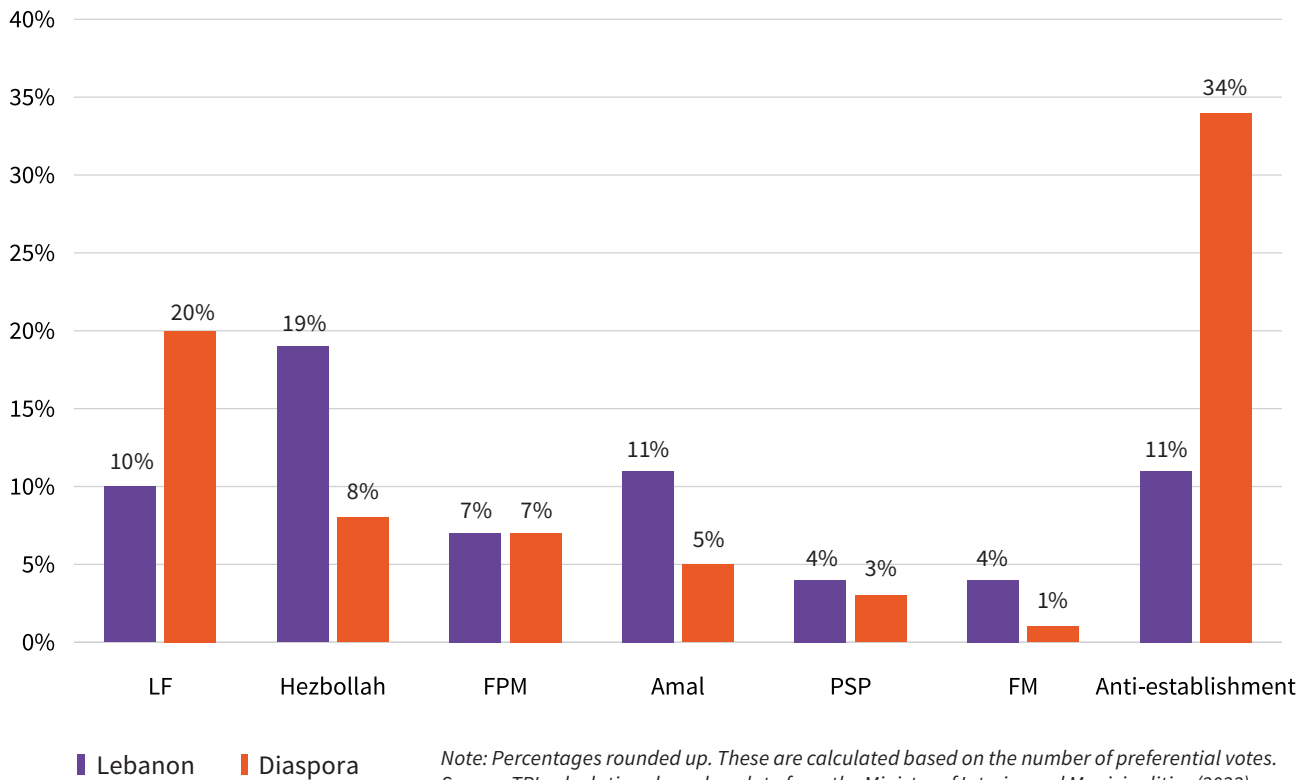
3. While the majority of candidates who ran in the election were not official members of any traditional political party, not all of them qualify as anti-establishment, as they ran on electoral lists affiliated or backed by these parties. Some of the anti-establishment political groups and parties include Citizens in a State, Tahalof Watani, and Taqqadom, as well as the smaller parties Lana and ReLebanon. Of note is that some of the lists considered as anti-establishment included candidates from the Communist Party and the National Bloc, and while these parties are not emerging ones, we include them because they formed alliances with emerging parties and they have been out of power since the Lebanese Civil War.

4. Note that one of the anti-establishment MPs, Rami Fanj (Tripoli), lost his seat following an appeal submitted to the Constitutional Council by Faisal Karami.

Among the traditional parties, the Lebanese Forces (LF) gained ground, becoming the largest bloc in parliament, Hezbollah and the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP) retained their seats, while the Free Patriotic Movement (FPM) and Amal, as well as Future Movement candidates (FM) who ran despite the party leader's withdrawal and calls not to run as a party, lost high levels of support.

Such patterns were observed among both in-country and out-of-country voters, although to a different extent. Compared to Lebanese in the country, those abroad gave a higher share of their preferential votes to LF (20% compared to 10%), and anti-establishment candidates (34% compared to 11%). They supported FPM and PSP at a more or less similar rate, while they voted much less for Hezbollah (8% compared to 19%) and Amal candidates (5% compared to 11%).

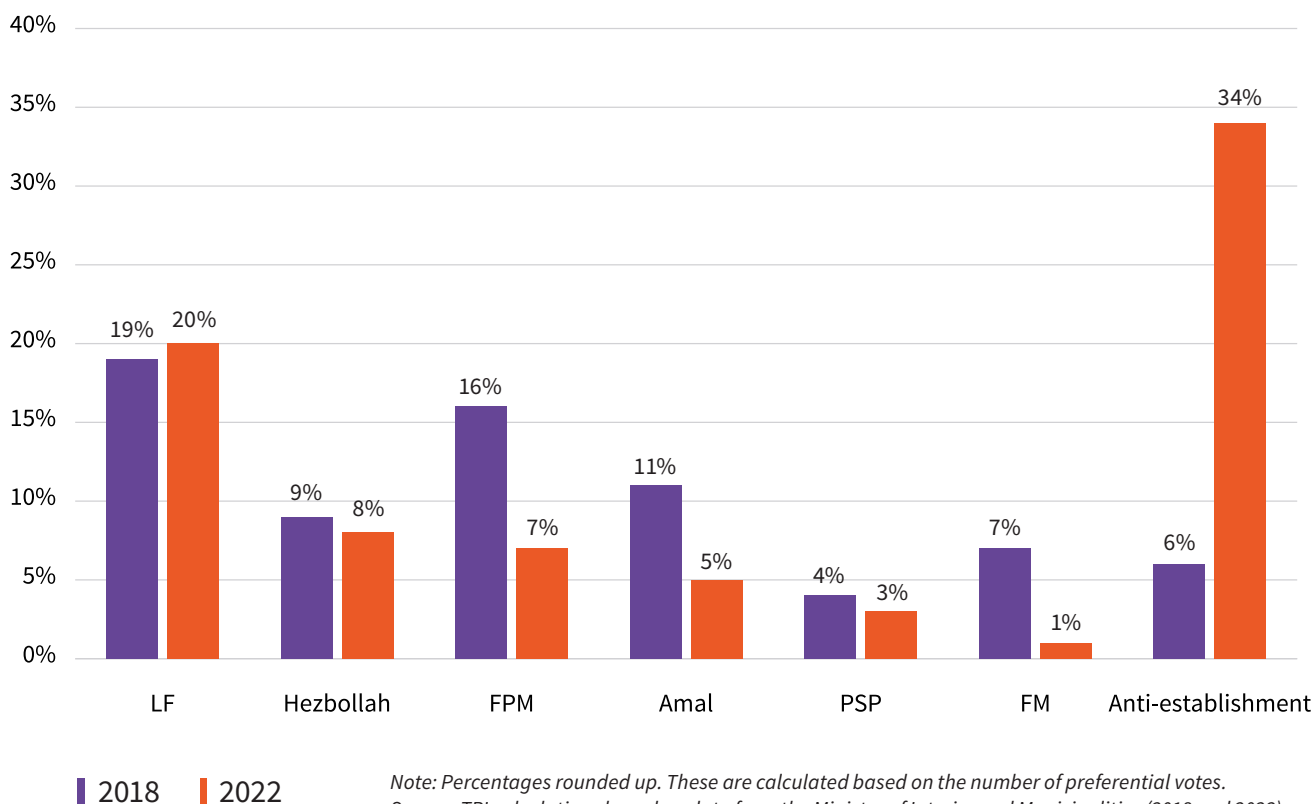
Figure 3: Percentage of votes for the main parties across residencies in the 2022 parliamentary election



A comparison between the diaspora's voting behavior in 2022 to that in 2018 shows some shifts in political preferences. The number of preferential votes cast abroad increased from 43,753 in 2018 to 130,852 in 2022. LF remained the preferred party with its vote share being similar to what it received in 2018. Support for FPM and Amal, which were the second and third most popular parties abroad in 2018, significantly dropped (from 16% in 2018 to 7% for FPM, and 11% to 5% for Amal). The main winners were anti-establishment candidates, who received 34% compared to only 6% of the diaspora's vote in 2018. While the support they obtained in Lebanon also increased, the difference was not as large (3% in 2018 to 11% in 2022). Taking into account the increase in the number of preferential votes cast in 2022 compared to 2018, 48% of the additional votes went to candidates on anti-establishment lists (who received a combined 43,872 votes outside the country, compared to 2,747 in 2018), while 20% went to LF candidates (who received 26,010 votes outside the country, compared to 8,258 in 2018).

Among some of the smaller parties, the main losers of the elections were Tashnag (0.3% of the diaspora's vote compared to 2% in 2018) and Marada (0.7% compared to 2% in 2018). The smaller parties that received substantial numbers of votes were Kataeb (3% of the diaspora's vote, compared to 2% in 2018) and Al-Ahbash (3%, similar to 2018).

Figure 4: Percentage of votes for parties among out-of-country voters in the 2018 and 2022 parliamentary elections



RESULTS ACROSS CONTINENTS

Political preferences varied across continents. Anti-establishment candidates came on top in Asia (46%), Europe (37%), and North America (31%). They were far less popular in Africa, Australia, and South America (between 11% and 13%), where their share was similar to what they obtained with voters residing in Lebanon. These trends in support for the anti-establishment were similar to those in 2018, when their results were best in Asia, Europe, and North America, but lower than the diaspora's average in Africa, Australia, and South America.

Compared to 2018, LF's share remained the same in Europe, Asia, North America, and Africa, while it increased in Australia and South America. LF was overall the most popular party with voters in all continents but Africa and South America, which both remained loyal to Hezbollah and Amal.

While Amal's share of votes dropped in all continents, the party remained strongest in Africa, both in terms of percentage and number of votes. Similar to 2018, it was the top party in Africa, although it was closely followed by Hezbollah (which gained the largest number of voters in Africa between 2018 and 2022). Hezbollah made its largest gains in South America, where it became the most popular party, outranking Amal by far (in contrast to 2018, when the opposite was true). FPM lost support across all continents—even those where it was already unpopular in 2018. Its losses were particularly high in Asia and North America. Both PSP and FM's share of votes also decreased in all continents, and particularly Asia, in which they had their best results in 2018.

Table 2: Percentage and number of votes for parties across continents in the 2018 and 2022 parliamentary elections

| Continent | Europe | | Asia | | North America | | Africa | | Australia | | South America | |
|---|---------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| | 2018 | 2022 | 2018 | 2022 | 2018 | 2022 | 2018 | 2022 | 2018 | 2022 | 2018 | 2022 |
| Number of preferential votes | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| LF | 1,915 | 6,462 | 1,215 | 5,354 | 3,202 | 9,175 | 251 | 1,038 | 1,575 | 3,650 | 100 | 331 |
| Hezbollah | 2,064 | 4,412 | 190 | 864 | 229 | 878 | 1,035 | 3,086 | 187 | 242 | 154 | 473 |
| FPM | 1,890 | 2,562 | 1,331 | 1,556 | 2,636 | 2,989 | 332 | 508 | 834 | 947 | 90 | 89 |
| Amal | 2,395 | 2,995 | 158 | 206 | 273 | 442 | 1,510 | 3,157 | 67 | 61 | 328 | 210 |
| PSP | 198 | 516 | 910 | 1,907 | 407 | 942 | 88 | 129 | 109 | 189 | 108 | 108 |
| FM | 554 | 1,388 | 961 | 814 | 632 | 1,217 | 145 | 180 | 418 | 366 | 139 | 40 |
| Anti-establishment | 1,012 | 15,451 | 840 | 15,943 | 732 | 9,771 | 70 | 1,377 | 73 | 1,094 | 20 | 236 |
| Total preferential votes | 13,355 | 41,701 | 7,885 | 34,479 | 11,165 | 31,266 | 4,044 | 10,935 | 5,719 | 10,419 | 1,585 | 2,052 |
| Percentage of preferential votes | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| LF | 14% | 15% | 15% | 16% | 29% | 29% | 6% | 9% | 28% | 35% | 6% | 16% |
| Hezbollah | 15% | 11% | 2% | 3% | 2% | 3% | 26% | 28% | 3% | 2% | 10% | 23% |
| FPM | 14% | 6% | 17% | 5% | 24% | 10% | 8% | 5% | 15% | 9% | 6% | 4% |
| Amal | 18% | 7% | 2% | 1% | 2% | 1% | 37% | 29% | 1% | 1% | 21% | 10% |
| PSP | 1% | 1% | 12% | 6% | 4% | 3% | 2% | 1% | 2% | 2% | 7% | 5% |
| FM | 4% | 3% | 12% | 2% | 6% | 4% | 4% | 2% | 7% | 4% | 9% | 2% |
| Anti-establishment | 8% | 37% | 11% | 46% | 7% | 31% | 2% | 13% | 1% | 11% | 1% | 12% |

Note: Percentages rounded up. These are calculated based on the number of preferential votes.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

PART II

COUNTRY LEVEL RESULTS

This section provides an analysis of voting behavior in seven countries: France, the United States, Canada, the United Arab Emirates, Australia, Germany, and Saudi Arabia. These countries were selected as they had the highest share of registered voters, representing 70% of all out-of-country voters.

COUNTRY LEVEL RESULTS

FRANCE

France was the country with the highest number of registered voters (28,136, compared to 8,679 in 2018). Turnout there was one of the highest in the diaspora, and it increased from the last election—from 58% to 71%—not only in the aggregate, but across all districts as well. Participation rates in France were also higher than each district's diaspora average (ranging from 5 percentage points higher in South 2 and 3, to 13 percentage points higher in North 1). This suggests widespread mobilization from diaspora groups in the country, rather than factors related to specific electoral districts.

Table 3: Registered voters and turnout in France in the 2022 parliamentary elections

| | Registered voters | Voters | Turnout | Turnout in 2018 |
|-----------------|-------------------|---------------|------------|-----------------|
| Beirut 1 | 2,029 | 1,504 | 74% | 64% |
| Beirut 2 | 2,372 | 1,668 | 70% | 35% |
| Bekaa 1 | 1,378 | 970 | 70% | 67% |
| Bekaa 2 | 435 | 297 | 68% | 60% |
| Bekaa 3 | 1,072 | 724 | 68% | 59% |
| Mount Lebanon 1 | 2,877 | 2,128 | 74% | 68% |
| Mount Lebanon 2 | 2,651 | 2,008 | 76% | 65% |
| Mount Lebanon 3 | 2,206 | 1,630 | 74% | 58% |
| Mount Lebanon 4 | 3,498 | 2,539 | 73% | 58% |
| North 1 | 1,154 | 804 | 70% | 66% |
| North 2 | 1,528 | 1,032 | 68% | 58% |
| North 3 | 2,451 | 1,828 | 75% | 67% |
| South 1 | 1,290 | 899 | 70% | 63% |
| South 2 | 1,161 | 751 | 65% | 45% |
| South 3 | 2,034 | 1,176 | 58% | 53% |
| Total | 28,136 | 19,958 | 71% | 58% |

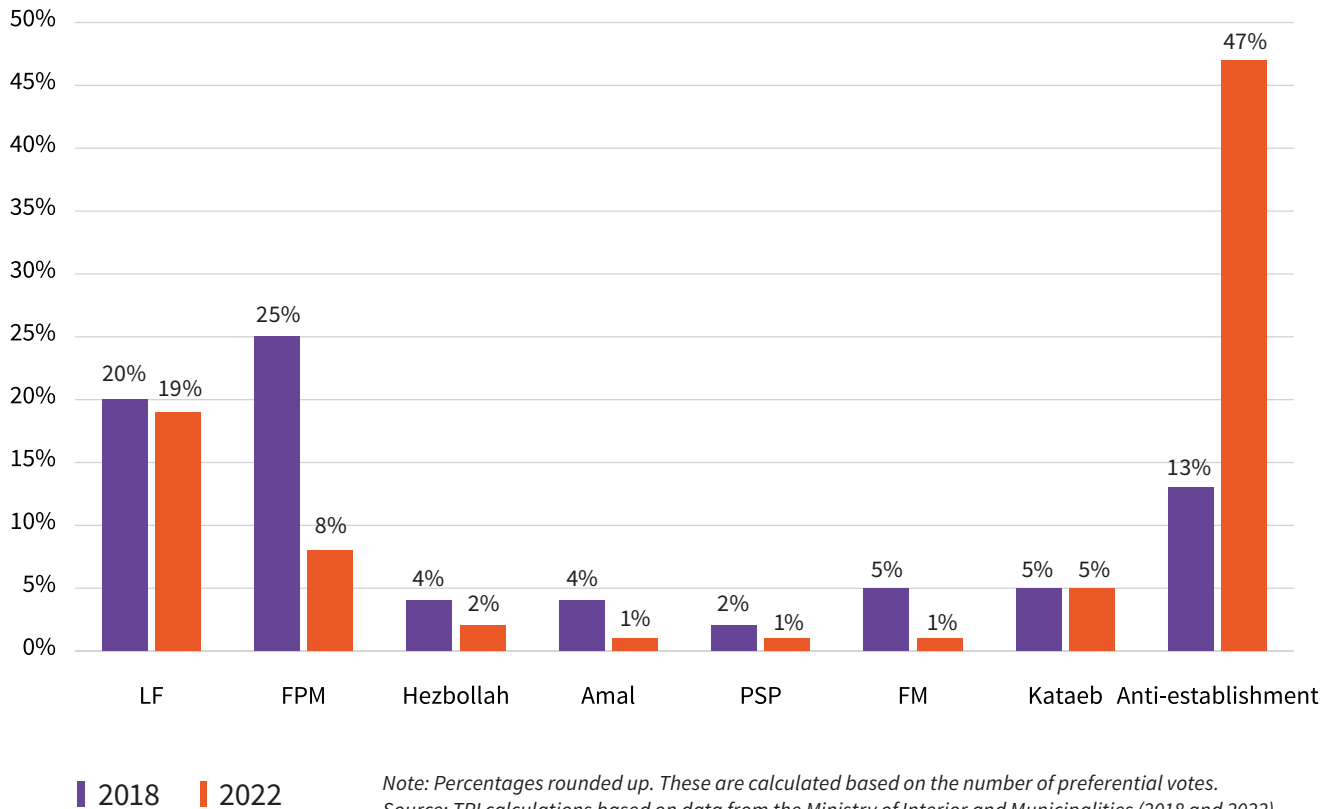
Note: Percentages rounded up.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

A total of 18,233 voters in France cast a preferential vote, and out of them, nearly half chose candidates on anti-establishment lists (8,490 votes, 47% of preferential votes in France), one of the highest rates across countries. Considering the increase in the number of preferential votes cast in 2022 compared to 2018, nearly 60% of the additional votes went to anti-establishment candidates.

These anti-establishment candidates ranked first (among those voting in France) in all districts but Bekaa 1 and Mount Lebanon 1, where LF candidates performed better. Among the main parties, LF came in first (19%), followed by FPM (8%). This was in contrast to 2018, when FPM was the most popular (25% of the votes in France in 2018). Support for Hezbollah, Amal, and PSP slightly decreased, while that for Kataeb remained the same. One party that lost nearly all of its votes was Tashnag (which went from a total of 64 votes in France in 2018 to 22 in 2022).

Figure 5: Percentage of votes for parties among Lebanese voters registered in France in 2018 and 2022



Across districts, as mentioned, anti-establishment candidates ranked first in almost all, while LF ranked second. Compared to 2018, the other main parties' vote share decreased in nearly all districts.⁵

5. For the 2018 results, see: Dagher, G. 2022. "The Lebanese Diaspora and the Upcoming Elections: Lessons from the 2018 Voting." Arab Reform Initiative and The Policy Initiative.

Table 4: Votes for the main parties by electoral district among Lebanese voters registered in France in the 2022 parliamentary elections

| | Total preferential votes | LF | FPM | Hezbollah | Amal | PSP | FM | Kataeb | Anti-establishment candidates |
|-----------------|--------------------------|--------------|--------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------------------------|
| Beirut 1 | 1,387 | 242 | 79 | - | - | - | - | 150 | 794 |
| Beirut 2 | 1,534 | - | 36 | 43 | 6 | 7 | 34 | - | 957 |
| Bekaa 1 | 923 | 368 | 79 | 30 | - | - | 5 | 22 | 316 |
| Bekaa 2 | 283 | 52 | 33 | - | 12 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 153 |
| Bekaa 3 | 665 | 211 | 40 | 42 | 7 | - | - | - | 283 |
| Mount Lebanon 1 | 1,923 | 407 | 229 | 28 | - | - | - | 83 | 335 |
| Mount Lebanon 2 | 1,909 | 373 | 236 | - | - | - | - | 337 | 766 |
| Mount Lebanon 3 | 1,483 | 383 | 169 | 28 | 4 | 21 | - | 174 | 626 |
| Mount Lebanon 4 | 2,381 | 437 | 185 | - | - | 203 | - | - | 1,387 |
| North 1 | 758 | 171 | 136 | - | - | - | 43 | - | 346 |
| North 2 | 938 | 54 | - | - | - | - | 85 | - | 533 |
| North 3 | 1,680 | 467 | 157 | - | - | - | - | 89 | 694 |
| South 1 | 793 | 245 | 109 | - | 34 | - | - | - | 258 |
| South 2 | 606 | 63 | - | 42 | 74 | - | - | - | 323 |
| South 3 | 970 | - | - | 194 | 48 | - | - | - | 719 |
| Total | 18,233 | 3,473 | 1,488 | 407 | 185 | 239 | 169 | 857 | 8,490 |

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2022).

The high turnouts in France, combined with large support for anti-establishment candidates, could be partly explained by the large share of first- and second-time voters there (17% and 36%, respectively).⁶ Some of these voters are likely to have left the country since the onset of the crisis and the August 4, 2020, Beirut blast, which the traditional political parties were all responsible for.

6. The share of first- and second-time voters was calculated based on registered voters' date of birth, included in the voters' lists from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities.

COUNTRY LEVEL RESULTS

THE UNITED STATES

A total of 27,984 Lebanese voters registered to vote in the US (compared to 10,369 in 2018). While, similar to the previous election, turnout was lower than the diaspora average, it increased from 50% in 2018 to 56% in 2022. Turnouts were highest among those registered to vote in the electoral districts of Mount Lebanon 1 and North 3, although being slightly lower than they were in 2018. Some districts that saw particularly higher turnouts than they had in 2018 were Beirut 1, Beirut 2, North 2, and South 2.

Table 5: Registered voters and turnout in the US in the 2022 parliamentary election

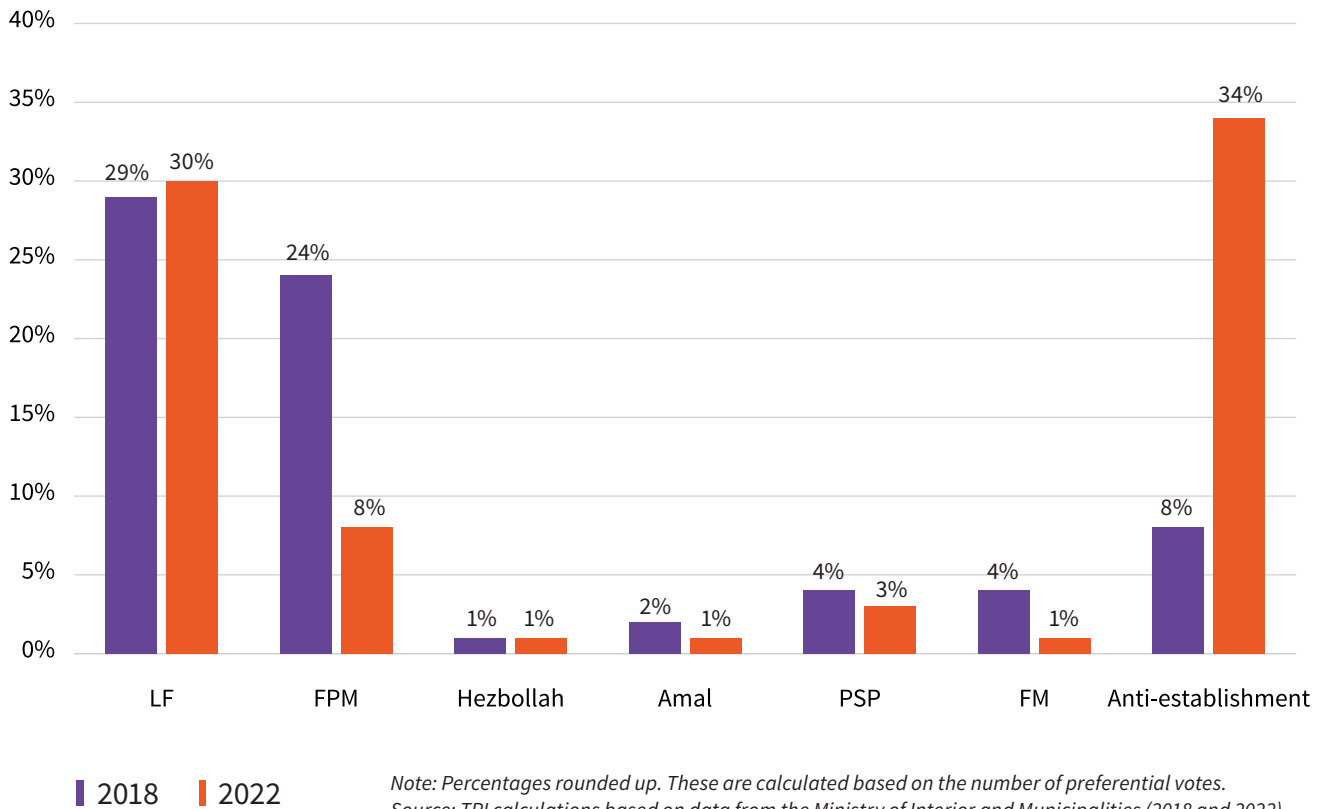
| | Registered voters | Voters | Turnout | Turnout in 2018 |
|-----------------|-------------------|---------------|------------|-----------------|
| Beirut 1 | 1,554 | 843 | 54% | 35% |
| Beirut 2 | 2,869 | 1,527 | 53% | 29% |
| Bekaa 1 | 1,502 | 857 | 57% | 54% |
| Bekaa 2 | 833 | 430 | 52% | 59% |
| Bekaa 3 | 769 | 430 | 56% | 58% |
| Mount Lebanon 1 | 2,125 | 1,368 | 64% | 66% |
| Mount Lebanon 2 | 2,253 | 1,335 | 59% | 55% |
| Mount Lebanon 3 | 2,305 | 1,341 | 58% | 56% |
| Mount Lebanon 4 | 3,800 | 2,112 | 56% | 52% |
| North 1 | 702 | 382 | 54% | 53% |
| North 2 | 1,181 | 597 | 51% | 40% |
| North 3 | 4,464 | 2,838 | 64% | 66% |
| South 1 | 1,128 | 616 | 55% | 57% |
| South 2 | 1,033 | 496 | 48% | 25% |
| South 3 | 1,466 | 568 | 39% | 31% |
| Total | 27,984 | 15,740 | 56% | 50% |

Note: Percentages rounded up.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

Out of the 14,514 voters who cast a preferential vote, a third chose anti-establishment candidates (34%, 4,941 voters), followed by LF (30%, 4,330). Support for Hezbollah, Amal, PSP, and FM, which was already low in 2018, dropped slightly, and similar to a trend seen in other diaspora communities, support for FPM dropped significantly (from 24% in 2018 to 8% in 2022).

Figure 6: Percentage of votes for parties among Lebanese voters registered in the US in the 2018 and 2022 parliamentary elections



Competition between anti-establishment candidates and LF was high in nearly all districts. Kataeb was popular in Beirut 1, Mount Lebanon 2, and North 3, while Al-Ahbash received a high share of votes in Beirut 2 and PSP in its stronghold of Mount Lebanon 4.

One of the main losers in the US was Tashnag, which went from receiving 41% of votes among Beirut 1 voters in the US in 2018 to 8% in 2022, and went from 29% in Mount Lebanon 2 to 4% in 2022.

Table 6: Votes for the main parties by electoral district among Lebanese voters registered in the US in the 2022 parliamentary election

| | Total preferential votes | LF | FPM | Hezbollah | Amal | PSP | FM | Kataeb | Al-Ahbash | Anti-establishment |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|--------------|--------------|------------------|-------------|------------|-----------|---------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| Beirut 1 | 793 | 209 | 53 | - | - | - | - | 112 | - | 312 |
| Beirut 2 | 1,429 | - | 28 | 11 | 1 | 18 | 28 | - | 228 | 811 |
| Bekaa 1 | 794 | 456 | 69 | 2 | - | - | 1 | 25 | - | 161 |
| Bekaa 2 | 395 | 102 | 38 | - | 21 | 12 | 5 | 21 | - | 143 |
| Bekaa 3 | 394 | 288 | 12 | 9 | 1 | - | - | - | - | 60 |
| Mount Lebanon 1 | 1,226 | 483 | 123 | 4 | - | - | - | 55 | - | 119 |
| Mount Lebanon 2 | 1,241 | 332 | 147 | - | - | - | - | 241 | - | 342 |
| Mount Lebanon 3 | 1,229 | 347 | 143 | 10 | 3 | 151 | - | 88 | - | 406 |
| Mount Lebanon 4 | 1,964 | 496 | 132 | - | - | 289 | - | - | 9 | 962 |
| North 1 | 356 | 149 | 47 | - | - | - | 15 | - | - | 121 |
| North 2 | 544 | 59 | - | - | - | - | 48 | - | 38 | 252 |
| North 3 | 2,688 | 1,126 | 309 | - | - | - | - | 149 | - | 508 |
| South 1 | 560 | 162 | 78 | - | 11 | - | - | - | - | 163 |
| South 2 | 422 | 121 | - | 7 | 51 | - | - | - | - | 188 |
| South 3 | 479 | - | - | 53 | 19 | - | - | - | - | 393 |
| Total | 14,514 | 4,330 | 1,179 | 96 | 107 | 470 | 97 | 691 | 275 | 4,941 |

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2022).

COUNTRY LEVEL RESULTS

CANADA

27,447 Lebanese voters were registered in Canada, compared to 11,181 in 2018, and 66% of them headed to the polls compared to 60% in 2018. Turnout increased in all electoral districts except South 3, the only one in which less than 50% of voters in Canada voted. It was also higher than the diaspora average in all districts but South 2 and South 3.

Overall, Lebanese voters registered in Canada represented 12% of all out-of-country voters, and constituted a significant share of those originating from Bekaa 2 (30% of all out-of-country voters from Bekaa 2), Bekaa 1 (20%), Beirut 1 (19%), and Mount Lebanon 2 (16%).

Table 7: Registered voters and turnout among Lebanese voters registered in Canada in the 2022 parliamentary election

| | Registered voters | Voters | Turnout | Turnout in 2018 |
|-----------------|-------------------|---------------|------------|-----------------|
| Beirut 1 | 1,809 | 1,226 | 68% | 57% |
| Beirut 2 | 2,736 | 1,855 | 68% | 59% |
| Bekaa 1 | 1,916 | 1,289 | 67% | 59% |
| Bekaa 2 | 2,174 | 1,347 | 62% | 51% |
| Bekaa 3 | 822 | 557 | 68% | 66% |
| Mount Lebanon 1 | 1,735 | 1,284 | 74% | 69% |
| Mount Lebanon 2 | 2,109 | 1,523 | 72% | 60% |
| Mount Lebanon 3 | 1,731 | 1,187 | 69% | 63% |
| Mount Lebanon 4 | 3,435 | 2,363 | 69% | 65% |
| North 1 | 963 | 589 | 61% | 56% |
| North 2 | 1,301 | 840 | 65% | 59% |
| North 3 | 2,288 | 1,548 | 68% | 65% |
| South 1 | 1,134 | 742 | 65% | 65% |
| South 2 | 1,158 | 660 | 57% | 43% |
| South 3 | 2,136 | 1,013 | 47% | 52% |
| Total | 27,447 | 18,023 | 66% | 60% |

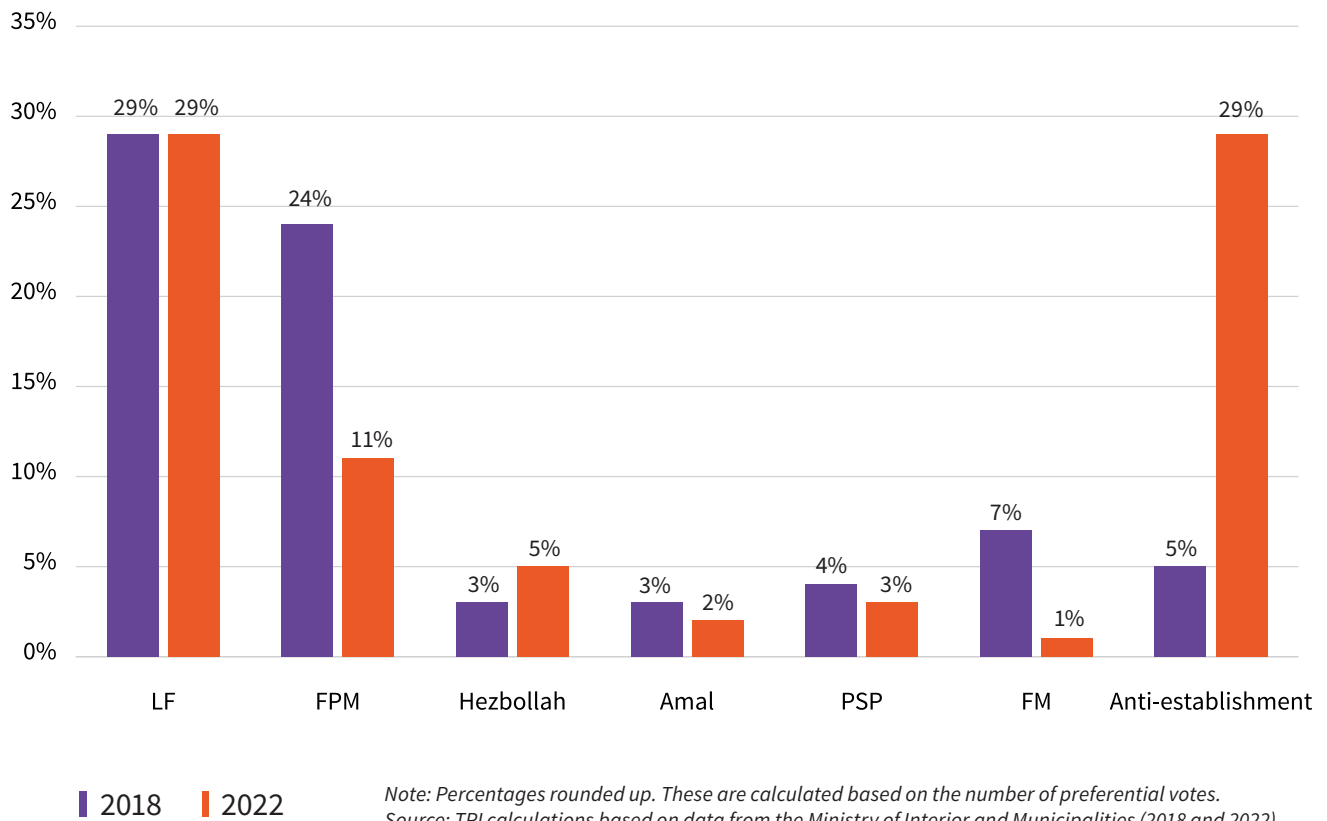
Note: Percentages rounded up.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

A total of 16,752 cast a preferential vote, and LF and anti-establishment candidates received 29% each (4,845 votes and 4,830 votes, respectively). Similar to other countries, support for FPM dropped, from 24% to 11%. Hezbollah's share increased slightly (from 3% to 5%), mostly explained by its higher popularity in South 3 (40% of preferential votes in Canada).

While the share of votes Canada's residents gave to anti-establishment candidates remained lower than the diaspora average of 34%, it still went up from only 5% in 2018 to 29% in 2022.

Figure 7: Percentage of votes for parties among Lebanese voters registered in Canada in the 2018 and 2022 parliamentary elections



LF ranked first in nearly all electoral districts, and in most cases, was followed by anti-establishment candidates. As in other countries, Kataeb received some support in Beirut 1 and Mount Lebanon 2, although low when compared to LF's results in these districts. Hezbollah was highly popular in South 3, Amal in South 2, and PSP in Bekaa 2 and Mount Lebanon 4. Similar to 2018, the PSP candidate in Bekaa 2, Wael Abou Faour, received around 40% of his out-of-country votes from Canada.

Tashnag experienced large losses, as its number of votes halved there (from 252, or 4% in 2018, to 129, or 1% in 2022). Its losses were high in both Beirut 1 (from 29% in 2018 to 6% in 2022) and Mount Lebanon 2 (from 21% to 4%).

Table 8: Votes for the main parties by electoral district among out-of-country voters registered in Canada in the 2022 parliamentary election

| | Total preferential votes | LF | FPM | Hezbollah | Amal | PSP | FM | Kataeb | Al-Ahbash | Anti-establishment |
|-----------------|--------------------------|--------------|--------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------------|
| Beirut 1 | 1,156 | 361 | 137 | - | - | - | - | 110 | - | 395 |
| Beirut 2 | 1,762 | - | 29 | 168 | 17 | 13 | 48 | - | 174 | 844 |
| Bekaa 1 | 1,213 | 613 | 171 | 22 | - | - | 25 | 40 | - | 197 |
| Bekaa 2 | 1,253 | 301 | 160 | - | 59 | 196 | 50 | 24 | - | 272 |
| Bekaa 3 | 524 | 274 | 40 | 42 | 6 | - | - | - | - | 76 |
| Mount Lebanon 1 | 1,122 | 310 | 189 | 36 | - | - | - | 57 | - | 123 |
| Mount Lebanon 2 | 1,429 | 509 | 240 | - | - | - | - | 163 | - | 323 |
| Mount Lebanon 3 | 1,128 | 377 | 157 | 66 | 10 | 46 | - | 84 | - | 332 |
| Mount Lebanon 4 | 2,229 | 703 | 254 | - | - | 217 | - | - | 23 | 881 |
| North 1 | 553 | 219 | 136 | - | - | - | 27 | - | - | 91 |
| North 2 | 780 | 65 | - | - | - | - | 57 | - | 110 | 326 |
| North 3 | 1,455 | 716 | 175 | - | - | - | - | 48 | - | 255 |
| South 1 | 678 | 265 | 122 | - | 38 | - | - | - | - | 124 |
| South 2 | 560 | 132 | - | 87 | 124 | - | - | - | - | 137 |
| South 3 | 910 | - | - | 361 | 81 | - | - | - | - | 454 |
| Total | 16,752 | 4,845 | 1,810 | 782 | 335 | 472 | 207 | 526 | 307 | 4,830 |

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2022).



COUNTRY LEVEL RESULTS

THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

25,067 Lebanese were registered to vote in the UAE, compared to 5,120 in 2018. Turnout there was one of the highest (72%, compared to 63% in 2018), increased in all electoral districts, and was above 70% in 11 of the 15 electoral districts. The highest share of voters registered in the UAE originate from Beirut 2 and Mount Lebanon 4 (about 4,000 each), although most districts had a considerable share of their diaspora voters residing in the UAE.

Table 9: Registered voters and turnout in the UAE in the 2022 parliamentary election

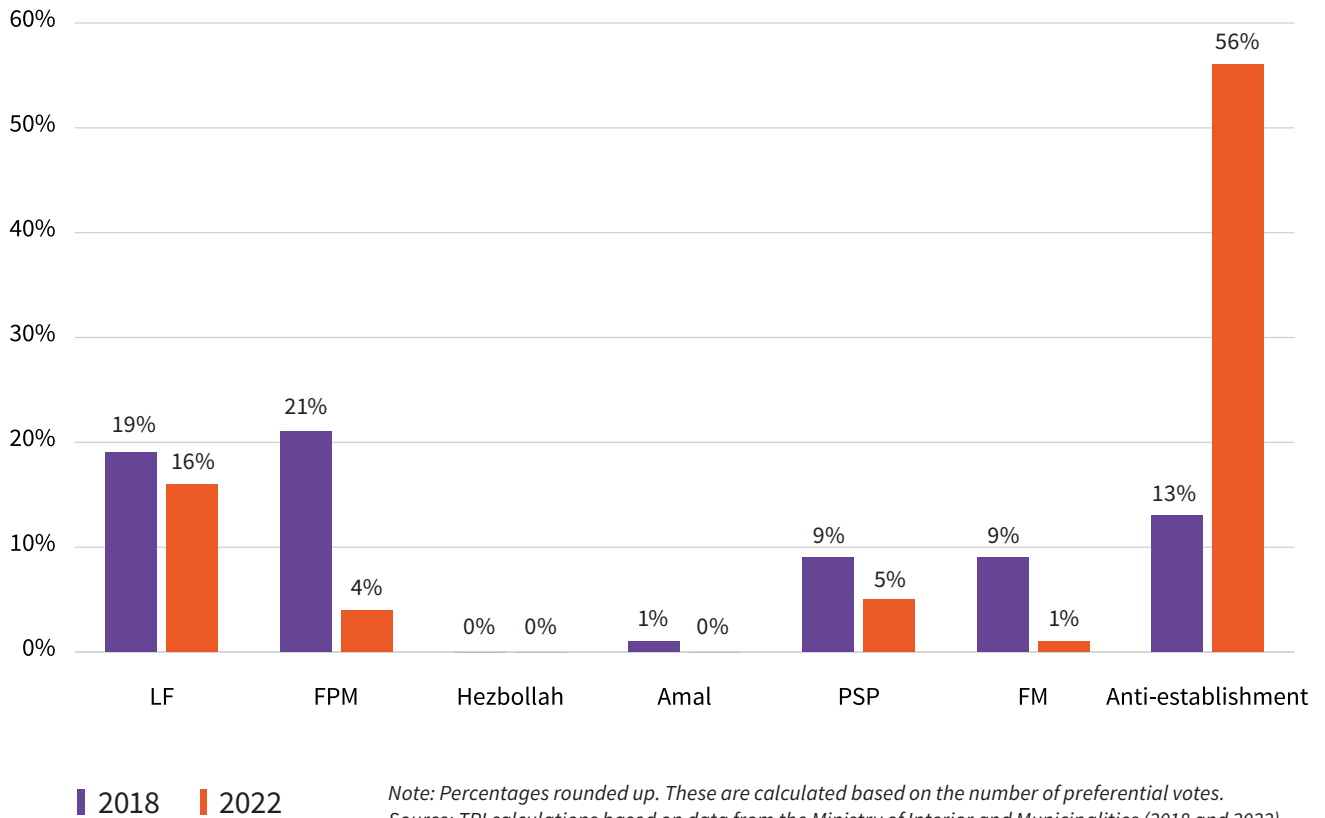
| | Registered voters | Voters | Turnout | Turnout in 2018 |
|-----------------|-------------------|---------------|------------|-----------------|
| Beirut 1 | 1,222 | 888 | 73% | 67% |
| Beirut 2 | 4,174 | 2,917 | 70% | 57% |
| Bekaa 1 | 956 | 675 | 71% | 63% |
| Bekaa 2 | 645 | 484 | 75% | 63% |
| Bekaa 3 | 601 | 426 | 71% | 70% |
| Mount Lebanon 1 | 1,506 | 1,120 | 74% | 72% |
| Mount Lebanon 2 | 1,835 | 1,428 | 78% | 74% |
| Mount Lebanon 3 | 1,974 | 1,488 | 75% | 62% |
| Mount Lebanon 4 | 4,264 | 3,289 | 77% | 69% |
| North 1 | 761 | 530 | 70% | 60% |
| North 2 | 1,642 | 1,108 | 67% | 56% |
| North 3 | 1,963 | 1,542 | 79% | 70% |
| South 1 | 1,278 | 883 | 69% | 57% |
| South 2 | 703 | 429 | 61% | 34% |
| South 3 | 1,543 | 912 | 59% | 42% |
| Total | 25,067 | 18,119 | 72% | 63% |

Note: Percentages rounded up.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

The majority of voters in the UAE cast their preferential vote for anti-establishment candidates. Out of the 17,208 voters who cast a preferential vote, 9,611 chose a candidate running on an anti-establishment list (56%)—the highest percentage of votes these candidates obtained across all countries. Among the traditional political parties, LF ranked first (16%), and similar to other countries, support for FPM, which was the most popular party in the UAE in 2018, dropped (from 21% to only 4%).

Figure 8: Percentage of votes for parties among Lebanese voters registered in the UAE in the 2018 and 2022 parliamentary elections



Anti-establishment candidates obtained the most votes in all electoral districts with the exception of Bekaa 1, Bekaa 3, and Mount Lebanon 1, where LF received more votes. Their share of votes was also higher than the diaspora average in all electoral districts, and they received the majority in eight of the 15. Higher support for the anti-establishment could be potentially explained by the different profiles of Lebanese in the UAE. These are generally educated individuals who left the country in search of better employment opportunities, and tend to be younger—in fact, 39% of UAE’s registered voters are younger than 35 (and 75% are 45 or younger), and only 3% are older citizens aged above 65.

Table 10: Votes for the main parties by electoral district among voters registered in the UAE in the 2022 parliamentary election

| | Total preferential votes | LF | FPM | Hezbollah | Amal | PSP | FM | Kataeb | Anti-establishment |
|-----------------|--------------------------|--------------|------------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|--------------------|
| Beirut 1 | 857 | 224 | 47 | - | - | - | - | 57 | 476 |
| Beirut 2 | 2,809 | - | 16 | 4 | 1 | 16 | 61 | - | 2,146 |
| Bekaa 1 | 654 | 253 | 26 | - | - | - | 31 | 6 | 241 |
| Bekaa 2 | 470 | 55 | 12 | - | - | 44 | 20 | 8 | 299 |
| Bekaa 3 | 403 | 230 | 10 | - | 1 | - | - | - | 145 |
| Mount Lebanon 1 | 971 | 213 | 72 | 2 | - | - | - | 38 | 175 |
| Mount Lebanon 2 | 1,399 | 335 | 169 | - | - | - | - | 211 | 542 |
| Mount Lebanon 3 | 1,447 | 282 | 71 | - | 3 | 180 | - | 101 | 759 |
| Mount Lebanon 4 | 3,135 | 337 | 93 | - | - | 543 | - | - | 2,075 |
| North 1 | 507 | 118 | 48 | - | - | - | 32 | - | 261 |
| North 2 | 1,056 | 60 | - | - | - | 1 | 70 | - | 618 |
| North 3 | 1,464 | 378 | 134 | - | - | - | - | 59 | 579 |
| South 1 | 856 | 220 | 55 | - | 8 | - | - | - | 301 |
| South 2 | 376 | 73 | - | 1 | 6 | - | - | - | 230 |
| South 3 | 804 | - | - | 4 | 5 | - | - | - | 764 |
| Total | 17,208 | 2,778 | 753 | 11 | 24 | 784 | 214 | 480 | 9,611 |

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2022).

COUNTRY LEVEL RESULTS

AUSTRALIA

A total of 20,661 Lebanese were registered to vote in Australia, most of whom came from certain areas of Lebanon. Almost half of Australia's registered voters originate from the North 3 districts of Batroun, Bcharre, Koura, and Zgharta (9,259 voters) and a considerable share come from North 2 (Tripoli, Dannieh, and Minnieh, 3,375 registered voters). Lebanese voters registered in Australia are comparatively older than those in other countries, with 20% of them being citizens aged over 65 (compared to 8% of all out-of-country voters). Although no data on emigration trends from Lebanon is available, these individuals are likely to have emigrated during the Lebanese civil war rather than in recent years, and in turn, many of the registered voters in Australia—including the youth—are likely to have been born there.

Turnout in Australia was lower than the diaspora average (57%, compared to 63%), and slightly lower than the one recorded in 2018 (58%), although the number of actual voters nearly doubled. It increased in most districts that had recorded particularly low turnouts in 2018 (such as Beirut 1, Bekaa 2, Mount Lebanon 2, Mount Lebanon 3, North 1, and North 2), with the exception of South 2, where turnouts were lowest in both 2018 and 2022.

Table 11: Registered voters and turnout in Australia in the 2022 parliamentary election

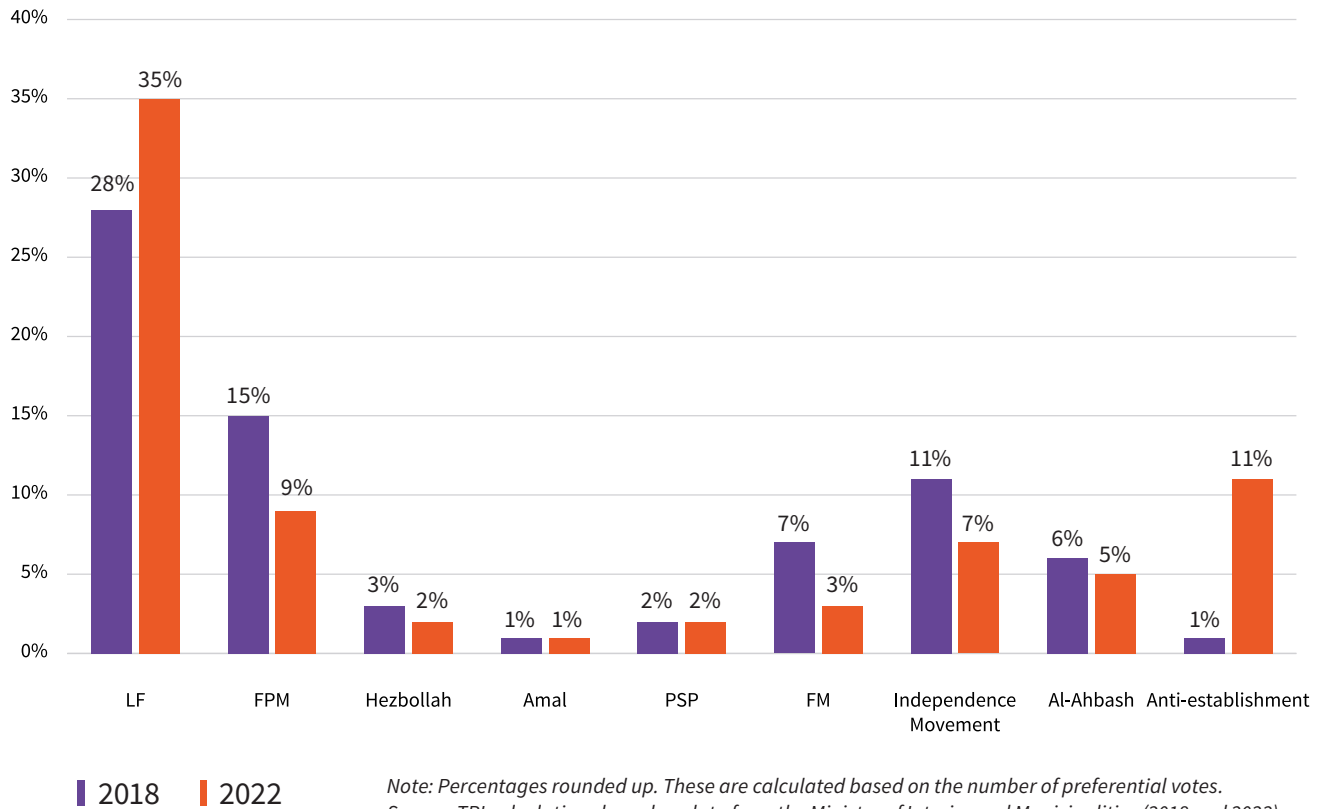
| | Registered voters | Voters | Turnout | Turnout in 2018 |
|-----------------|-------------------|---------------|------------|-----------------|
| Beirut 1 | 260 | 140 | 54% | 42% |
| Beirut 2 | 490 | 315 | 64% | 58% |
| Bekaa 1 | 630 | 356 | 57% | 59% |
| Bekaa 2 | 235 | 138 | 59% | 47% |
| Bekaa 3 | 647 | 369 | 57% | 59% |
| Mount Lebanon 1 | 486 | 298 | 61% | 81% |
| Mount Lebanon 2 | 444 | 257 | 58% | 43% |
| Mount Lebanon 3 | 407 | 233 | 57% | 46% |
| Mount Lebanon 4 | 1,769 | 992 | 56% | 55% |
| North 1 | 1,505 | 746 | 50% | 47% |
| North 2 | 3,375 | 1,715 | 51% | 46% |
| North 3 | 9,259 | 5,634 | 61% | 68% |
| South 1 | 214 | 120 | 56% | 69% |
| South 2 | 313 | 112 | 36% | 40% |
| South 3 | 627 | 319 | 51% | 69% |
| Total | 20,661 | 11,744 | 57% | 58% |

Note: Percentages rounded up.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

In Australia, 10,419 voters cast a preferential vote. The main winner was again LF, whose share of votes increased from 28% to 35%. While votes for FPM decreased, they did not as much as in other countries (9% of votes, compared to 15% in 2018). The votes for anti-establishment candidates—which were already some of the lowest in Australia in 2018—increased, but much less than in other countries (from 1% to 11%, for a total of 1,094 votes). The Independence Movement, led by Michel Moawad, which is popular in Australia due to the high share of Zgharta voters, retained some support, and overall won half of its out-of-country votes from Australia.

Figure 9: Percentage of votes for parties among Lebanese voters registered in Australia in the 2018 and 2022 parliamentary elections



Voters in Australia voted mostly for LF in nearly all electoral districts, and showed relatively low support for anti-establishment candidates. In Beirut 2 and North 2, Al-Ahbash was highly popular (about 30% of preferential votes in each), while Hezbollah was the preferred party in South 3 (60%). Similar to 2018, over half of the votes the Al-Ahbash candidate in North 2 received from the diaspora came from Australia.

Marada was the main loser in the country, and the votes it received among Australia's diaspora from its stronghold of North 3 dropped from 12% in 2018 (329 votes) to 5% in 2022 (242 votes).

Table 12: Votes for the main parties by electoral district among out-of-country voters registered in Australia in the 2022 parliamentary election

| | Total preferential votes | LF | FPM | Hezbollah | Amal | PSP | FM | Kataeb | Al-Ahbash | Marada | Independence Movement | Anti-establishment |
|-----------------|--------------------------|--------------|------------|------------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Beirut 1 | 125 | 48 | 16 | - | - | - | - | 13 | - | - | - | 31 |
| Beirut 2 | 296 | - | 6 | 36 | 3 | 6 | 5 | - | 97 | - | - | 79 |
| Bekaa 1 | 327 | 182 | 71 | 8 | - | - | 5 | 13 | - | - | - | 22 |
| Bekaa 2 | 125 | 40 | 16 | - | - | 23 | - | 5 | - | - | - | 30 |
| Bekaa 3 | 340 | 233 | 18 | 27 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 25 |
| Mount Lebanon 1 | 255 | 72 | 76 | 6 | - | - | - | 16 | - | - | - | 6 |
| Mount Lebanon 2 | 244 | 97 | 40 | - | - | - | - | 37 | - | - | - | 26 |
| Mount Lebanon 3 | 219 | 58 | 46 | 8 | 8 | 38 | - | 8 | - | - | - | 46 |
| Mount Lebanon 4 | 910 | 422 | 134 | - | - | 122 | - | - | 6 | - | - | 169 |
| North 1 | 656 | 180 | 124 | - | - | - | 59 | - | - | - | - | 146 |
| North 2 | 1,523 | 50 | - | - | - | - | 192 | - | 471 | 3 | - | 114 |
| North 3 | 4,966 | 2,227 | 363 | - | - | - | - | 274 | - | 242 | 705 | 280 |
| South 1 | 96 | 28 | 37 | - | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 14 |
| South 2 | 86 | 13 | - | 16 | 26 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 21 |
| South 3 | 251 | - | - | 141 | 19 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 85 |
| Total | 10,419 | 3,650 | 947 | 242 | 61 | 189 | 261 | 366 | 574 | 245 | 705 | 1,094 |

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2022).

COUNTRY LEVEL RESULTS

GERMANY

A total of 16,171 Lebanese voters were registered in Germany (compared to 7,511 in 2018), with most of them originating from Beirut 2, South 2, and South 3 (around 4,000 voters in each). Participation rates were much lower than in 2018 (54% compared to 60%). This was the case in all districts but Mount Lebanon 1, 2, 3, and 4, and North 2.

Table 13: Registered voters and turnout in Germany in the 2022 parliamentary election

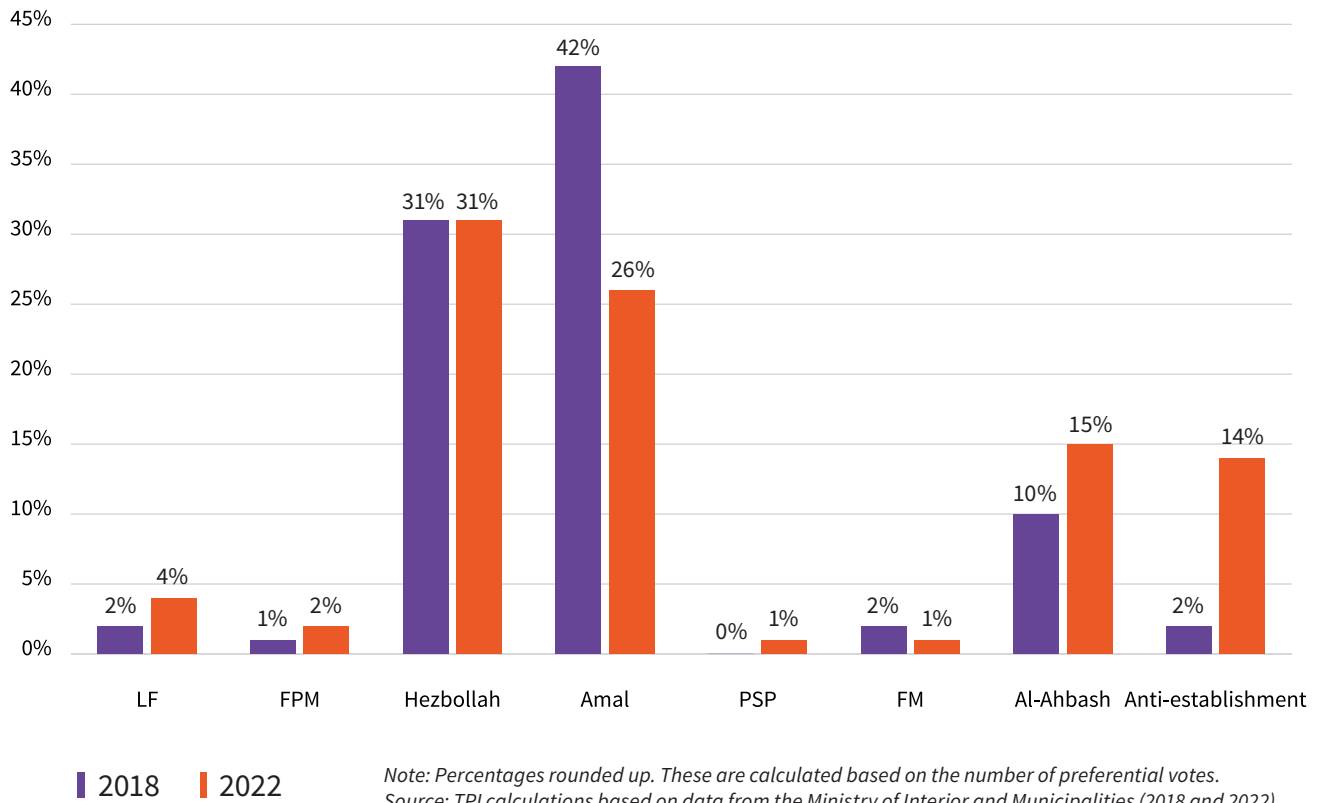
| | Registered voters | Voters | Turnout | Turnout in 2018 |
|-----------------|-------------------|--------------|------------|-----------------|
| Beirut 1 | 223 | 107 | 48% | 48% |
| Beirut 2 | 3,797 | 2,281 | 60% | 70% |
| Bekaa 1 | 342 | 168 | 49% | 51% |
| Bekaa 2 | 161 | 89 | 55% | 65% |
| Bekaa 3 | 737 | 397 | 54% | 62% |
| Mount Lebanon 1 | 310 | 208 | 67% | 63% |
| Mount Lebanon 2 | 293 | 173 | 59% | 52% |
| Mount Lebanon 3 | 461 | 259 | 56% | 51% |
| Mount Lebanon 4 | 457 | 282 | 62% | 49% |
| North 1 | 277 | 75 | 27% | 47% |
| North 2 | 612 | 330 | 54% | 53% |
| North 3 | 244 | 158 | 65% | 84% |
| South 1 | 224 | 106 | 47% | 67% |
| South 2 | 3,852 | 2,112 | 55% | 60% |
| South 3 | 4,181 | 2,066 | 49% | 53% |
| Total | 16,171 | 8,811 | 54% | 60% |

Note: Percentages rounded up.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

Out of the 8,145 voters who cast a preferential vote, a third chose Hezbollah (31%, 2,518 votes), followed by Amal (26%, 2,152 votes). While the share of votes obtained by Hezbollah remained the same, Amal's dropped from the high of 42% in 2018, although the party remained strong in South 2 (66% of votes in Germany). Al-Ahbash performed well and increased its vote share (from 10% in 2018 to 15% in 2022). While support for anti-establishment candidates, which was already low in 2018, increased from 2% to 14% (1,127 votes), it remained weak in comparison to other countries.

Figure 10: Percentage of votes for parties among Lebanese voters registered in Germany in the 2018 and 2022 parliamentary elections



No specific trends were observed across districts, with the preferences of Lebanese voters in Germany varying depending on their district of origin. One notable result, which was also observed in 2018, is the high support for Al-Ahbash in Beirut 2. The party, which received 2,511 votes outside the country, obtained nearly half of these from voters in Germany (1,123, representing 52% of preferential votes among Beirut 2 voters in Germany).

Table 14: Votes for the main parties by electoral district among out-of-country voters in Germany in the 2022 parliamentary election

| | Total preferential votes | LF | FPM | Hezbollah | Amal | PSP | FM | Al-Ahbash | Anti-establishment |
|-----------------|--------------------------|------------|------------|--------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|--------------------|
| Beirut 1 | 95 | 20 | 10 | - | - | - | - | - | 54 |
| Beirut 2 | 2,167 | - | 4 | 620 | 166 | 2 | 3 | 1,123 | 170 |
| Bekaa 1 | 162 | 53 | 8 | 43 | - | - | 16 | - | 16 |
| Bekaa 2 | 85 | 2 | 3 | - | 51 | 2 | - | - | 23 |
| Bekaa 3 | 363 | 29 | 10 | 92 | 76 | - | - | - | 36 |
| Mount Lebanon 1 | 188 | 40 | 9 | 42 | - | - | - | - | 34 |
| Mount Lebanon 2 | 167 | 18 | 54 | - | - | - | - | - | 65 |
| Mount Lebanon 3 | 245 | 18 | 8 | 66 | 36 | 13 | - | - | 85 |
| Mount Lebanon 4 | 268 | 42 | 6 | - | - | 31 | - | 3 | 170 |
| North 1 | 72 | 14 | 3 | - | - | - | 16 | - | 33 |
| North 2 | 310 | 9 | - | - | - | - | 37 | 65 | 91 |
| North 3 | 148 | 28 | 11 | - | - | - | - | - | 73 |
| South 1 | 89 | 8 | 9 | - | 12 | - | - | - | 27 |
| South 2 | 1,916 | 9 | - | 527 | 1,256 | - | - | - | 74 |
| South 3 | 1,870 | - | - | 1,128 | 555 | - | - | - | 176 |
| Total | 8,145 | 290 | 135 | 2,518 | 2,152 | 48 | 72 | 1,191 | 1,127 |

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2022).

COUNTRY LEVEL RESULTS

SAUDI ARABIA

A total of 13,105 Lebanese voters were registered in Saudi Arabia, compared to 3,181 in 2018. Turnout in Saudi Arabia, which was one of the highest in 2018, decreased from 62% to only 50%. It was lower in all electoral districts with the exception of Bekaa 3 and South 2, although turnouts there were still low.

Table 15: Registered voters and turnout in Saudi Arabia

| | Registered voters | Voters | Turnout | Turnout in 2018 |
|-----------------|-------------------|--------------|------------|-----------------|
| Beirut 1 | 304 | 153 | 50% | 60% |
| Beirut 2 | 2,649 | 1,313 | 50% | 62% |
| Bekaa 1 | 398 | 193 | 48% | 59% |
| Bekaa 2 | 566 | 278 | 49% | 66% |
| Bekaa 3 | 282 | 131 | 46% | 41% |
| Mount Lebanon 1 | 484 | 288 | 60% | 74% |
| Mount Lebanon 2 | 414 | 239 | 58% | 66% |
| Mount Lebanon 3 | 652 | 347 | 53% | 61% |
| Mount Lebanon 4 | 2,050 | 1,159 | 57% | 70% |
| North 1 | 778 | 326 | 42% | 55% |
| North 2 | 1,954 | 944 | 48% | 61% |
| North 3 | 788 | 454 | 58% | 65% |
| South 1 | 945 | 418 | 44% | 76% |
| South 2 | 274 | 106 | 39% | 25% |
| South 3 | 567 | 215 | 38% | 43% |
| Total | 13,105 | 6,564 | 50% | 62% |

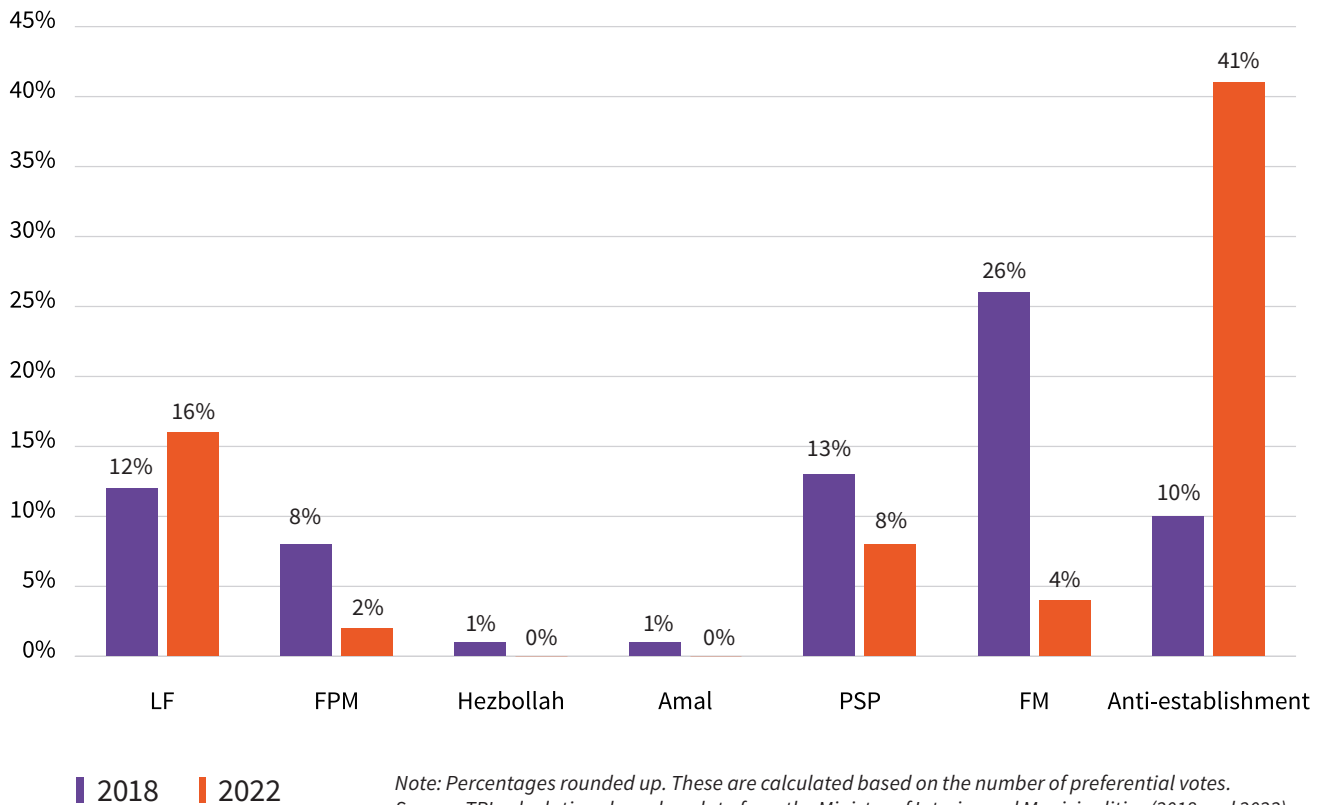
Note: Percentages rounded up.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

Out of the 6,146 voters who cast a preferential vote, 41% chose an anti-establishment candidate (2,532 votes). The retreat of FM—which obtained 26% in Saudi Arabia in 2018—is likely to have decreased turnout and increased the share of votes for anti-establishment candidates.

Among the other parties, LF was the most popular with its vote share increasing from 12% in 2018 to 16% in 2022. PSP, which had one of its best results in Saudi Arabia in 2018, remained strong there, although its vote share went from 13% to 8%. The votes for FPM, Hezbollah, and Amal dropped in terms of both percentages and numbers, with the three parties barely receiving any.

Figure 11: Percentage of votes for parties among Lebanese voters registered in Saudi Arabia in 2018 and 2022



Across districts, the competition was mostly between anti-establishment candidates and LF. PSP was popular in Mount Lebanon 3 and 4, while FM managed to win some votes in Beirut 2, North 1, and North 2.

Table 16: Votes for the main parties by electoral district among out-of-country voters in Saudi Arabia

| | Total preferential votes | LF | FPM | PSP | FM | Kataeb | Jama'a al Islamiyyah | Al-Ahbash | Anti-establishment |
|-----------------|--------------------------|------------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|----------------------|------------|--------------------|
| Beirut 1 | 152 | 68 | 5 | - | - | 5 | - | - | 57 |
| Beirut 2 | 1,232 | - | 1 | 18 | 54 | - | 41 | 78 | 666 |
| Bekaa 1 | 184 | 74 | 3 | - | 28 | - | - | - | 48 |
| Bekaa 2 | 264 | 18 | - | 44 | 19 | - | 16 | - | 133 |
| Bekaa 3 | 130 | 62 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | 51 |
| Mount Lebanon 1 | 260 | 116 | 15 | - | - | 6 | - | - | 17 |
| Mount Lebanon 2 | 233 | 93 | 14 | - | - | 55 | - | - | 52 |
| Mount Lebanon 3 | 326 | 80 | 5 | 106 | - | 10 | - | - | 105 |
| Mount Lebanon 4 | 1,085 | 104 | 21 | 347 | - | - | 13 | 12 | 510 |
| North 1 | 300 | 46 | 4 | - | 79 | - | - | - | 116 |
| North 2 | 888 | 51 | - | 2 | 82 | - | 43 | 24 | 294 |
| North 3 | 424 | 201 | 21 | - | - | 24 | - | - | 96 |
| South 1 | 387 | 40 | 7 | - | - | - | 87 | - | 134 |
| South 2 | 87 | 15 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 61 |
| South 3 | 194 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 192 |
| Total | 6,146 | 968 | 98 | 517 | 262 | 100 | 200 | 114 | 2,532 |

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2022).

PART III

DISTRICT LEVEL ANALYSIS

This section provides an overview of the election results at the electoral district level. It highlights the variations in voting behavior based on the country of residence of voters, and particularly the impact of the diaspora on the results in certain districts.

BEIRUT 1

The four predominantly Christian neighborhoods of Beirut (Achrafieh, Rmeil, Saifi, Medawar) make up this constituency. In the 2018 election, Beirut 1 witnessed the sole victory of a candidate labeled as part of civil society, with the election of Paula Yacoubian. The constituency is represented by eight parliamentary seats distributed as follows: Three Armenian Orthodox, one Armenian Catholic, one Maronite, one Greek Orthodox, one Greek Catholic, and one for Christian minorities (Syriacs, Latins, Chaldeans, etc.).

This part of Beirut was devastated by the port explosion on August 4, 2020, which probably distanced the inhabitants of these neighborhoods from traditional political powers in place.

Beirut 1 had 9,650 voters registered abroad, representing 7% of all the electorate. Participation rates for voters registered abroad were at 66%, much higher than those among residents (34%) and those among the diaspora in the 2018 elections (52%). There was a total of 46,696 valid votes in Beirut 1, with 6,239 coming from abroad. The electoral threshold—which under Lebanon’s proportional electoral system is the required number of votes for a list to get a seat in a particular district—in Beirut 1 was 5,837 votes, meaning that the diaspora’s vote in this district held weight.

Six electoral lists, including three anti-establishment lists, ran in the district: The Lebanese Forces list (won two seats), the Free Patriotic Movement-Tashnag list (won two seats), one list formed by Kataeb and independents (won two seats), the anti-establishment list “Li Watani” (won two seats), the Citizens in a State list (anti-establishment, no seat), and Beirut Madinati (anti-establishment, no seat).

Compared to residents, out-of-country voters showed higher support for each of the anti-establishment lists, and the main one, “Li Watani,” ranked first among out-of-country voters with 36% (compared to 15% among residents). The votes out-of-country voters gave to “Li Watani” helped the list obtain one additional seat. Without its votes from the diaspora, “Li Watani” would have received one seat, given the electoral threshold in the district, which would have resulted in a third seat for the LF list. The additional seat that “Li Watani” obtained went to Cynthia Zarazir (Christian minorities seat).

There were variations in political preferences across continents, but competition was mainly between the LF list and “Li Watani.” The latter obtained nearly half of its total votes abroad from Europe, particularly France. It also ranked first in Asia, while in North America, competition was high between the LF list and “Li Watani.”

Table 17: Results for lists by continent in Beirut 1

| | Lebanon | Abroad | Europe | North America | Asia | Africa | Australia | South America |
|----------------------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|------------|------------|---------------|
| Number of votes | | | | | | | | |
| LF | 11,525 | 1,695 | 561 | 619 | 405 | 50 | 51 | 9 |
| Kataeb-independents | 10,391 | 880 | 374 | 307 | 148 | 27 | 17 | 7 |
| FPM-Tashnag | 10,214 | 736 | 204 | 359 | 116 | 27 | 29 | 1 |
| Li Watani | 6,036 | 2,225 | 1,051 | 584 | 524 | 43 | 19 | 4 |
| Citizens in a State | 1,067 | 443 | 251 | 94 | 83 | 9 | 5 | 1 |
| Beirut Madinati | 850 | 239 | 129 | 55 | 44 | 4 | 7 | - |
| Total list votes | 40,083 | 6,218 | 2,570 | 2,018 | 1,320 | 160 | 128 | 22 |
| Percentage of votes | | | | | | | | |
| LF | 29% | 27% | 22% | 31% | 31% | 31% | 40% | 41% |
| Kataeb-independents | 26% | 14% | 15% | 15% | 11% | 17% | 13% | 32% |
| FPM-Tashnag | 25% | 12% | 8% | 18% | 9% | 17% | 23% | 5% |
| Li Watani | 15% | 36% | 41% | 29% | 40% | 27% | 15% | 18% |
| Citizens in a State | 3% | 7% | 10% | 5% | 6% | 6% | 4% | 5% |
| Beirut Madinati | 2% | 4% | 5% | 3% | 3% | 3% | 5% | 0% |

Note: Percentages rounded up.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2022).

Anti-establishment candidates, from the three lists combined, received nearly half of all preferential votes among Beirut 1's diaspora (46%, 2,775 votes). The LF was the main establishment party to gather votes abroad, with its share increasing from 16% in 2018 to 26% in 2022, while support for FPM among out-of-country voters dropped from 15% to 8%.

Tashnag—the main political party among the Armenian community—was the main loser in Beirut 1, as it received 3% of votes outside the country, compared to 22% in 2018. This was largely driven by a loss of popularity in Canada and the US, which have a large Lebanese diaspora of Armenian origins. In 2018, a high share of voters in Canada (29%, 134 voters) and the US (41%, 128 voters) from Beirut 1 chose the party while in 2022, barely any did (6%, 71 voters in Canada, and 8%, 60 voters in the US).

Table 18: Votes for parties in Beirut 1 in the 2018 and 2022 parliamentary elections

| | 2018 | | | | 2022 | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|
| | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad |
| LF | 4,068 | 296 | 10% | 16% | 10,116 | 1,561 | 26% | 26% |
| FPM | 5,058 | 269 | 12% | 15% | 4,320 | 461 | 11% | 8% |
| Kataeb | 3,898 | 198 | 10% | 11% | 3,826 | 599 | 10% | 10% |
| Tashnag | 6,146 | 398 | 15% | 22% | 4,783 | 175 | 12% | 3% |
| Hunchak | 1,529 | 37 | 4% | 2% | 1,031 | 37 | 3% | 1% |
| Anti-establishment | 6,449 | 332 | 16% | 18% | 7,709 | 2,775 | 20% | 46% |
| Other | 13,521 | 303 | 33% | 17% | 7,213 | 380 | 18% | 6% |
| Total preferential votes | 40,669 | 1,833 | | | 38,998 | 5,988 | | |

Note: Percentages rounded up. These are calculated based on the number of preferential votes.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

BEIRUT 2

Beirut 2 is a large constituency encompassing all of the western neighborhoods of the capital, with a Sunni majority and large Shia and Christian minorities. It is represented by 11 parliamentary seats. In 2018, Hariri's Future Movement, in an alliance with Walid Jumblatt's Progressive Socialist Party, managed to win six seats (four Sunni, one Druze, and one Greek Orthodox); the Hezbollah-Amal-FPM alliance won four seats (two Shia, one Sunni, and one Protestant), while the last Sunni seat went to independent candidate Fouad Makhzoumi. In 2022, the withdrawal of Hariri from the elections opened this constituency to various possibilities.

There were 26,425 voters from Beirut 2 registered outside the country, representing 7% of all of the electoral district's eligible voters, and 62% of them voted (compared to 40% of residents). This was an increase from the 2018 election, when 54% of out-of-country voters from Beirut 2 voted. Similar to Beirut 1, the number of valid votes abroad was higher than the electoral threshold (16,155, compared to 13,539), meaning that the diaspora had an impact on the results.

Ten electoral lists ran, and six won seats: The list formed by Hezbollah-Amal-FPM (three seats), "Beirut al Taghyeer" formed by anti-establishment groups (three seats), the Jama'a al Islamiyyah list (two seats), the National Dialogue party list (one seat), the PSP list (one seat), and the Al-Ahbash list (one seat).

"Beirut al Taghyeer" performed well both inside Lebanon and among the diaspora, and received significantly better results among the latter (45% of votes, compared to 19% in the country). This additional support ended up providing the list with a third seat, won by Waddah Sadek. This was at the expense of Fouad Makhzoumi's list (NDP), which would have won two seats instead of one had no votes come from outside the country.

"Beirut al Taghyeer" performed particularly well in the UAE (where it received 74% of votes), and overall, Ibrahim Mneimneh, who headed the list, was the most popular candidate abroad (18% of the diaspora's vote). As for the other lists, the Al-Ahbash one was highly popular outside the country (16% of votes, compared to 9% in the country). The leading candidate from the list, Adnan Traboulsi, obtained 14% of preferential votes abroad (up from 9% in 2018), and nearly half of the votes he obtained abroad came from voters in Germany, where he received 51% of preferential votes by himself.

The Hezbollah-Amal-FPM list performed better among residents than it did among out-of-country voters (27%, compared to 13% abroad). Support for each of the parties abroad dropped as a percentage, particularly for Hezbollah (from 20% of preferential votes in 2018 to 9% in 2022) and Amal (from 7% to 2%) though both managed to mobilize more electors abroad than in 2018. Both parties' votes also mostly came from Germany, where Hezbollah received 29% and Amal received 8%.

Table 19: Votes for parties in Beirut 2 in the 2018 and 2022 parliamentary elections

| | 2018 | | | | 2022 | | | |
|-------------------------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|
| | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad |
| Hezbollah | 22,169 | 792 | 16% | 20% | 24,921 | 1,442 | 20% | 9% |
| Al-Ahbash | 12,070 | 948 | 9% | 24% | 11,789 | 2,511 | 9% | 16% |
| National Dialogue Party | 11,265 | 81 | 8% | 2% | 9,732 | 289 | 8% | 2% |
| Jama'a al Islamiyyah | 3,875 | 63 | 3% | 2% | 7,100 | 262 | 6% | 2% |
| Amal | 7,535 | 299 | 6% | 7% | 5,451 | 338 | 4% | 2% |
| FM | 55,745 | 833 | 41% | 21% | 3,085 | 348 | 2% | 2% |
| PSP | 1,865 | 37 | 1% | 1% | 2,449 | 116 | 2% | 1% |
| FPM | 1,808 | 111 | 1% | 3% | 1,862 | 191 | 1% | 1% |
| SSNP | | | | | 687 | 58 | 1% | 0% |
| LDP | | | | | 221 | 5 | 0% | 0% |
| Anti-establishment | 5,979 | 371 | 4% | 9% | 26,351 | 7,548 | 21% | 48% |
| Other | 12,195 | 496 | 9% | 12% | 32,958 | 2,471 | 26% | 16% |
| Preferential votes | 134,506 | 4,031 | | | 126,606 | 15,579 | | |

Note: Percentages rounded up. These are calculated based on the number of preferential votes. The anti-establishment category in the table combines the votes for candidates from the three anti-establishment lists ("Beirut al Taghyeer", the Citizens in a State list, and Beirut Madinati). Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

Across continents, the vote in Europe was divided between the Hezbollah-Amal-FPM list, “Beirut al Taghyeer,” and the Al-Ahbash list, mostly due to the different political preferences across countries within the continent. In France, voters overwhelmingly chose “Beirut al Taghyeer” (55%), which also received high support in the UK (55%), while in Germany, the Al-Ahbash list was by far the most popular (52%), followed by the Hezbollah-Amal-FPM list (37%). In Asia and North America, the anti-establishment list ranked first by far. Africa and South America mostly voted for the Hezbollah-Amal-FPM list, while in Australia, the anti-establishment list and Al-Ahbash were the most popular.

Table 20: Results for lists by continent in Beirut 2

| List affiliation | Lebanon | Abroad | Europe | Asia | North America | Africa | Australia | South America |
|---|----------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|------------|------------|---------------|
| Number of votes | | | | | | | | |
| Hezbollah-Amal-FPM-LDP-SSNP | 34,850 | 2,112 | 1,328 | 114 | 310 | 296 | 48 | 16 |
| Beirut al Taghyeer (anti-establishment) | 25,585 | 7,238 | 1,996 | 3,446 | 1,578 | 134 | 75 | 9 |
| Jama'a al Islamiyyah-independents | 19,563 | 876 | 211 | 450 | 161 | 31 | 21 | 2 |
| NDP-independents | 18,370 | 1,051 | 348 | 418 | 241 | 23 | 18 | 3 |
| PSP-independents | 16,501 | 1,559 | 433 | 616 | 434 | 38 | 36 | 2 |
| Al-Ahbash-independents | 12,373 | 2,558 | 1,668 | 360 | 411 | 20 | 99 | - |
| Li Tabqa Beirut (supported by Sawa li Lubnan) | 2,298 | 89 | 23 | 39 | 20 | 7 | - | - |
| Citizens in a State | 1,326 | 471 | 220 | 116 | 117 | 13 | 5 | - |
| Beirut Madinati | 264 | 94 | 43 | 21 | 24 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Na'am li Beirut (non-affiliated) | 237 | 13 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 3 | - | - |
| Total list votes | 131,367 | 16,061 | 6,276 | 5,582 | 3,298 | 568 | 304 | 33 |
| Percentage of votes | | | | | | | | |
| Hezbollah-Amal-FPM-LDP-SSNP | 27% | 13% | 21% | 2% | 9% | 52% | 16% | 48% |
| Beirut al Taghyeer (anti-establishment) | 19% | 45% | 32% | 62% | 48% | 24% | 25% | 27% |
| Jama'a al Islamiyyah-independents | 15% | 5% | 3% | 8% | 5% | 5% | 7% | 6% |
| NDP-independents | 14% | 7% | 6% | 7% | 7% | 4% | 6% | 9% |
| PSP-independents | 13% | 10% | 7% | 11% | 13% | 7% | 12% | 6% |
| Al-Ahbash-independents | 9% | 16% | 27% | 6% | 12% | 4% | 33% | 0% |
| Li Tabqa Beirut (supported by Sawa li Lubnan) | 2% | 1% | 0% | 1% | 1% | 1% | 0% | 0% |
| Citizens in a State | 1% | 3% | 4% | 2% | 4% | 2% | 2% | 0% |
| Beirut Madinati | 0% | 1% | 1% | 0% | 1% | 1% | 1% | 3% |
| Na'am li Beirut (non-affiliated) | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 1% | 0% | 0% |

Note: Percentages rounded up.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2022).

BEKAA 1

This constituency corresponds to the district of Zahle. It has seven seats distributed as follows: Two Greek Catholic, one Maronite, one Greek Orthodox, one Armenian Orthodox, one Sunni, and one Shia. In 2018, the traditional leadership of the Skaff family was defeated, as the widow of former Member of Parliament Elie Skaff failed to win a seat, along with her entire list.

A total of 9,636 voters from Bekaa 1 were registered to vote outside the country (representing 5% of the electorate), and 64% of them headed to the polls compared to 58% in 2018, and 51% of residents.

Eight lists ran, and three won seats: The Hezbollah-FPM list (three seats), the LF list (three seats), and the list headed by Michel Daher (one seat). The LF list received 50% of the

votes abroad, compared to 26% in the country, and these votes helped it secure one additional seat.⁷ Without the votes from abroad, the LF list and Michel Daher's list would have won two seats each (instead of three for LF and one for Daher's). The third candidate who was elected from the LF list with the help of the diaspora vote was Bilal el Husheimi (Sunni), affiliated to FM.

Three anti-establishment lists ran in Bekaa 1, and overall, their candidates received 22% of preferential votes abroad (compared to 11% in the country). The "Zahle Tantaferd" list was the best-performing anti-establishment list, ranking second among the diaspora (16%), just ahead of the Hezbollah-FPM list (15%). But in this district, the diaspora votes were not sufficient for any anti-establishment list to overcome the preferences expressed by local residents.

7. LF performed well among the Bekaa 1 diaspora across all major countries, and its list received around the majority of votes in all continents (between 45% in Europe to 57% in Australia).

Table 21: Votes for parties in Bekaa 1 in the 2018 and 2022 parliamentary elections

| | 2018 | | | | 2022 | | | |
|--------------------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|
| | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad |
| LF | 14,099 | 818 | 16% | 41% | 18,233 | 2,717 | 22% | 47% |
| Hezbollah | 15,488 | 113 | 18% | 6% | 16,262 | 277 | 20% | 5% |
| FPM | 5,245 | 322 | 6% | 16% | 5,012 | 542 | 6% | 9% |
| Popular Bloc | 6,273 | 75 | 7% | 4% | 4,702 | 123 | 6% | 2% |
| FM | 11,062 | 109 | 13% | 6% | 3,704 | 161 | 4% | 3% |
| Tashnag | | | | | 2,520 | 48 | 3% | 1% |
| Ba'ath | | | | | 2,451 | 14 | 3% | 0% |
| Kataeb | 1,149 | 64 | 1% | 3% | 1,165 | 142 | 1% | 2% |
| SSNP | 522 | 6 | 1% | 0% | 92 | 13 | 0% | 0% |
| Anti-establishment | 1,412 | 66 | 2% | 3% | 8,837 | 1,303 | 11% | 22% |
| Other | 31,451 | 406 | 36% | 21% | 20,207 | 489 | 24% | 8% |

Note: Percentages rounded up. These are calculated based on the number of preferential votes.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

Table 22: Results for lists by continent in Bekaa 1 in the 2022 parliamentary election

| List affiliation | Lebanon | Abroad | North America | Europe | Asia | Australia | Africa | South America |
|--|---------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|------------|------------|---------------|
| Number of votes | | | | | | | | |
| Hezbollah-FPM-Tashnag-SSNP-Ba'ath | 26,944 | 928 | 318 | 310 | 120 | 87 | 57 | 36 |
| LF-independents | 22,644 | 3,002 | 1,155 | 890 | 597 | 197 | 102 | 61 |
| Michel Daher-Kataeb-independents | 14,944 | 533 | 200 | 164 | 118 | 26 | 19 | 6 |
| Popular Bloc-independents | 11,874 | 190 | 43 | 65 | 52 | 12 | 9 | 9 |
| Zahle Tantafered (anti-establishment) | 6,730 | 983 | 284 | 355 | 293 | 20 | 22 | 9 |
| Al Taghyeer (anti-establishment) | 1,382 | 58 | 13 | 14 | 31 | - | - | - |
| Citizens in a State (anti-establishment) | 1,009 | 307 | 71 | 163 | 59 | 4 | 4 | 6 |
| Al-Qawl wal Fa'al (non-affiliated) | 306 | 26 | 11 | 8 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Total list votes | 85,833 | 6,027 | 2,095 | 1,969 | 1,274 | 347 | 214 | 128 |
| Percentage of votes | | | | | | | | |
| Hezbollah-FPM-Tashnag-SSNP-Ba'ath | 31% | 15% | 15% | 16% | 9% | 25% | 27% | 28% |
| LF-independents | 26% | 50% | 55% | 45% | 47% | 57% | 48% | 48% |
| Michel Daher-Kataeb-independents | 17% | 9% | 10% | 8% | 9% | 7% | 9% | 5% |
| Popular Bloc-independents | 14% | 3% | 2% | 3% | 4% | 3% | 4% | 7% |
| Zahle Tantafered (anti-establishment) | 8% | 16% | 14% | 18% | 23% | 6% | 10% | 7% |
| Al Taghyeer (anti-establishment) | 2% | 1% | 1% | 1% | 2% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| Citizens in a State (anti-establishment) | 1% | 5% | 3% | 8% | 5% | 1% | 2% | 5% |
| Al-Qawl wal Fa'al (non-affiliated) | 0% | 0% | 1% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 1% |

Note: Percentages rounded up.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2022).

BEKAA 2

Covering the West Bekaa and Rachaya districts, the Bekaa 2 constituency consists of six parliamentary seats (two Sunni, one Shia, one Druze, one Maronite, and one Greek Orthodox). In 2018, the constituency witnessed competition between the FM-PSP list and a March 8 list which included a candidate from Amal, with each obtaining three seats. With Hariri's decision not to compete in the 2022 election, there were questions about who would dominate.

In Bekaa 2, 7,158 voters registered outside of the country (representing 5% of the electorate), and 61% of them voted, compared to 44% of those in Lebanon. This was also higher than the 2018 turnout (54%). Nearly a third of Bekaa 2's voters abroad are residents of Canada (around 2,200 voters).

Six lists ran and three of them won seats: The Amal-Ettihad-FPM list (three seats), the PSP list (two seats), and the anti-

establishment list "Sahluna wal Jabal" (one seat). The anti-establishment list performed better among out-of-country voters, receiving 30%, compared to 17% in the country.

The diaspora gave "Sahluna wal Jabal" just enough votes for it to pass the electoral threshold and win a seat in Bekaa 2, which went to Yassine Yassine.⁸ This was to the detriment of the Amal-Ettihad-FPM list, which received 24% abroad, but 46% in the country. The diaspora also showed lower support for the PSP list (21%, compared to 30% in the country), while they showed higher one for the LF list, which did not win a seat (17% compared to 7% of residents).

Across continents, "Sahluna wal Jabal" received its best results in Asia and Europe. In South America, the Amal-Ettihad-FPM list received a near majority of votes, while in North America, competition between the main lists was high.

8. Without the diaspora vote, this seat would have gone to Mohammad Qaraawi (affiliated to FM) on the same list as PSP instead, while Ghassan Skaff, who won the Greek Orthodox seat, would have lost to Elie Ferzli from the Amal-Ettihad-FPM list.

Table 23: Results for lists by continent in Bekaa 2 in the 2022 parliamentary election

| | Lebanon | Abroad | North America | Asia | Europe | South America | Africa | Australia |
|--|---------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|------------|---------------|------------|------------|
| Number of votes | | | | | | | | |
| Amal-Ettihad-FPM | 27,907 | 1,013 | 369 | 281 | 153 | 161 | 30 | 19 |
| PSP-Jama'a-FM | 18,168 | 886 | 415 | 250 | 54 | 94 | 41 | 32 |
| Sahluna wal Jabal (anti-establishment) | 10,119 | 1,278 | 395 | 531 | 230 | 59 | 34 | 29 |
| LF-independents | 4,585 | 731 | 437 | 108 | 113 | 18 | 14 | 41 |
| Citizens in a State (anti-establishment) | 438 | 215 | 68 | 53 | 83 | 1 | 8 | 2 |
| Kataeb-independents | 86 | 106 | 58 | 27 | 8 | 1 | 7 | 5 |
| Total list votes | 61,303 | 4,229 | 1,742 | 1,250 | 641 | 334 | 134 | 128 |
| Percentage of votes | | | | | | | | |
| Amal-Ettihad-FPM | 46% | 24% | 21% | 22% | 24% | 48% | 22% | 15% |
| PSP-Jama'a-FM | 30% | 21% | 24% | 20% | 8% | 28% | 31% | 25% |
| Sahluna wal Jabal (anti-establishment) | 17% | 30% | 23% | 42% | 36% | 18% | 25% | 23% |
| LF-independents | 7% | 17% | 25% | 9% | 18% | 5% | 10% | 32% |
| Citizens in a State (anti-establishment) | 1% | 5% | 4% | 4% | 13% | 0% | 6% | 2% |
| Kataeb-independents | 0% | 3% | 3% | 2% | 1% | 0% | 5% | 4% |

Note: Percentages rounded up.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2022).

Compared to 2018, the share of votes received by Amal remained the same (7%), while the main other parties' vote share dropped. LF, which did not run in Bekaa 2 in 2018, was the most popular establishment party abroad, receiving 17% of preferential votes in 2022. Anti-establishment candidates, which received 10% of preferential votes abroad in 2018, obtained 35% in 2022 (with 30% going to candidates on "Sahluna wal Jabal," and 5% to candidates on the Citizens in a State list).

Given the large number of Bekaa 2 voters in Canada, many of the parties received a high share of their out-of-country votes from there. For example, between 40% and 50% of the votes LF, PSP, and FPM received among out-of-country voters in Bekaa 2 came from those registered in Canada. However, the candidates from Ettihad and the Lebanese Arab Struggle Movement (Hassan Mourad and Tariq Daoud) received around half of their out-of-country votes from Syria.

Table 24: Votes for parties in Bekaa 2 in the 2018 and 2022 parliamentary elections

| | 2018 | | | | 2022 | | | |
|--|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|
| | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad |
| Amal | 8,786 | 111 | 14% | 7% | 9,868 | 275 | 17% | 7% |
| PSP | 10,394 | 283 | 17% | 18% | 8,730 | 472 | 15% | 12% |
| Ettihad | 14,827 | 284 | 24% | 18% | 8,929 | 228 | 15% | 6% |
| FPM | 4,654 | 245 | 7% | 16% | 5,541 | 339 | 9% | 8% |
| FM | 18,337 | 407 | 29% | 26% | 4,736 | 145 | 8% | 4% |
| LF | | | | | 4,087 | 674 | 7% | 17% |
| Jama'a al Islamiyyah | | | | | 2,828 | 100 | 5% | 2% |
| Lebanese Arab Struggle Movement | 2,035 | 6 | 3% | 0% | 2,563 | 107 | 4% | 3% |
| Kataeb | | | | | 12 | 74 | 0% | 2% |
| Anti-establishment | 1,276 | 157 | 2% | 10% | 10,199 | 1,409 | 17% | 35% |
| Other | 2,498 | 76 | 4% | 5% | 1,816 | 212 | 3% | 5% |

Note: Percentages rounded up. These are calculated based on the number of preferential votes.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

BEKAA 3

The Bekaa 3 constituency covers the Baalbeck and Hermel districts. It consists of 10 seats (six Shia, two Sunni, one Maronite, and one Greek Catholic). It is considered a Hezbollah stronghold with the party and its allies winning eight of the ten seats in the 2018 election, with one of the Sunni seats going to the Future Movement and the Maronite seat to the Lebanese Forces.

A total of 7,866 voters from Bekaa 3 were registered outside the country, which represents only 2% of the electorate. Turnout among them was 62%, compared to 57% among residents and 61% in 2018. So overall, the number of diaspora votes was not as critical in this constituency (4,742 votes abroad, to 184,804 in the country).

Six electoral lists ran and two of them won seats: The Hezbollah-Amal-FPM list (nine seats) and the LF list (one seat). Similar to 2018, LF performed better among the diaspora, receiving 38% of their votes compared to 10%

of those of residents. LF was the most popular party in a high number of countries. Conversely, out-of-country voters voted less for Hezbollah and Amal. However, while Amal's share of votes abroad decreased, Hezbollah gained significant support (going from 8% of the vote abroad in 2018 to 18% in 2022). Hezbollah received its highest number of votes, and over 90% of preferential votes, in Syria and Iran (154 votes and 117 votes, respectively).

Two anti-establishment lists ran and their candidates obtained 20% of the votes abroad, compared to 3% in the country. These votes heavily came from voters in France (283 votes) and the UAE (145 votes).

The candidate who particularly lost some support abroad—although in the country as well—was Jamil el Sayyed, who went from receiving 21% of votes outside the country in 2018 to 9%.

Table 25: Votes for parties in Bekaa 3 in 2018 and 2022

| | 2018 | | | | 2022 | | | |
|---------------------------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|
| | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad |
| Hezbollah | 75,117 | 128 | 42% | 8% | 83,109 | 838 | 47% | 18% |
| Amal | 17,648 | 119 | 10% | 8% | 21,898 | 160 | 12% | 4% |
| LF | 14,269 | 589 | 8% | 39% | 17,610 | 1,742 | 10% | 38% |
| FPM | 2,653 | 89 | 1% | 6% | 11,139 | 204 | 6% | 4% |
| Anti-establishment | 3,862 | 44 | 2% | 3% | 6,184 | 933 | 3% | 20% |
| Other | 66,889 | 542 | 37% | 36% | 38,682 | 679 | 22% | 15% |

Note: Percentages rounded up. These are calculated based on the number of preferential votes.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

Across continents, the LF list was the favored one in Asia, North America, and Australia, while in Europe, Africa, and South America, the Hezbollah-Amal-FPM list received the majority of votes. There were high variations within Europe, with voters in France and Germany, the two main European countries in Bekaa 3, having different preferences. In France, the LF list received 32% of votes, and the Citizens in a State list (an anti-establishment list) received 26%—which represents nearly half of the votes it received abroad (182 out of 404 votes). By contrast, in Germany, the Hezbollah-Amal-FPM list received 78% of the votes.

Table 26: Votes for lists across continents in Bekaa 3 in the 2022 parliamentary election

| | Lebanon | Abroad | Europe | Asia | North America | Australia | Africa | South America |
|--|----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|------------|------------|---------------|
| Number of votes | | | | | | | | |
| Hezbollah-Amal-FPM | 152,516 | 1,842 | 1,009 | 372 | 218 | 85 | 138 | 20 |
| LF-independents | 21,479 | 1,829 | 467 | 451 | 580 | 243 | 72 | 16 |
| Intilaf al Taghyeer (anti-establishment) | 5,053 | 580 | 229 | 222 | 103 | 15 | 11 | - |
| Mustakilun dud al Fasad (not affiliated) | 2,746 | 73 | 41 | 9 | 19 | 1 | 3 | - |
| Citizens in a State (anti-establishment) | 1,533 | 404 | 256 | 76 | 47 | 11 | 13 | 1 |
| Al Asha'er wal A'ilat lil Inma' (not affiliated) | 1,477 | 14 | 6 | 4 | 2 | - | 1 | 1 |
| Total list votes | 184,804 | 4,742 | 2,008 | 1,134 | 969 | 355 | 238 | 38 |
| Percentage of votes | | | | | | | | |
| Hezbollah-Amal-FPM | 83% | 39% | 50% | 33% | 22% | 24% | 58% | 53% |
| LF-independents | 12% | 39% | 23% | 40% | 60% | 68% | 30% | 42% |
| Intilaf al Taghyeer (anti-establishment) | 3% | 12% | 11% | 20% | 11% | 4% | 5% | 0% |
| Mustakilun dud al Fasad (not affiliated) | 1% | 2% | 2% | 1% | 2% | 0% | 1% | 0% |
| Citizens in a State (anti-establishment) | 1% | 9% | 13% | 7% | 5% | 3% | 5% | 3% |
| Al Asha'er wal A'ilat lil Inma' (not affiliated) | 1% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 3% |

Note: Percentages rounded up.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2022).

MOUNT LEBANON 1

This constituency includes the Keserwan and Jbeil districts and consists of eight seats (seven Maronite and one Shia). It is a stronghold for the main establishment Christian parties, the FPM and the LF. In 2018, the FPM and its allies won four seats, the LF two, and Farid el Khazen's list (a local politician who joined Sleiman Frangieh's Marada bloc) won two as well, including the Shia seat in Jbeil.

Nearly 13,000 voters from Mount Lebanon 1 were registered outside the country, representing 7% of all eligible voters. Participation rates were 71% abroad and 67% in the country—the highest rates across all electoral districts. Turnout was slightly higher in Keserwan (71%, 7,174 registered voters) than Jbeil (70%, 5,758 registered voters).

Seven electoral lists ran and four of them won seats: The FPM-Hezbollah list (three seats), the LF list (two seats), a

list formed by independent candidate Neamat Frem and Kataeb (two seats), and the list formed by Farid el Khazen (one seat).

Compared to residents, voters abroad showed higher support for the LF list and Neamat Frem's list which each received around a third of the diaspora votes. The FPM-Hezbollah list was less popular in the diaspora than in the country (18%, compared to 30% in the country). FPM's experienced the most significant drop, from 38% of the diaspora's vote in 2018 to 12% in 2022.

Anti-establishment candidates received better results abroad (13% compared to 3% in the country), although support for them in Mount Lebanon 1 was low compared to other districts.⁹

9. Note that two anti-establishment lists ran in Mount Lebanon 1, but that a candidate from the National Bloc ran on the same list as Neamat Frem and Kataeb. While we do not consider this list as being anti-establishment, the National Bloc candidate was categorised as so because the party formed alliances with anti-establishment parties in other electoral districts.

Table 27: Votes for parties in Mount Lebanon 1 in the 2018 and 2022 parliamentary elections

| | 2018 | | | | 2022 | | | |
|---------------------------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|
| | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad |
| LF | 23,643 | 813 | 21% | 32% | 20,510 | 2,246 | 19% | 28% |
| FPM | 41,331 | 990 | 37% | 38% | 16,628 | 949 | 16% | 12% |
| Hezbollah | 9,255 | 114 | 8% | 4% | 9,276 | 232 | 9% | 3% |
| Kataeb | 2,190 | 49 | 2% | 2% | 3,123 | 354 | 3% | 4% |
| Anti-establishment | 2,193 | 134 | 2% | 5% | 3,171 | 1,071 | 3% | 13% |
| Other | 31,700 | 479 | 29% | 19% | 52,582 | 3,231 | 50% | 40% |

Note: Percentages rounded up. These are calculated based on the number of preferential votes.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

The LF list and the one formed by Neamat Frem and Kataeb ranked first or second in all continents with the exception of Australia, where the FPM-Hezbollah list ranked first, although a low number of votes was cast there. This was driven by the popularity of FPM, which received 30% of preferential votes in Australia.

Table 28: Votes for lists across continents in Mount Lebanon 1 in the 2022 parliamentary election

| | Lebanon | Abroad | Europe | North America | Asia | Australia | Africa | South America |
|--|----------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|------------|------------|---------------|
| Number of votes | | | | | | | | |
| FPM-Hezbollah | 32,691 | 1,501 | 599 | 436 | 293 | 91 | 70 | 12 |
| LF-independents | 25,223 | 2,716 | 947 | 906 | 630 | 84 | 129 | 20 |
| Neamat Frem-Kataeb | 23,110 | 2,603 | 1,135 | 666 | 644 | 51 | 86 | 21 |
| Farid el Khazen-independents | 14,666 | 313 | 137 | 69 | 76 | 19 | 11 | 1 |
| Mansour Al-Bon-Fares Saeed-independents | 10,881 | 411 | 153 | 142 | 72 | 14 | 27 | 3 |
| Citizens in a State (anti-establishment) | 1,356 | 570 | 335 | 124 | 101 | 3 | 7 | - |
| Nahna el Taghyeer (anti-establishment) | 1,299 | 382 | 170 | 98 | 90 | 11 | 10 | 3 |
| Total list votes | 109,226 | 8,496 | 3,476 | 2,441 | 1,906 | 273 | 340 | 60 |
| Percentage of votes | | | | | | | | |
| FPM-Hezbollah | 30% | 18% | 17% | 18% | 15% | 33% | 21% | 20% |
| LF-independents | 23% | 32% | 27% | 37% | 33% | 31% | 38% | 33% |
| Neamat Frem-Kataeb | 21% | 31% | 33% | 27% | 34% | 19% | 25% | 35% |
| Farid el Khazen-independents | 13% | 4% | 4% | 3% | 4% | 7% | 3% | 2% |
| Mansour Al-Bon-Fares Saeed-independents | 10% | 5% | 4% | 6% | 4% | 5% | 8% | 5% |
| Citizens in a State (anti-establishment) | 1% | 7% | 10% | 5% | 5% | 1% | 2% | 0% |
| Nahna el Taghyeer (anti-establishment) | 1% | 4% | 5% | 4% | 5% | 4% | 3% | 5% |

Note: Percentages rounded up.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2022).

MOUNT LEBANON 2

The constituency is the Metn district. It has eight seats: Four Maronite, two Greek Orthodox, one Greek Catholic, and one Armenian Orthodox. Historically, it is considered a stronghold of FPM, Kataeb, Tashnag and former MP Michel Murr.

13,594 voters from Mount Lebanon 2 were registered outside the country, and 70% of them headed to the polls, compared to 61% of them in 2018 and 51% of residents. Mount Lebanon 2 voters were spread mostly across France (2,600 voters), the US (2,200), Canada (2,100), and the UAE (1,800). Turnout among Mount Lebanon 2 voters in these four countries was higher than each country's average, suggesting high engagement from the district's diaspora.

Six lists ran and four of them won two seats each: The Kataeb list, the LF list, the FPM list, and the list formed by Tashnag and Michel Murr. The anti-establishment list "Nahwa el Dawla" created a major surprise as it fell only 89 votes short of winning a seat. This list was significantly more successful among the diaspora (31% of votes, compared to 10% of those of residents) and its leading candidate, Jad Ghosn, overall ranked first abroad (with 2,073 votes abroad).

Compared to 2018, FPM and Tashnag lost a high share of support from the diaspora. Tashnag went from receiving 13% of the diaspora votes in 2018 to 1% in 2022, driven by its loss of popularity in Canada (118 votes in 2018 and 44 in 2022) and the US (121 and 49). As for FPM, its vote share significantly decreased in both Lebanon and abroad (reaching 23% and 14%, respectively).

Table 29: Votes for parties in Mount Lebanon 2 in the 2018 and 2022 parliamentary elections

| | 2018 | | | | 2022 | | | |
|---------------------------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|
| | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad |
| LF | 9,665 | 469 | 11% | 18% | 17,688 | 2,429 | 22% | 27% |
| FPM | 26,604 | 826 | 31% | 31% | 18,309 | 1,260 | 23% | 14% |
| Kataeb | 16,140 | 411 | 19% | 15% | 15,157 | 1,457 | 19% | 16% |
| Tashnag | 6,835 | 347 | 8% | 13% | 4,846 | 127 | 6% | 1% |
| SSNP | 2,673 | 84 | 3% | 3% | 1,309 | 61 | 2% | 1% |
| Ahrar | 575 | 5 | 1% | 0% | 257 | 22 | 0% | 0% |
| Anti-establishment | 4,543 | 269 | 5% | 10% | 8,432 | 2,854 | 10% | 31% |
| Other | 17,957 | 267 | 21% | 10% | 14,931 | 882 | 18% | 10% |

Note: Percentages rounded up. These are calculated based on the number of preferential votes.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

Across continents, “Nahwa el Dawla”—the anti-establishment list—ranked first in Europe and Asia. It performed particularly well in the UK (46%), France, the UAE, and Germany (between 39% and 40% in each). In North America, Africa, and Australia, the LF list came in first, while the share of votes for the Kataeb list (around 20%) was more or less similar across continents.

Table 30: Votes for lists across continents in Mount Lebanon 2 in the 2022 parliamentary election

| | Lebanon | Abroad | Europe | North America | Asia | Africa | Australia | South America |
|--|---------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|------------|------------|---------------|
| Number of votes | | | | | | | | |
| Kataeb-independents | 20,391 | 2,132 | 779 | 627 | 526 | 128 | 58 | 14 |
| LF-NDP | 18,751 | 2,550 | 768 | 894 | 607 | 163 | 103 | 15 |
| FPM-independents | 19,223 | 1,310 | 446 | 412 | 305 | 105 | 41 | 1 |
| Michel Murr-Tashnag | 15,637 | 360 | 108 | 123 | 58 | 48 | 22 | 1 |
| Nahwa el Dawla (anti-establishment) | 8,626 | 2,929 | 1,336 | 690 | 757 | 104 | 26 | 16 |
| Al Meteniyoun al Siyadiyoun (non-affiliated) | 584 | 83 | 26 | 36 | 13 | 6 | 2 | - |
| Total list votes | 83,212 | 9,364 | 3,463 | 2,782 | 2,266 | 554 | 252 | 47 |
| Percentage of votes | | | | | | | | |
| Kataeb-independents | 25% | 23% | 22% | 23% | 23% | 23% | 23% | 30% |
| LF-NDP | 23% | 27% | 22% | 32% | 27% | 29% | 41% | 32% |
| FPM-independents | 23% | 14% | 13% | 15% | 13% | 19% | 16% | 2% |
| Michel Murr-Tashnag | 19% | 4% | 3% | 4% | 3% | 9% | 9% | 2% |
| Nahwa el Dawla (anti-establishment) | 10% | 31% | 39% | 25% | 33% | 19% | 10% | 34% |
| Al Meteniyoun al Siyadiyoun (non-affiliated) | 1% | 1% | 1% | 1% | 1% | 1% | 1% | 0% |

Note: Percentages rounded up.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2022).

MOUNT LEBANON 3

This constituency is made up of two quite distinct regions: On the one hand, the coastline that covers the predominantly Christian (southeast) and Shia (south) suburbs of Beirut, and on the other hand, the Druze-Christian mountain (upper Metn). It is represented by six seats: Three Maronite seats, two Shia, and one Druze. The constituency has been an FPM stronghold, with the presence of a strong Shia minority helping the FPM consolidate its hold on the Christian seats in the district. But in 2018, the LF obtained one of the Maronite seats, which it retained in 2022.

13,271 Lebanese voters from Mount Lebanon 3 were registered outside the country (representing 8% of eligible

voters). Turnout was 66%, much higher than that among residents (49%), and than that in 2018 (60%).

Seven lists ran and two of them won: The Hezbollah-Amal-FPM list (three seats) and the PSP-LF list (three seats). PSP-LF's results were similar between those residing in Lebanon and those abroad (37% abroad and 35% in the country) but the Hezbollah-Amal-FPM list received significantly lower support outside the country (16%, compared to 43% in the country). More diaspora votes went to the anti-establishment list "Baabda al Taghyeer" instead (34%, compared to 14% in the country).

Table 31: Votes for lists across continents in Mount Lebanon 3 in the 2022 parliamentary election

| | Lebanon | Abroad | Europe | Asia | North America | Africa | Australia | South America |
|---|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|------------|------------|---------------|
| Number of votes | | | | | | | | |
| FPM-Amal-Hezbollah | 32,641 | 1,321 | 517 | 187 | 402 | 128 | 62 | 25 |
| PSP-LF-Ahrar | 26,698 | 3,103 | 821 | 1,009 | 1,035 | 104 | 102 | 32 |
| Babda al Taghyeer (anti-establishment) | 10,324 | 2,877 | 1,020 | 1,038 | 695 | 59 | 47 | 18 |
| Baabda Tantafered (independent, backed by Kataeb) | 4,246 | 764 | 322 | 194 | 213 | 13 | 10 | 12 |
| Citizens in a State (anti-establishment) | 684 | 268 | 157 | 50 | 55 | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| Nahna al Taghyeer (anti-establishment) | 636 | 130 | 42 | 46 | 31 | 6 | 4 | 1 |
| Ma'an Nastati' (non-affiliated) | 383 | 34 | 10 | 8 | 14 | - | 1 | 1 |
| Total list votes | 75,612 | 8,497 | 2,889 | 2,532 | 2,445 | 314 | 227 | 90 |
| Percentage of votes | | | | | | | | |
| FPM-Amal-Hezbollah | 43% | 16% | 18% | 7% | 16% | 41% | 27% | 28% |
| PSP-LF-Ahrar | 35% | 37% | 28% | 40% | 42% | 33% | 45% | 36% |
| Babda al Taghyeer (anti-establishment) | 14% | 34% | 35% | 41% | 28% | 19% | 21% | 20% |
| Baabda Tantafered (independent, backed by Kataeb) | 6% | 9% | 11% | 8% | 9% | 4% | 4% | 13% |
| Citizens in a State (anti-establishment) | 1% | 3% | 5% | 2% | 2% | 1% | 0% | 1% |
| Nahna al Taghyeer (anti-establishment) | 1% | 2% | 1% | 2% | 1% | 2% | 2% | 1% |
| Ma'an Nastati' (non-affiliated) | 1% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 1% | 0% | 0% | 1% |

Note: Percentages rounded up.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2022).

Combined, anti-establishment candidates received 38% of preferential votes abroad (compared to 15% in 2018), and had particularly good results in the UAE (52%), France (42%), and the UK (47%).

Similar to most districts, support for Hezbollah, FPM, and Amal was lower abroad and that for LF was higher. Hezbollah's share of votes was higher in Germany (27%), although this share is smaller than what the party obtained there in 2018 (47%). As for PSP, it received good results in Saudi Arabia (33%) and the support it obtained there did not drop from the last election.

Table 32: Votes for parties in Mount Lebanon 3 in 2018 and 2022

| | 2018 | | | | 2022 | | | |
|---------------------------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|
| | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad |
| LF | 12,823 | 675 | 17% | 30% | 14,146 | 2,060 | 19% | 25% |
| Hezbollah | 13,542 | 150 | 18% | 7% | 14,505 | 347 | 20% | 4% |
| FPM | 16,885 | 659 | 23% | 29% | 11,469 | 797 | 16% | 10% |
| PSP | 11,477 | 367 | 16% | 16% | 10,086 | 762 | 14% | 9% |
| Amal | 6,299 | 49 | 9% | 2% | 4,744 | 118 | 6% | 1% |
| Kataeb | 2,503 | 83 | 3% | 4% | 3,219 | 600 | 4% | 7% |
| Ahrar | 1,884 | 28 | 3% | 1% | 1,666 | 210 | 2% | 3% |
| LDP | 2,243 | 14 | 3% | 1% | 1,019 | 18 | 1% | 0% |
| Anti-establishment | 4,544 | 181 | 6% | 8% | 11,207 | 3,134 | 15% | 38% |
| Other | 1,829 | 75 | 2% | 3% | 1,424 | 185 | 2% | 2% |

Note: Percentages rounded up. These are calculated based on the number of preferential votes.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

MOUNT LEBANON 4

This is the largest constituency in the country in terms of the number of seats (13): It includes five Maronite seats, one Greek Orthodox, one Greek Catholic, four Druze and two Sunni seats. It consists of the districts of Chouf and Aley and is considered a stronghold of Walid Jumblatt and PSP. In 2018, the alliance list of the PSP-LF-FM won nine out of 13 seats; the FPM won three (Maronite seats), while the last (Druze) seat went without a battle to Talal Arslan (head of the Lebanese Democratic Party, LDP).

Mount Lebanon 4 had 25,556 voters registered outside the country, one of the highest numbers across districts (9,979 in Aley and 15,577 in Chouf). This represents 7% of all its registered voters—nearly as much as the electoral threshold for winning a seat in the electoral district (7.7% of valid votes).

Turnout among diaspora voters was 67%, compared to 52% among residents and 61% in 2018. In short, the diaspora's vote was important.

Seven lists ran and three of them won seats: The PSP-LF list (seven seats), the FPM-LDP list (three seats), and the anti-establishment list "Twahadna lil Taghyeer" (three seats).

Similar to other districts, the diaspora voted more for the anti-establishment lists, with "Twahadna lil Taghyeer" receiving 48% (compared to 21% in the country) and the Citizens in a State list receiving 3% (compared to 1% in the country). There were variations across continents: Voters in Asia and Europe showed much higher support for anti-establishment lists, while those in Australia, Africa, and South America voted more for the PSP-LF list. In North America, these votes were equally divided.

Table 33: Votes for lists across continents in Mount Lebanon 4 in the 2022 parliamentary election

| | Lebanon | Abroad | Asia | Europe | North America | Australia | Africa | South America |
|--|----------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|------------|------------|---------------|
| Number of votes | | | | | | | | |
| PSP-LF | 77,381 | 6,008 | 2,008 | 1,346 | 1,833 | 570 | 204 | 47 |
| Twahadna lil Taghyeer (anti-establishment) | 34,041 | 8,036 | 3,377 | 2,442 | 1,845 | 174 | 180 | 18 |
| FPM-LDP-Tawhid | 39,737 | 1,808 | 582 | 449 | 511 | 186 | 74 | 6 |
| Jama'a al Islamiyyah-independents | 5,938 | 144 | 56 | 46 | 31 | 5 | 6 | - |
| Sawtak Thawra (non-affiliated) | 3,270 | 168 | 58 | 47 | 49 | 10 | 3 | 1 |
| Citizens in a State (anti-establishment) | 1,157 | 439 | 96 | 236 | 88 | 6 | 13 | - |
| Al-Jabal Yantafed (non-affiliated) | 444 | 47 | 10 | 9 | 23 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| Total list votes | 161,968 | 16,650 | 6,187 | 4,575 | 4,380 | 954 | 481 | 73 |
| Percentage of votes | | | | | | | | |
| PSP-LF | 48% | 36% | 32% | 29% | 42% | 60% | 42% | 64% |
| Twahadna lil Taghyeer (anti-establishment) | 21% | 48% | 55% | 53% | 42% | 18% | 37% | 25% |
| FPM-LDP-Tawhid | 25% | 11% | 9% | 10% | 12% | 19% | 15% | 8% |
| Jama'a al Islamiyyah-independents | 4% | 1% | 1% | 1% | 1% | 1% | 1% | 0% |
| Sawtak Thawra (non-affiliated) | 2% | 1% | 1% | 1% | 1% | 1% | 1% | 1% |
| Citizens in a State (anti-establishment) | 1% | 3% | 2% | 5% | 2% | 1% | 3% | 0% |
| Al-Jabal Yantafed (non-affiliated) | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 1% | 0% | 0% | 1% |

Note: Percentages rounded up.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2022).

Anti-establishment candidates overall received half of the diaspora's preferential votes (50% compared to 22% of residents). Among the parties, they voted more for LF (20% compared to 12%), and less for all the others. Compared to 2018, FPM saw the highest drop in its level of support in the diaspora (from 20% to 7% in 2022) with PSP also experiencing large losses (from 24% to 15%).

Support for anti-establishment candidates was particularly high in the UAE, from which they received a quarter of their votes (about 2,000), and their second highest number was in France (about 1,400). As for the parties, LF was relatively more popular in Canada (32%, 703 votes) and Australia (46%, 422 votes). In these two countries, FPM also received some of its best results (11% in Canada and 15% in Australia, or 254 and 134 votes, respectively). PSP performed better in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait (32% and 36%, or 347 votes and 170 votes, respectively).

One pattern that stood out is the vote in Syria. Nearly all of the voters in Syria from Aley chose Talal Arslan (LDP, 20 preferential votes, which was his highest number across all countries), and those from Chouf Wiam Wahhab (Tawhid, 233 votes, representing over half of his votes abroad).

Table 34: Votes for parties in Mount Lebanon 4 in the 2018 and 2022 parliamentary elections

| | 2018 | | | | 2022 | | | |
|----------------------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|
| | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad |
| PSP | 60,583 | 1,133 | 38% | 24% | 50,345 | 2,436 | 32% | 15% |
| LF | 16,714 | 1,114 | 10% | 23% | 19,360 | 3,178 | 12% | 20% |
| FPM | 24,182 | 968 | 15% | 20% | 15,653 | 1,085 | 10% | 7% |
| Tawhid | 7,412 | 81 | 5% | 2% | 9,821 | 407 | 6% | 3% |
| LDP | 8,894 | 51 | 6% | 1% | 8,915 | 93 | 6% | 1% |
| Jama'a al Islamiyyah | | | | | 5,040 | 79 | 3% | 0% |
| Ahrar | 1,221 | 35 | 1% | 1% | 1,382 | 100 | 1% | 1% |
| Al-Ahbash | | | | | 1,351 | 81 | 1% | 1% |
| Anti-establishment | 11,507 | 613 | 7% | 13% | 33,897 | 8,082 | 22% | 50% |
| Other | 29,354 | 766 | 18% | 16% | 11,272 | 464 | 7% | 3% |

Note: Percentages rounded up. These are calculated based on the number of preferential votes.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

NORTH 1

This constituency corresponds to the Akkar district and includes seven seats (three Sunni, two Greek Orthodox, one Maronite, and one Alawite). It was historically one of the main strongholds of Hariri's FM. In 2018, the FM and its allies (including the LF) won five seats (three Sunni, one Maronite, and one Greek Orthodox), while the FPM-led list won two (one Greek Orthodox and one Alawite).

8,478 voters from North 1 were registered to vote outside the country, representing only 3% of the district's electorate. Turnout was 57% compared to 50% in Lebanon and 54% in 2018.

Eight lists ran and two of them won: One formed by previous FM candidates (four seats) and the FPM-SSNP list (three seats). While the diaspora did not affect the final

results, their preferences were significantly different from residents'.

The LF list, which also included some formerly FM candidates, and each of the anti-establishment lists were by far more popular abroad than they were in the country. The LF list received a third of the votes abroad, compared to 12% in the country, and was overall the most successful in all continents with the exception of Asia, where it received only slightly less than the main opposition list "Akkar al Taghyeer." This list ranked second, with 20% (compared to 9% in the country), coming just ahead of the FPM-SSNP list (19% abroad, compared to 29% in the country). The list formed by FM candidates barely received any votes abroad (8%, compared to 29% in the country).

Table 35: Votes for lists across continents in North 1 in the 2022 parliamentary election

| | Lebanon | Abroad | Asia | Europe | North America | Australia | Africa | South America |
|--|----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|------------|------------|---------------|
| Number of votes | | | | | | | | |
| Previous FM | 41,491 | 357 | 112 | 66 | 49 | 62 | 50 | 18 |
| FPM-SSNP | 40,873 | 888 | 162 | 235 | 209 | 174 | 81 | 27 |
| LF | 17,775 | 1,559 | 346 | 364 | 417 | 235 | 96 | 101 |
| Akkar al Taghyeer (anti-establishment) | 13,226 | 919 | 359 | 271 | 131 | 127 | 22 | 9 |
| Al-Wafa' li Akkar (not affiliated) | 13,463 | 156 | 45 | 32 | 21 | 49 | 5 | 4 |
| Al-Nouhoud li Akkar (not affiliated) | 11,724 | 161 | 84 | 25 | 20 | 18 | 9 | 5 |
| Nahwal Muwatana (anti-establishment) | 2,629 | 525 | 127 | 263 | 86 | 31 | 15 | 3 |
| Akkar Tantafed (anti-establishment) | 1,277 | 94 | 56 | 24 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Total list votes | 142,458 | 4,659 | 1,291 | 1,280 | 943 | 698 | 279 | 168 |
| Percentage of votes | | | | | | | | |
| Previous FM | 29% | 8% | 9% | 5% | 5% | 9% | 18% | 11% |
| FPM-SSNP | 29% | 19% | 13% | 18% | 22% | 25% | 29% | 16% |
| LF | 12% | 33% | 27% | 28% | 44% | 34% | 34% | 60% |
| Akkar al Taghyeer (anti-establishment) | 9% | 20% | 28% | 21% | 14% | 18% | 8% | 5% |
| Al-Wafa' li Akkar (not affiliated) | 9% | 3% | 3% | 3% | 2% | 7% | 2% | 2% |
| Al-Nouhoud li Akkar (not affiliated) | 8% | 3% | 7% | 2% | 2% | 3% | 3% | 3% |
| Nahwal Muwatana (anti-establishment) | 2% | 11% | 10% | 21% | 9% | 4% | 5% | 2% |
| Akkar Tantafed (anti-establishment) | 1% | 2% | 4% | 2% | 1% | 0% | 0% | 1% |

Note: Percentages rounded up.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2022).

Among the parties, LF was the preferred one and received 27% of preferential votes abroad (compared to only 5% in the country). Support for both FPM and FM was lower abroad and dropped from the last election, when FPM was by far the most popular party among out-of-country voters from North 1 (from 30% of the diaspora's vote in 2018 to 17% in 2022). Anti-establishment candidates received a combined 32% of preferential votes, compared to 12% in the country.

Table 36: Votes for parties in North 1 in the 2018 and 2022 parliamentary elections

| | 2018 | | | | 2022 | | | |
|---------------------------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|
| | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad |
| FM | 62,747 | 351 | 49% | 19% | 35,241 | 382 | 25% | 9% |
| FPM | 15,555 | 547 | 12% | 30% | 14,001 | 739 | 10% | 17% |
| LF | 7,441 | 470 | 6% | 26% | 7,510 | 1,218 | 5% | 27% |
| SSNP | 4,816 | 99 | 4% | 5% | 3,307 | 77 | 2% | 2% |
| Anti-establishment | 2,328 | 73 | 2% | 4% | 16,609 | 1,444 | 12% | 32% |
| Other | 34,955 | 302 | 27% | 16% | 61,808 | 599 | 45% | 13% |

Note: Percentages rounded up. These are calculated based on the number of preferential votes.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

NORTH 2

This large constituency is made up of the districts of Tripoli and Minnieh-Dannieh and comprises 11 seats. Tripoli has eight seats (five Sunni, one Alawite, one Maronite, one Greek Orthodox), Dannieh has two (Sunni), and Minnieh has one (Sunni). In 2018, the FM list took five seats, Najib Mikati's list took four seats, and candidates close to March 8 and Hezbollah won two seats.

A total of 15,276 Lebanese from North 2 were registered to vote outside the country, representing 4% of all eligible voters. The highest numbers of them were residents of Australia (nearly 3,400) and Saudi Arabia (nearly 2,000).

Turnout was 58%, compared to 52% in 2018, and significantly higher than that among residents (39%). It was highest among out-of-country voters originating from Tripoli (59%, with 10,882 registered voters), followed by those from Dannieh (54%, 3,049 registered voters), with Minnieh having the lowest turnout (52%, 1,345 registered voters).

Eleven lists ran—the highest across all districts—and six of them won seats: The list headed by Ashraf Rifi and LF

(three seats), Faisal Karami's list which included Al-Ahbash (two seats), a list formed by FM candidates (two seats), one formed by Jama'a al Islamiyyah and independents (two seats), one formed by PSP and independents (one seat), and the anti-establishment list "Itafed lil Siyada wal Adala" (one seat).

The winning anti-establishment list was the preferred one abroad, and obtained 30% compared to 9% in the country. The winning MP on the list, Rami Fanj, was elected thanks to the diaspora, as they gave his list just enough votes for it to pass the electoral threshold.¹⁰ The anti-establishment list was by far the favored one in Asia, Europe, and North America.

Compared to residents, voters abroad gave a lower share of their votes to all lists formed by traditional parties and politicians, with the exception of Ashraf Rifi's list (25%, compared to 21% in the country). This list performed best in Australia, although it was closely followed by the Karami-Al-Ahbash list there.

¹⁰ The results of the elections in North 2 were invalidated following an appeal submitted to the Constitutional Council by local politician Faisal Karami, against Rami Fanj's list. As a result, in November 2022, Rami Fanj lost his seat to Faisal Karami.

Table 37: Votes for lists across continents in North 2 in the 2022 parliamentary elections

| | Lebanon | Abroad | Asia | Europe | Australia | North America | Africa | South America |
|--|----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|------------|---------------|
| Number of votes | | | | | | | | |
| Rifi-LF | 27,820 | 2,186 | 781 | 328 | 644 | 332 | 74 | 27 |
| Karami-Marada-Al-Ahbash | 27,785 | 1,492 | 368 | 280 | 605 | 210 | 24 | 5 |
| FM-independents | 27,192 | 849 | 443 | 187 | 96 | 108 | 11 | 4 |
| Jama'a al Islamiyyah-independents | 16,408 | 417 | 193 | 82 | 72 | 48 | 22 | - |
| PSP-Azm-independents | 15,919 | 296 | 143 | 47 | 48 | 42 | 15 | 1 |
| Itafed lil Siyada wal Adala (anti-establishment) | 11,586 | 2,595 | 1,128 | 755 | 104 | 520 | 81 | 7 |
| The Third Republic | 3,071 | 247 | 63 | 72 | 46 | 55 | 10 | 1 |
| Citizens in a State (anti-establishment) | 1,370 | 469 | 117 | 211 | 30 | 93 | 17 | 1 |
| Al-Istiqrar wal Inma' (non-affiliated) | 1,262 | 44 | 17 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 1 | - |
| Fajar al Taghyeer (anti-establishment) | 656 | 16 | 7 | 2 | - | 2 | 5 | - |
| Toumouh al Shabab (non-affiliated) | 75 | 4 | 1 | - | 1 | 2 | - | - |
| Total list votes | 133,144 | 8,615 | 3,261 | 1,973 | 1,655 | 1,420 | 260 | 46 |
| Percentage of votes | | | | | | | | |
| Rifi-LF | 21% | 25% | 24% | 17% | 39% | 23% | 28% | 59% |
| Karami-Marada-Al-Ahbash | 21% | 17% | 11% | 14% | 37% | 15% | 9% | 11% |
| FM-independents | 20% | 10% | 14% | 9% | 6% | 8% | 4% | 9% |
| Jama'a al Islamiyyah-independents | 12% | 5% | 6% | 4% | 4% | 3% | 8% | 0% |
| PSP-Azm-independents | 12% | 3% | 4% | 2% | 3% | 3% | 6% | 2% |
| Itafed lil Siyada wal Adala (anti-establishment) | 9% | 30% | 35% | 38% | 6% | 37% | 31% | 15% |
| The Third Republic | 2% | 3% | 2% | 4% | 3% | 4% | 4% | 2% |
| Citizens in a State (anti-establishment) | 1% | 5% | 4% | 11% | 2% | 7% | 7% | 2% |
| Al-Istiqrar wal Inma' (non-affiliated) | 1% | 1% | 1% | 0% | 1% | 1% | 0% | 0% |
| Fajar al Taghyeer (anti-establishment) | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 2% | 0% |
| Toumouh al Shabab (non-affiliated) | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% |

Note: Percentages rounded up.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2022).

One of the most popular candidates was Taha Naji from Al-Ahbash (11% compared to 5% in the country), and particularly in Australia where his vote share in North 2 went from 24% in 2018 to 31% in 2022. Over half of his out-of-country votes came from Australia.

All other parties were less popular abroad than they were in the country, with the exception of LF (which received 6%, compared to 2% in the country). Anti-establishment candidates, combined, received 36% of preferential votes abroad (compared to 10% in the country).

Among some of the other candidates, Ashraf Rifi was particularly popular in Saudi Arabia and the UAE. In Kuwait, Jihad al Samad (Tripoli) and Abdel Aziz al Samad (Dannieh) won half of their total out-of-country votes. In Australia, Bilal Harmouch was the most successful among Dannieh voters, and got well over half of his out-of-country votes from the country. This was similar for Othman Alameddine in Minnieh.

Table 38: Votes for parties in North 2 in the 2018 and 2022 parliamentary elections

| | 2018 | | | | 2022 | | | |
|--|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|
| | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad |
| FM | 47,802 | 634 | 35% | 28% | 14,815 | 716 | 12% | 9% |
| Jama'a al Islamiyyah | 1,968 | 32 | 1% | 1% | 7,687 | 205 | 6% | 3% |
| Al-Ahbash | 3,791 | 361 | 3% | 16% | 6,511 | 896 | 5% | 11% |
| Arab Liberation Party (Faisal Karami) | 7,071 | 55 | 5% | 2% | 6,407 | 87 | 5% | 1% |
| LF | | | | | 2,972 | 454 | 2% | 6% |
| Marada | 1,246 | 40 | 1% | 2% | 2,249 | 45 | 2% | 1% |
| Azm | 24,443 | 160 | 18% | 7% | 789 | 42 | 1% | 1% |
| PSP | | | | | 165 | 5 | 0% | 0% |
| Anti-establishment | 2,722 | 167 | 2% | 7% | 12,833 | 2,901 | 10% | 36% |
| Other | 46,082 | 851 | 34% | 37% | 72,783 | 2,774 | 57% | 34% |

Note: Percentages rounded up. These are calculated based on the number of preferential votes.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

NORTH 3

This constituency is formed by four districts (Batroun, Bcharre, Koura, Zgharta) and is represented by 10 seats (seven Maronite and three Greek Orthodox). It is a key battleground of the main Christian political parties, the LF and FPM, as well as the home of a local zaim, Sleiman Frangieh, who heads the Marada party. In 2018, Frangieh won three seats, as did the FPM and LF. The tenth seat went to the Syrian Social Nationalist Party, an ally of Frangieh.

Out of all electoral districts, North 3 had the highest number of voters registered abroad—a total of 26,714, representing 10.4% of the electorate, more than the electoral threshold in the district (10%). Out-of-country voters from North 3 are mostly concentrated in Australia (9,259 voters), followed by the US (4,464 voters), although there were district variations. Over the majority of those from Zgharta and Bcharre are residents of Australia, while between 20% and 25% of those from Batroun and Koura are in each of Australia and the US.

Turnout was 65%, compared to 47% in Lebanon. This was a slight decrease from the previous elections, when 67% of North 3's voters abroad headed to the polls.

Seven lists ran and five of them won seats: The LF list (three seats), the Marada-SSNP list (two seats), the Independence Movement list backed by Kataeb (two seats), the FPM list (two seats), and “Chamalouna,” formed by anti-establishment candidates (one seat).

The LF list ranked first, by far, among both residents and out-of-country voters, but particularly among the latter (43% of votes, compared to 31% of residents' votes). While the Marada-SSNP list followed among residents, it was the least popular winning list abroad.

There were variations across continents. The LF list performed best in Australia, North America, Asia, and Africa. Europe voted mostly for “Chamalouna” and South America for the Marada-SSNP list, although in both cases, the LF list closely followed.

Table 39: Votes for lists across continents in North 3 in the 2022 parliamentary elections

| | Lebanon | Abroad | Australia | North America | Europe | Asia | Africa | South America |
|--|----------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|------------|---------------|
| Number of votes | | | | | | | | |
| LF-independents | 32,553 | 7,291 | 2,831 | 2,114 | 874 | 976 | 347 | 149 |
| Marada-SSNP | 24,937 | 1,538 | 526 | 253 | 154 | 249 | 181 | 175 |
| Kataeb-Independence Movement-independents | 20,006 | 2,607 | 1,117 | 502 | 368 | 415 | 104 | 101 |
| FPM | 15,330 | 1,747 | 436 | 577 | 300 | 286 | 122 | 26 |
| Chamalouna (anti-establishment) | 10,841 | 3,280 | 314 | 770 | 1,113 | 910 | 133 | 40 |
| Citizens in a State-Communist Party (anti-establishment) | 713 | 261 | 21 | 58 | 120 | 54 | 6 | 2 |
| Wa'l Sawtak (non-affiliated) | 193 | 37 | 12 | 10 | 4 | 8 | 1 | 2 |
| Total list votes | 104,573 | 16,761 | 5,257 | 4,284 | 2,933 | 2,898 | 894 | 495 |
| Percentage of votes | | | | | | | | |
| LF-independents | 31% | 43% | 54% | 49% | 30% | 34% | 39% | 30% |
| Marada-SSNP | 24% | 9% | 10% | 6% | 5% | 9% | 20% | 35% |
| Kataeb-Independence Movement-independents | 19% | 16% | 21% | 12% | 13% | 14% | 12% | 20% |
| FPM | 15% | 10% | 8% | 13% | 10% | 10% | 14% | 5% |
| Chamalouna (anti-establishment) | 10% | 20% | 6% | 18% | 38% | 31% | 15% | 8% |
| Citizens in a State-Communist Party (anti-establishment) | 1% | 2% | 0% | 1% | 4% | 2% | 1% | 0% |
| Wa'l Sawtak (non-affiliated) | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% |

Note: Percentages rounded up.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2022).

LF's results in these elections were similar to those in 2018, when it was the most popular party in both Lebanon and abroad, although performing better outside the country. Marada and FPM were the main losers in the district, and their votes dropped significantly compared to the last elections, particularly among the diaspora. As for anti-establishment candidates from the two lists, they received a combined 20% of votes abroad, compared to 11% in the country.

Table 40: Votes for parties in North 3 in the 2018 and 2022 parliamentary elections

| | 2018 | | | | 2022 | | | |
|------------------------------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|
| | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad |
| LF | 30,537 | 2,570 | 29% | 36% | 29,049 | 5,966 | 29% | 37% |
| Marada | 21,667 | 989 | 21% | 14% | 14,338 | 835 | 14% | 5% |
| FPM | 18,081 | 1,438 | 17% | 20% | 12,892 | 1,503 | 13% | 9% |
| Independence Movement | 7,813 | 867 | 7% | 12% | 9,968 | 1,371 | 10% | 9% |
| Kataeb | 2,959 | 147 | 3% | 2% | 6,297 | 779 | 6% | 5% |
| SSNP | 4,998 | 265 | 5% | 4% | 3,887 | 376 | 4% | 2% |
| Anti-establishment | 2,536 | 199 | 2% | 3% | 10,657 | 3,272 | 11% | 20% |
| Other | 15,834 | 585 | 15% | 8% | 14,246 | 1,963 | 14% | 12% |

Note: Percentages rounded up. These are calculated based on the number of preferential votes.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

SOUTH 1

This constituency is made up of the city of Saida (detached from the Zahrani region) and the district of Jezzine, and has five seats: Two Sunni, two Maronite, and one Greek Catholic.

A total of 8,355 voters from South 1 were registered outside the country (6% of all eligible voters), with 3,447 in Saida and 4,908 in Jezzine. Turnout abroad decreased from 64% in 2018 to 61% in 2022 but was much higher than that among residents (48%).

Seven lists ran, and although the race was highly competitive, only two of them won seats: The list formed by the Popular Nasserist Organization (PNO) and independent candidates (three seats), and the LF list (two seats).

Compared to residents, voters abroad showed higher preference for the LF list (33% compared to 22%), with the

second most popular list being “Nahna el Taghyeer” formed by anti-establishment candidates (21% of votes, compared to 7% among residents). The diaspora voted comparatively less for the PNO-independents list, and significantly less for the Amal list (6%, compared to 20% in Lebanon). In fact, voters abroad prevented the Amal list from winning, as without their votes, Ibrahim Azar (Amal) would have received a Maronite seat in Jezzine, instead of Charbel Massaad (independent with PNO), whose list would have won two instead of three seats.

There were some variations across continents. The LF list ranked first or second in all continents except South America, where barely any votes were cast, and performed particularly well in North America. Australia showed the highest level of support for the FPM list, while in Africa, the Amal list came in first, although in both cases they were closely followed by the LF list.

Table 41: Votes for lists across continents in South 1 in the 2022 parliamentary elections

| | Lebanon | Abroad | Asia | Europe | North America | Africa | Australia | South America |
|--|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|------------|-----------|---------------|
| Number of votes | | | | | | | | |
| PNO-independents | 17,864 | 919 | 391 | 281 | 187 | 41 | 9 | 10 |
| LF-independents | 12,346 | 1,602 | 544 | 453 | 520 | 52 | 31 | 2 |
| Amal-independents | 11,432 | 287 | 45 | 114 | 62 | 60 | 6 | - |
| FPM-Ba'ath | 9,226 | 620 | 132 | 199 | 213 | 35 | 37 | 4 |
| Nahna el Taghyeer (anti-establishment) | 3,903 | 1,016 | 460 | 275 | 241 | 20 | 13 | 7 |
| Citizens in a State (anti-establishment) | 737 | 391 | 91 | 211 | 78 | 8 | 2 | 1 |
| Sawt el Taghyeer (non-affiliated) | 277 | 47 | 30 | 8 | 8 | 1 | - | - |
| Total list votes | 55,785 | 4,882 | 1,693 | 1,541 | 1,309 | 217 | 98 | 24 |
| Percentage of votes | | | | | | | | |
| PNO-independents | 32% | 19% | 23% | 18% | 14% | 19% | 9% | 42% |
| LF-independents | 22% | 33% | 32% | 29% | 40% | 24% | 32% | 8% |
| Amal-independents | 20% | 6% | 3% | 7% | 5% | 28% | 6% | 0% |
| FPM-Ba'ath | 17% | 13% | 8% | 13% | 16% | 16% | 38% | 17% |
| Nahna el Taghyeer (anti-establishment) | 7% | 21% | 27% | 18% | 18% | 9% | 13% | 29% |
| Citizens in a State (anti-establishment) | 1% | 8% | 5% | 14% | 6% | 4% | 2% | 4% |
| Sawt el Taghyeer (non-affiliated) | 0% | 1% | 2% | 1% | 1% | 0% | 0% | 0% |

Note: Percentages rounded up.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2022).

Compared to 2018, voters abroad showed much lower support for FPM, which was the preferred party in the last elections (13% of votes, compared to 33% in 2018), and the Amal candidate went from being one of the most popular abroad to being among the least (from 13% to 4% of the vote abroad). By contrast, LF gained support and its vote share abroad was significantly higher than that among residents (26%, compared to 15%). South 1 was one of the few districts that did not have anti-establishment candidates running in the 2018 election. In 2022, two anti-establishment lists ran in the district (the Citizens in a State list and the “Nahna el Taghyeer” list, which comprised independent candidates), and their candidates managed to obtain a combined 28% of the non-resident preferential vote (compared to 8% in the country).

Table 42: Votes for parties in 2018 and 2022 in South 1 in the 2018 and 2022 parliamentary elections

| | 2018 | | | | 2022 | | | |
|----------------------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|
| | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad |
| FPM | 12,514 | 480 | 20% | 33% | 8,689 | 581 | 16% | 13% |
| LF | 4,091 | 303 | 7% | 21% | 7,828 | 1,227 | 15% | 26% |
| Amal | 11,475 | 188 | 19% | 13% | 7,709 | 185 | 14% | 4% |
| PNO | 9,829 | 87 | 16% | 6% | 7,174 | 167 | 13% | 4% |
| Jama'a al Islamiyyah | 3,164 | 40 | 5% | 3% | 4,079 | 301 | 8% | 6% |
| Ba'ath | | | | | 158 | 7 | 0% | 0% |
| Anti-establishment | | | | | 4,416 | 1,314 | 8% | 28% |
| Other | 20,738 | 354 | 34% | 24% | 13,659 | 860 | 25% | 19% |

Note: Percentages rounded up. These are calculated based on the number of preferential votes.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

SOUTH 2

The constituency is formed by the Sour and Zahrani districts. It is the stronghold of Parliament Speaker Nabih Berri, and has seven seats: Six Shia and one Greek Catholic. South 2 is one of the least competitive constituencies, in which the Shia parties, Amal and Hezbollah, dominate the field. The small number of seats compared to the large number of registered voters means that the electoral threshold is particularly high.

A total of 18,692 Lebanese from South 2 were registered to vote outside the country (6% of all eligible voters, 11,555 of them in Sour and 7,137 in Zahrani), and the highest share of them were in Germany (3,852) and Côte d'Ivoire (3,819). This represents 63% of all voters registered in Cote D'Ivoire, and 39% of voters registered in Africa overall (7,158 out of 18,172). Turnout among out-of-country voters from South 2 was 60% compared to 58% in 2018 and 51% in Lebanon.

Four lists ran and, similar to 2018, the one formed by Hezbollah and Amal won all seven seats. Although it ranked first across residencies, it was more popular in the country (87% of votes, compared to 69% abroad). There were variations across continents. The list performed much better in Africa (90%) and South America (88%), and while 67% of voters in Europe chose the list, it received 92% in Germany. In North America and Asia, the anti-establishment list “Ma’an lil Taghyeer”—which received 6% of votes in the country and 17% abroad—performed best (32% and 48%, respectively).

Table 43: Votes for lists across continents in South 2 in the 2022 parliamentary elections

| | Lebanon | Abroad | Africa | Europe | North America | Asia | South America | Australia |
|---|----------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|------------|---------------|------------|
| Number of votes | | | | | | | | |
| Hezbollah-Amal | 130,891 | 7,351 | 4,068 | 2,589 | 301 | 187 | 156 | 50 |
| Ma’an lil Taghyeer (anti-establishment) | 8,275 | 1,786 | 173 | 782 | 354 | 442 | 6 | 29 |
| Dawla al Hadina (non-affiliated) | 6,455 | 950 | 278 | 335 | 164 | 146 | 11 | 16 |
| LF-independents | 4,596 | 644 | 22 | 169 | 285 | 149 | 4 | 15 |
| Total list votes | 150,217 | 10,731 | 4,541 | 3,875 | 1,104 | 924 | 177 | 110 |
| Percentage of votes | | | | | | | | |
| Hezbollah-Amal | 87% | 69% | 90% | 67% | 27% | 20% | 88% | 45% |
| Ma’an lil Taghyeer (anti-establishment) | 6% | 17% | 4% | 20% | 32% | 48% | 3% | 26% |
| Dawla al Hadina (non-affiliated) | 4% | 9% | 6% | 9% | 15% | 16% | 6% | 15% |
| LF-independents | 3% | 6% | 0% | 4% | 26% | 16% | 2% | 14% |

Note: Percentages rounded up.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2022).

Compared to 2018, Amal’s vote share significantly dropped, although it was still the most popular party (from 65% to 44%), and Hezbollah’s remained the same. Both parties performed better among residents than they did abroad. In Germany and Côte d’Ivoire, the two main countries, Amal received better results than it did in the country (66% and 55%, respectively).

Anti-establishment candidates—which did not run in South 2 in 2018—received a combined 16% of preferential votes abroad, compared to 5% in the country. They were particularly successful in France and the UAE (53% and 61% of votes) where a third of their total out-of-country votes came from.

Table 44: Votes for parties in South 2 in 2018 and 2022

| | 2018 | | | | 2022 | | | |
|---------------------------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|
| | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad |
| Amal | 80,326 | 2,663 | 58% | 65% | 73,623 | 4,356 | 51% | 44% |
| Hezbollah | 47,161 | 1,082 | 34% | 26% | 52,673 | 2,670 | 37% | 27% |
| LF | | | | | 3,700 | 538 | 3% | 5% |
| Anti-establishment | | | | | 7,411 | 1,593 | 5% | 16% |
| Other | 9,952 | 373 | 7% | 9% | 5,640 | 834 | 4% | 8% |

Note: Percentages rounded up. These are calculated based on the number of preferential votes.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

SOUTH 3

This constituency includes the districts of Nabatiyeh, Bint Jbeil, Marjaayoun, and Hasbaya, and has 11 seats: Eight Shia, one Sunni, one Druze, and one Greek Orthodox. The electoral configuration is not quite the same as in South 2, due in particular to the presence of a Sunni-Druze-Christian island in the Marjaayoun-Hasbaya area.

A total of 22,021 voters from South 3 were registered outside the country, representing 4% of all eligible voters. The highest share of them were registered in Germany (4,181, representing 26% of Lebanese registered there). Turnout abroad was 53%, higher than that in Lebanon (48%) and similar to the one recorded in 2018. It also did not vary across districts: In Marjaayoun-Hasbaya, 52% of registered voters abroad voted (4,479 out of 8,605), in Bint Jbeil, 53% voted (3,679 out of 6,968), and in Nabatiyeh, 54% did so (3,451 out of 6,448).

Three lists ran—the lowest number across all electoral districts—and two of them won seats: The Hezbollah-Amal list (nine seats), and the anti-establishment list “Ma’an Nahwa al Taghyeer” (two seats). This was a large win for the anti-establishment in Hezbollah and Amal’s stronghold.

“Ma’an Nahwa al Taghyeer” received significantly better results abroad (42% compared to 12% in Lebanon), and this ended up electing a second candidate from the list. Without the votes from abroad, Druze winner Firas Hamdan would have lost while Marwan Hamade would have won (Lebanese Democratic Party, running on the same list as Hezbollah-Amal).

There were variations across continents, with Hezbollah-Amal obtaining its best results in Africa and South America (86% and 93%, respectively). While it won 64% in Europe, its results varied within the continent. It received 90% in Germany but only 25% in France, which were the two main European countries South 3 voters were registered in. In Asia, out-of-country voters showed significantly higher support for the anti-establishment list (80%), which also received the majority in North America (59%). Within North America, however, it performed much better in the US (79% of votes) than in Canada (48% of votes).

Table 45: Votes for lists across continents in South 3 in the 2022 parliamentary elections

| | Lebanon | Abroad | Europe | Africa | Asia | North America | South America | Australia |
|--|----------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|------------|
| Number of votes | | | | | | | | |
| Hezbollah-Amal | 191,472 | 6,350 | 2,865 | 1,866 | 424 | 585 | 414 | 196 |
| Ma’an Nahwa al Taghyeer (anti-establishment) | 25,763 | 4,621 | 1,605 | 296 | 1,715 | 882 | 27 | 96 |
| Sawt al Janoub (anti-establishment) | 871 | 81 | 25 | 9 | 13 | 24 | 5 | 5 |
| Total list votes | 218,106 | 11,052 | 4,495 | 2,171 | 2,152 | 1,491 | 446 | 297 |
| Percentage of votes | | | | | | | | |
| Hezbollah-Amal | 88% | 57% | 64% | 86% | 20% | 39% | 93% | 66% |
| Ma’an Nahwa al Taghyeer (anti-establishment) | 12% | 42% | 36% | 14% | 80% | 59% | 6% | 32% |
| Sawt al Janoub (anti-establishment) | 0% | 1% | 1% | 0% | 1% | 2% | 1% | 2% |

Note: Percentages rounded up.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2022).

Amal was the main loser among out-of-country voters, with its vote share abroad decreasing from 35% in 2018 to 16% in 2022. It significantly decreased in Germany, from 48% to 30%. Hezbollah's support abroad remained similar, although, in terms of numbers, it more than doubled. As for anti-establishment candidates running on both lists, they received a combined 42% of preferential votes abroad (compared to 12% in the country).

Table 46: Votes for parties in South 3 in the 2018 and 2022 parliamentary elections

| | 2018 | | | | 2022 | | | |
|---------------------------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|
| | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad | Lebanon | Abroad |
| Hezbollah | 109,499 | 1,480 | 51% | 39% | 124,765 | 4,149 | 59% | 41% |
| Amal | 67,399 | 1,302 | 31% | 35% | 55,232 | 1,639 | 26% | 16% |
| LDP | 2,500 | 12 | 1% | 0% | 2,616 | 18 | 1% | 0% |
| SSNP | 3,282 | 39 | 2% | 1% | 1,813 | 46 | 1% | 0% |
| Ba'ath | 5,914 | 98 | 3% | 3% | 1,134 | 81 | 1% | 1% |
| Anti-establishment | 1,862 | 141 | 1% | 4% | 24,166 | 4,239 | 12% | 42% |
| Other | 23,896 | 687 | 11% | 18% | 0 | 0 | 0% | 0% |

Note: Percentages rounded up. These are calculated based on the number of preferential votes.

Source: TPI calculations based on data from the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (2018 and 2022).

About the Arab Reform Initiative

The Arab Reform Initiative is an independent Arab 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.



contact@arab-reform.net
Paris - Beirut - Tunis