A Snapshot of Parliamentary Election Results

Sami Atallah and Sami Zoughaib

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and decentralization.

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List of voting districts and corresponding qadas

District	Qadas
Beirut 1	Ashrafieh - Rmeil - Mdawwar - Saifi
Beirut 2	Ras Beirut - Dar al Mreiseh - Mina al Hosn - Zoukak al Balat - Mazraa - Moseitbeh - Marfa - Bashura
Bekaa 1	Zahle
Bekaa 2	West Bekaa - Rachaya
Bekaa 3	Baalbek - Hermel
Mount Lebanon 1	Jbeil - Keserwan
Mount Lebanon 2	Metn
Mount Lebanon 3	Baabda
Mount Lebanon 4	Aley - Chouf
North 1	Akkar
North 2	Tripoli - Minnieh-Dannieh
North 3	Bcharre - Zgharta - Batroun - Koura
South 1	Saida - Jezzine
South 2	Zahrani - Sour
South 3	Marjaayoun - Nabatieh - Hasbaya - Bint Jbeil

Introduction

On 6 May 2018, nearly half of the Lebanese voting population cast their ballots to elect a new parliament for the first time in nearly a decade. The highly anticipated election was governed by a new proportional representation law intended to steer the country away from its traditional majoritarian system. Of the 597 candidates, 128 winners from Lebanon's 15 electoral districts claimed parliamentary seats.

Contrary to expectations, the implementation of a proportional electoral system did not result in high voter turnout. Of 3.7 million eligible voters, including about 83,000 expatriates, 49.7% cast their ballots—a modest turnout and a nearly 4% decrease from the election of 2009 (53.4%).[2] Most districts saw turnout hover around the 50% mark, with the exception of Mount Lebanon 1 and Bekaa 3 with 66% and 60% respectively, while Beirut 1 had the lowest turnout with 33%.[3]

This report focuses on the election results and their implications on the distribution of power across the parliament. We show that political blocs have changed significantly in size and why this shift should be understood in context, namely, that political parties are reliant on non-party members to form blocs and the parliament remains dominated by six major parties. We demonstrate that most major political parties sought to compete nationally, as each won seats in seven districts on average. Despite expectations that the newly adopted proportional representation system would bring new faces into the parliament, newly emerged groups performed rather poorly in the election. Women's representation in the parliament improved only marginally, and those who did perform well are politically connected. Additionally, we highlight political changes in specific voting districts that resulted from the most recent national election.

The report comprises three sections: The first section focuses on the distribution of power in the new parliament by outlining the characteristics of newly formed blocs and presenting information on new MPs. The second section examines the performance of each of the seven major political parties across all electoral districts. The third section analyzes results at the district level.

2
National Democratic Institute. 2009. 'Final Report on The Lebanese Parliamentary Election.' Available at: https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/Lebanese_Elections_Report_2009.pdf

3
Per the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities. Further information available at: goo.gl/J1bVqy

I   Distribution of Seats

This section maps out changes in the distribution of power between the largest political forces in the parliament. It first describes how parliamentary blocs changed in terms of size and composition. The section then discusses the distribution of seats at the confessional and partisan level.

a   Change in the Balance of Power

The 2018 parliamentary election altered the political balance of power in the parliament. The largest parliamentary bloc, the Strong Lebanon bloc—led by the Free Patriotic Movement—captured 29 seats, followed by the Future Movement-led bloc, with 20 seats (figure 1). While the Strong Lebanon bloc increased its number of seats by two, the Future Movement-led bloc lost 14 seats. The Lebanese Forces-led bloc experienced the largest change in number of seats, as it nearly doubled in size from eight in 2009 to 15 in 2018. While the Amal Movement-led bloc increased its share to 17 seats, the Hezbollah-led bloc managed to hold on to 13 seats, the same number they had in the last parliament. The Progressive Socialist Party-led bloc and Kataeb both lost two seats.

Figure 1 **Change in size of main political blocs between 2009 and 2018**

Although major political parties usually integrate smaller parties into their blocs for more influence (compared to existing blocs in the parliament at the time of the election), only the Strong Lebanon bloc and Amal Movement-led bloc blocs included at least one additional party. The Strong Lebanon bloc comprises five different parties and a number of non-party members, while the Amal Movement-led bloc has one Ba'ath party member. Out of the six major blocs, Hezbollah's has the least number of non-party members in its bloc while Strong Lebanon has the highest.
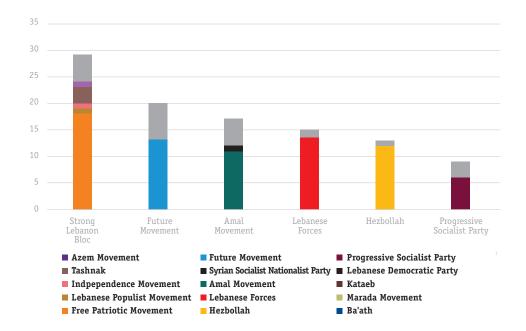
Figure 2 **Number of seats per party and bloc**

b **Distribution of Seats: Six Parties Dominate the New Parliament**
At the confessional level, most groups are represented by two or more parties. The two major Muslim sects are now substantially different in terms of the number of parties representing them. While Shia seats are represented by only two parties (Amal Movement and Hezbollah) and their non-party allies, Sunni seats are occupied by nine. The two largest Christian sects fall in between, with Maronites represented by seven parties and Greek Orthodox by five.

Table 1 **Number of seats per party, by confession**

Confession	Number of Seats	Name of Party	Party Seats	Non-party Seats
Shia	27		23	4
		Hezbollah	12	
		Amal Movement	11	
Sunni	27		20	7
		Future Movement	12	
		Ittihad Party	1	
		Popular Nasserist Organization	1	
		Ba'ath	1	
		Azem Movement	1	
		Arab Liberation Party	1	
		Hiwar Party	1	
		Al-Mashari' Association	1	
		Progressive Socialist Party	1	

Confession	Number of Seats	Name of Party	Party Seats	Non-party Seats
Druze	8		6	2
		Progressive Socialist Party	5	
		Lebanese Democratic Party	1	
Alawite	2		2	0
		Lebanese People's Movement	1	
		Azem Movement	1	
Muslims	64		51	13
Maronite	34		25	9
		Free Patriotic Movement	10	
		Lebanese Forces	8	
		Kataeb	3	
		Marada Movement	2	
		Future Movement	1	
		Independence Movement	1	
Greek Orthodox	14		10	4
		Lebanese Forces	3	
		Free Patriotic Movement	3	
		Syrian Social Nationalist Party	2	
		Azem Movement	1	
		Marada Movement	1	
Catholic	8		4	4
		Free Patriotic Movement	3	
		Lebanese Forces	1	
Armenian Orthodox	5		4	1
		Tashnag	3	
		Sabaa Party	1	
Armenian Catholic	1		1	0
		Lebanese Forces	1	
Minorities	1		1	0
		Free Patriotic Movement	1	
Evangelical	1		1	0
		Free Patriotic Movement	1	
Christians	64		46	18
Total	128		97	31

Although 22 parties managed to secure seats in the parliament, 15 had three or fewer MPs. Six major parties control 73 seats, which is equivalent to 56% of total seats, while the remaining 15 parties control almost 19%—the remaining 25% are occupied by non-party member lawmakers. The largest group, the Free Patriotic Movement, won 18 seats, followed by the Lebanese Forces with 13, and the Future Movement and Hezbollah with 12 each. About one-quarter of all MPs are officially non-party members (31) though 24 of them are part of political blocs.

Table 2 **Number of seats per party**

Major Parties (with seven or more seats)		Smaller Parties (with three or less seats)	
Free Patriotic Movement	18	Azem Movement	3
Hezbollah	12	Kataeb	3
Future Movement	13	Marada Movement	3
Lebanese Forces	13	Tashnag	3
Amal Movement	11	Syrian Social Nationalist Party	2
Progressive Socialist Party	6	Ittihad Party	1
		Popular Nasserist Organization	1
		Ba'ath	1
		Arab Liberation Party	1
		Dialogue Party	1
		Al-Mashari' Association	1
		Lebanese People's Movement	1
		Future Movement	1
		Independence Movement	1
		Sabaa Party	1
Total	73	Total	26

c Many Independent Lists, Disappointing Results

Independent lists viewed the new proportional representation system as an unprecedented opportunity to win seats and shake up the political status-quo. Twenty-one independent lists (out of a total of 77 lists) were registered to run.[4] Eleven civil society groups formed the largest national electoral coalition—Kollouna Watani—fielding 66 candidates in nine districts. As figure 2 shows, Beirut 2 and South 3 had the largest number of independent lists, with three running in each, while none competed in South 1 and South 2.

4
We classify a list as independent if none of its candidates are affiliated with traditional political parties, groups, or families.
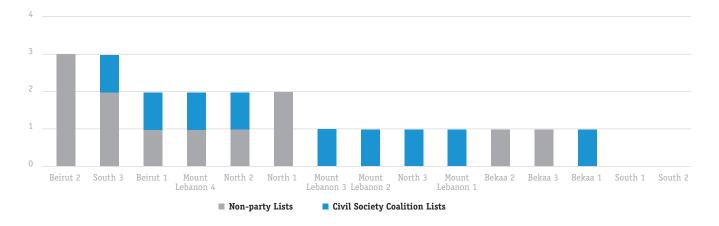
Figure 3 **Number of independent lists running, by district**

■ **Non-party Lists**   ■ **Civil Society Coalition Lists**

The results were disappointing for these groups, with only one candidate winning a seat. Beirut 1 had the highest percentage of votes cast for independent lists—about 18%—while the independent list in Bekaa 1 won just under 2% of the vote (figure 4). The 21 independent lists managed to garner just 4% of the national vote.
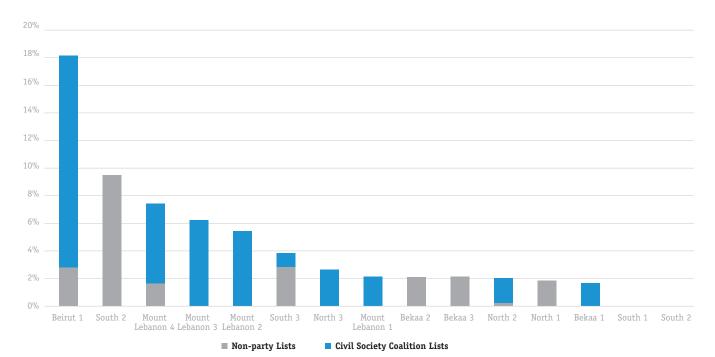
Figure 4 **Percentage of votes cast for independent lists, by district**

■ **Non-party Lists**   ■ **Civil Society Coalition Lists**

d   Record Number of Female Candidates but Very Little Progress
The 2018 election saw a record 86 women vie for parliament seats, with every major party except Hezbollah fielding female candidates. This was a significant increase compared to the 2009 election, when only

12 ran. Only six women managed to win seats—a slight improvement over the four seats women won in the 2009 parliamentary election. Women candidates garnered 5% of the vote nationwide. However, that percentage varied widely across districts (figure 5), with voters giving as much as 20% of their votes to female candidates in South 1, and as little as 0.3% in North 1.
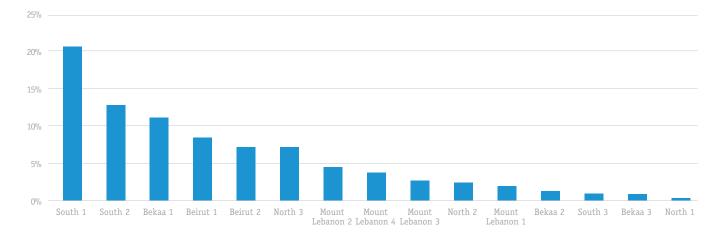
Figure 5 **Percentage of votes cast for female candidates, by district**

Figure 5 shows the average percentage of votes won by a female candidate compared to a male candidate across the country's electoral districts. In South 1 and Bekaa 1, women candidates garnered a higher percentage of votes on average than their male peers. Percentages were also very close in South 2. This is largely explained by the fact that women candidates who performed well are politically connected and/or ran on lists of established political parties.
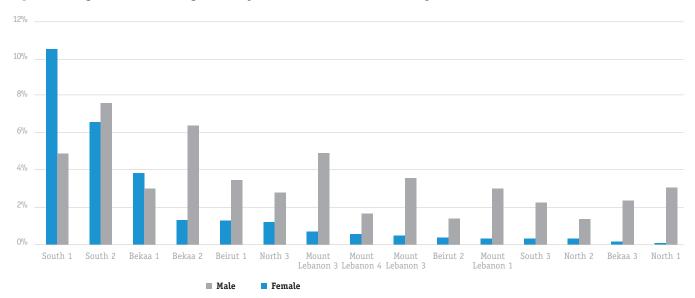
Figure 6 **Average number of votes garnered by a female and a male candidate, per district**

■ Male   ■ Female

The only independent female candidate to win a seat is Paula Yacoubian, a member of the party Sabaa (which is a member of the Koullouna Watani coalition). Three of the six female lawmakers in the parliament are members of the Future Movement, one belongs to the Lebanese Forces, and one to the Amal Movement (table 3).

Table 3 **Affiliation and number of votes for women MPs**

Name	Seat	District	Affiliation	Number of Votes
Inaya Ezzedine	Shia	South 2	Amal Movement	18,815
Bahia Hariri	Sunni	South 1	Future Movement	13,739
Sethrida Geagea	Maronite	North 3	Lebanese Forces	6,677
Roula Tabsh Jaroudi	Sunni	Beirut 2	Future Movement	6,637
Paula Yacoubian	Armenian Orthodox	Beirut 1	Sabaa Party	2,500
Dima Al-Jamali	Sunni	North 2	Future Movement	2,066

II Geographical Distribution and Maps

One key feature of parties is geographical representation. The Free Patriotic Movement—which heads the largest parliamentary bloc—is the most widely represented party in terms of geography, having won seats in 11 of 15 electoral districts (figure 7). The Lebanese Forces and Future Movement follow closely, having won nine and eight districts respectively. Kataeb, the Marada Movement, and the Azem Movement only managed to win seats in their regional strongholds. Figure 8 maps the seats by parties and blocs over 15 electoral districts.
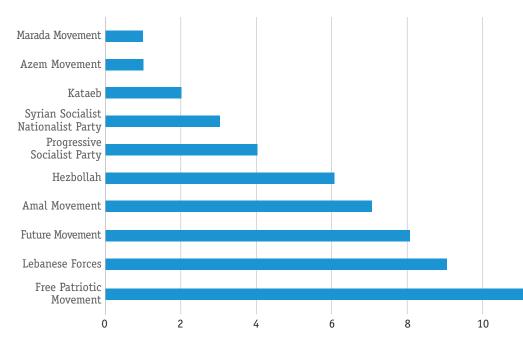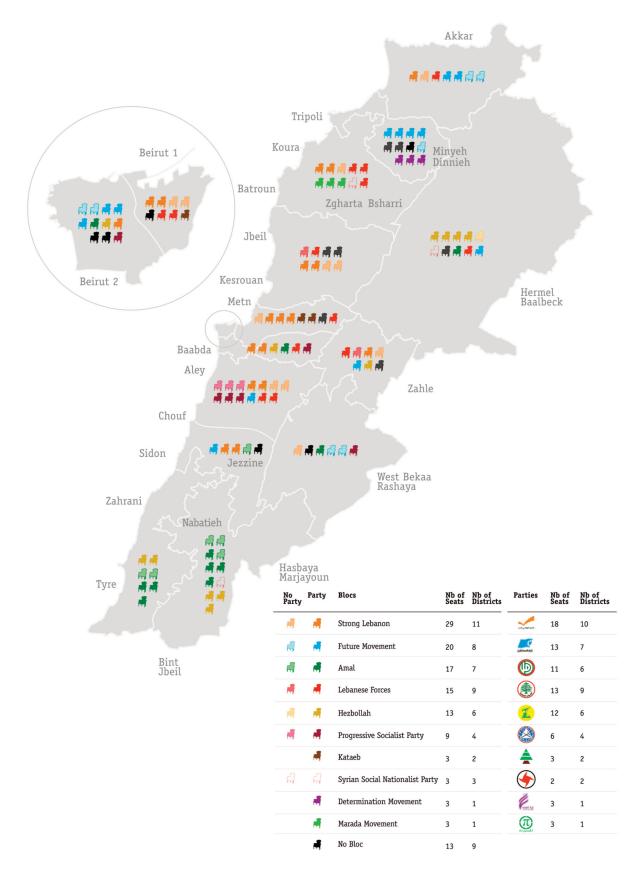
Figure 7 **Party representation by number of districts**

Figure 8 Distribution of seats by parties and blocs

No Party	Party	Blocs	Nb of Seats	Nb of Districts		Parties	Nb of Seats	Nb of Districts
		Strong Lebanon	29	11			18	10
		Future Movement	20	8			13	7
		Amal	17	7			11	6
		Lebanese Forces	15	9			13	9
		Hezbollah	13	6			12	6
		Progressive Socialist Party	9	4			6	4
		Kataeb	3	2			3	2
		Syrian Social Nationalist Party	3	3			2	2
		Determination Movement	3	1			3	1
		Marada Movement	3	1			3	1
		No Bloc	13	9				

The Strong Lebanon Bloc, led by the Free Patriotic Movement, grew to become the most geographically representative bloc by winning seats in 11 districts (figure 9). The bloc extended its reach north, taking seats in Akkar and the Bekaa, in addition to securing seats in Zahle and West Bekaa. The bloc also decreased its reliance on non-party members with nine, down from 16 in 2009.
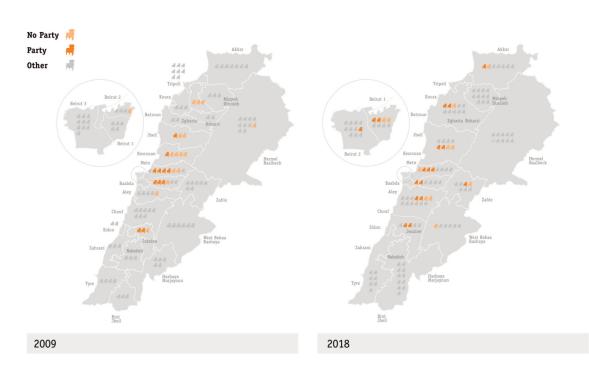
Figure 9 **Distribution of Strong Lebanon bloc seats by district, 2009 and 2018**

The Future Movement-led bloc, the country's second largest, lost some of its geographic representation, having won seats in only eight districts (figure 10). Although the bloc was successful in expanding east and gaining a seat in Baalbek, it lost some of its seats in the North and Beirut districts. It retained the same number of non-party members, with seven.
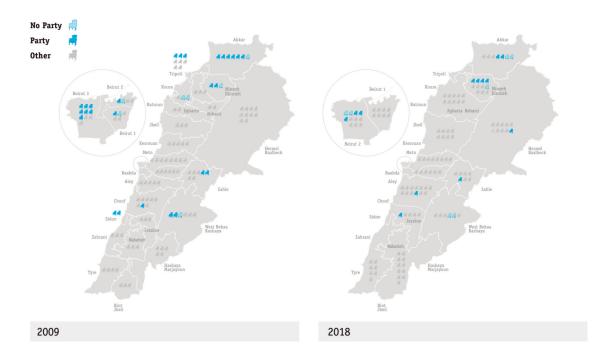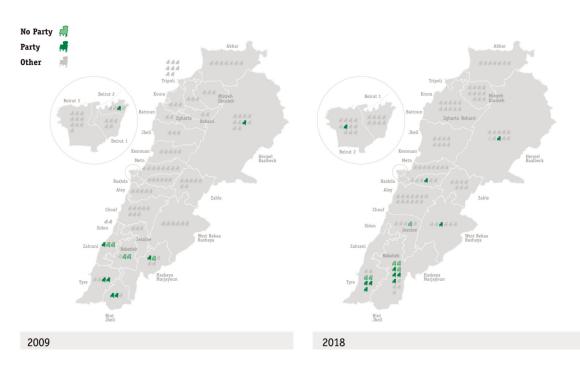
Figure 10 **Distribution of Future Movement-led bloc, seats by district, 2009 and 2018**

2009

2018

The Amal Movement-led bloc expanded in 2018 by winning seats outside of its traditional strongholds of Baalbek-Hermel and the South (figure 11). The bloc managed to secure seats in West Bekaa-Rachaya, Jezzine, and Baabda. Six non-party members are now part of the bloc, up from five in 2009.

Figure 11 **Distribution of Amal Movement-led bloc seats by district, 2009 and 2018**

2009

2018

The Lebanese Forces-led bloc managed to extend its geographic reach, having won seats in nine districts, second only to the Strong Lebanon bloc (figure 12). The bloc expanded east into Baalbek-Hermel and secured seats in multiple Mount Lebanon districts. It started to rely on non-party members in the 2018 election and now has two, having had none in 2009.
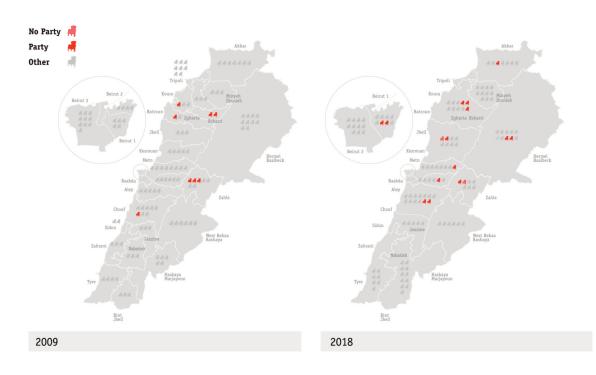
Figure 12 **Distribution of Lebanese Forces-led bloc seats by district, 2009 and 2018**

The Hezbollah-led bloc managed to broaden its range of support by winning seats in six districts (figure 13). It also expanded into Beirut, winning a seat in the capital's second district. The bloc now has two non-party members, up from one in 2009.
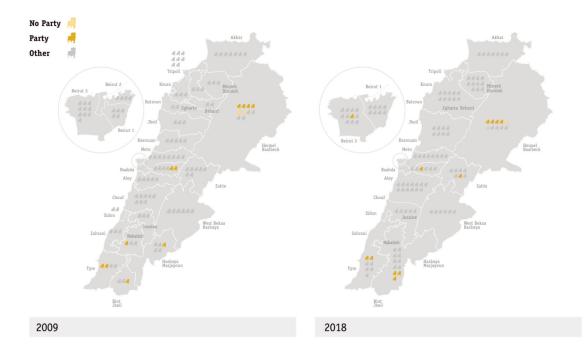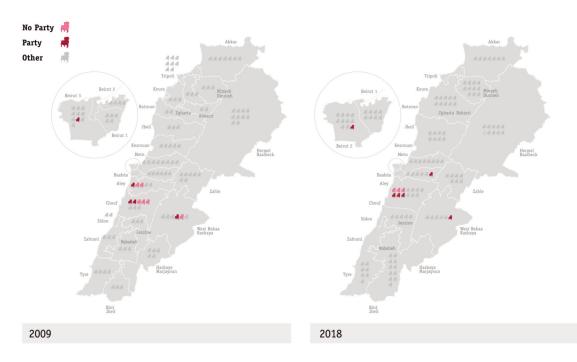
Figure 13 **Distribution of Hezbollah-led bloc seats by district, 2009 and 2018**

2009

2018

The Progressive Socialist Party-led bloc remains confined to the party's regional strongholds, mainly districts with a high Druze population (figure 14). The bloc maintained its presence in West Bekaa-Rachaya, Beirut 2, Baabda, and Aley-Chouf with a similar number of seats. The bloc decreased its reliance on non-party members as it now has just three, whereas it had six in 2009.

Figure 14 **Distribution of Progressive Socialist Party-led bloc seats by district, 2009 and 2018**

2009

2018

The Kataeb lost some of its geographic reach, retaining seats in just two districts (figure 15). The party lost its seats in Zahle and Tripoli and settled for wins in its strongholds, Beirut 1 and Metn. All of the bloc's representatives are members of the Kataeb.

Figure 15 **Distribution of Kataeb bloc seats seats by district, 2009 and 2018**

2009

2018

III District Level Analysis of the Results

Having been almost a decade since Lebanon last held a parliamentary election, significant changes in the political makeup of each district were expected following the 2018 vote. To examine this, the following section focuses on each of the 15 electoral districts and offers an overview of how the balance of power in each shifted since 2009.

a   Bekaa 1 (Zahle): Hezbollah Wins a Seat as the Populist Bloc Withers

In 2009, under the majoritarian system, the March 14 coalition clinched all seven seats in Zahle with about 53% of the vote, narrowly beating out a list formed by the Populist Bloc. However, the district's political balance has since undergone a major shift. Three lists, one backed by Hezbollah, won seats in 2018. Bekaa 1 seats were shared by 'Zahle for Everyone' with three, and the other four split evenly between 'Zahle Our Cause' and 'Zahle the Choice and Decision' (figure 16). The Populist Bloc grew weaker, managing only 12% of the vote—a sharp decrease from the 45% it received in 2009.
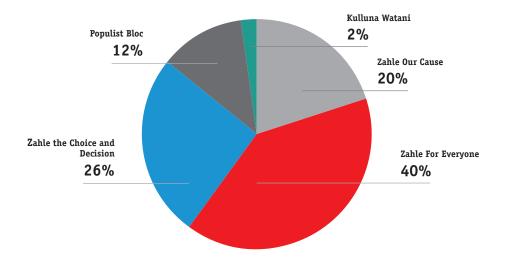
Figure 16 **Share of votes by electoral lists in Bekaa 1**

Table 4 lists the names of, political affiliations of, and votes won by newly elected MPs.

Table 4 **Affiliation and number of votes for MPs in Bekaa 1**

Name	Seat	List	Affiliation	Number of Votes
Georges Okais	Catholic	Zahle Our Cause	Lebanese Forces	11,363
Kaysar Maalouf	Greek Orthodox	Zahle Our Cause	Non-Party Member	3,554
Salim Aoun	Maronite	Zahle for Everyone	Free Patriotic Movement	5,567
Assem Araji	Sunni	Zahle for Everyone	Future Movement	7,224
Michel Daher	Catholic	Zahle for Everyone	Non-Party Member	9,742
Eddy Demerjian	Armenian Orthodox	Zahle the Choice and the Decision	Non-Party Member	77
Anwar Jomaa	Shia	Zahle the Choice and the Decision	Hezbollah	15,601

b   Bekaa 2 (West Bekaa-Rachaya): Hezbollah-Amal Movement Gain as Future Movement-Progressive Socialist Party Retain Half of Their Seats
The March 14 groups won all six seats in West Bekaa-Rachaya in 2009, with approximately 53% of the vote. In 2018, the list backed by Hezbollah and the Amal Movement took half of the district's seats with 50% of the vote—2% more than the Future Movement-Progressive Socialist Party list. The independent list 'Civil Society' failed to win a seat, having garnered only 2% of the vote (figure 17).
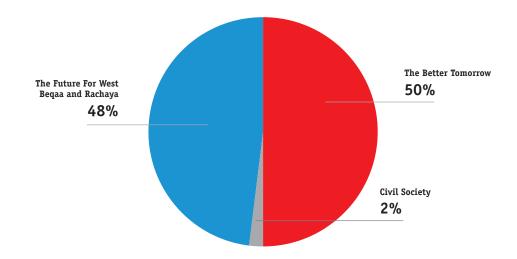
Figure 17 **Share of votes by electoral lists in Bekaa 2**

The Future For West
Beqaa and Rachaya
48%

The Better Tomorrow
50%

Civil Society
2%

Table 5 lists the names of, political affiliations of, and votes won by newly elected MPs.

Table 5 **Affiliation and number of votes for MPs in Bekaa 2**

Name	Seat	List	Affiliation	Number of Votes
Abdul Rahim Mourad	Sunni	The Better Tomorrow	Ittihad Party	15,111
Wael Abou Faour	Druze	The Future for West Bekaa and Rachaya	Progressive Socialist Party	10,677
Mohammad Nasrallah	Shia	The Better Tomorrow	Amal Movement	8,897
Mohammad Karaawi	Sunni	The Future for West Bekaa and Rachaya	Non-Party Member	8,768
Elie Ferzli	Greek Orthodox	The Better Tomorrow	Non-Party Member	4,899
Henry Chedid	Maronite	The Future for West Bekaa and Rachaya	Non-Party Member	1,584

c   Bekaa 3 (Baalbek-Hermel): The Lebanese Forces and Future Movement Steal Two Seats in Hezbollah-Amal Movement's Stronghold
In 2009, Hezbollah and its allies secured all ten seats in Baalbek-Hermel —one of the party's political strongholds—with 86% of the vote. In 2018, the 'Hope and Loyalty' list led by Hezbollah, the Amal Movement, and their allies clinched eight seats with 76% of the vote, while 'Dignity and Development'—a list spearheaded by the Future Movement, Lebanese Forces and their allies—took 19% of the vote, securing two seats. Three other lists, including the independent 'Development and Change,' Kataeb-backed 'National Cedars' as well as the Free Patriotic Movement-backed 'The Independent', were not in serious contention (figure 18). Hezbollah and its allies secured all the Shia seats, the

Catholic seat, and one of the two Sunni seats. The remaining Maronite and Sunni seats were filled by Antoine Habchi (Lebanese Forces) and Bakr El-Hujayri (Future Movement) respectively.
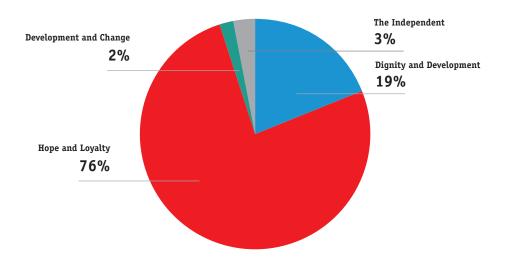
Figure 18 **Share of votes by electoral lists in Bekaa 3**

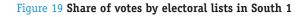Table 6 lists the names of, political affiliations of, and votes won by newly elected MPs.

Table 6 **Affiliation and number of votes for MPs in Bekaa 3**

Name	Seat	List	Affiliation	Number of Votes
Jamil el Sayyed	Shia	Hope and Loyalty	Non-Party Member	33,223
Ihab Hamade	Shia	Hope and Loyalty	Hezbollah	18,404
Ghazi Zaiter	Shia	Hope and Loyalty	Amal Movement	17,767
Ali Mokdad	Shia	Hope and Loyalty	Hezbollah	17,321
Ibrahim Mousawi	Shia	Hope and Loyalty	Hezbollah	16,942
Hussein El-Haj Hassan	Shia	Hope and Loyalty	Hezbollah	15,662
Antoine Habchi	Maronite	Dignity and Development	Lebanese Forces	14,858
Walid Sukarieh	Sunni	Hope and Loyalty	Non-Party Member	6,916
Bakr Houjayri	Sunni	Dignity and Development	Future Movement	5,994
Albert Mansour	Greek Catholic	Hope and Loyalty	Non-Party Member	5,881

d **South 1 (Saida - Jezzine): Future Movement Loses Seats as Amal Movement-Backed List Asserts Itself**

In 2009, the Future Movement and Free Patriotic Movement were the sole winners in Saida and Jezzine (previously split into two separate electoral districts), having won 68% and 53% of the vote respectively. However, the 2018 election painted a different picture, with the Amal Movement-Popular Nasserist Organization list winning two seats and

the Future Movement securing one. The Free Patriotic Movement maintained a presence by winning the remaining two seats. 'The Ability to Change' list—backed by the LF and Kataeb—failed to win any seats, with only 10% of the vote (figure 19).
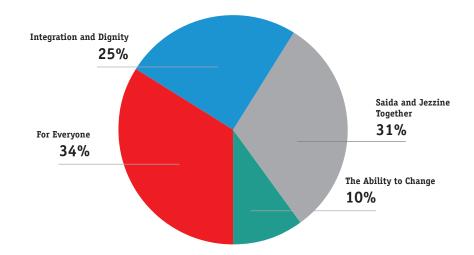
Figure 19 **Share of votes by electoral lists in South 1**

Table 7 lists the names of, political affiliations of, and votes won by newly elected MPs.

Table 7 **Affiliation and number of votes for MPs in South 1**

Name	Seat	List	Affiliation	Number of Votes
Bahia Hariri	Sunni	Integration and Dignity	Future Movement	13,739
Ibrahim Azar	Maronite	For Everyone	Non-Party Member	11,663
Oussama Saad	Sunni	For Everyone	Popular Nasserist Organization	9,880
Ziad Aswad	Maronite	Saida and Jezzine Together	Free Patriotic Movement	7,270
Salim Khoury	Catholic	Saida and Jezzine Together	Free Patriotic Movement	708

e   South 2 (Sour-Zahrani): Free Patriotic Movement Far from Being in Contention as Hezbollah-Amal Movement Dominate Again
Hezbollah, the Amal Movement, and their allies dominated the 2009 elections in Sour and Zahrani (previously split into two districts), taking all the seats with about 90% of the vote. Little has changed as the same parties won all seven seats in 2018, with a commanding 92% of the vote. The 'Together Toward Change' list—backed by the Free Patriotic Movement—failed to provide any real competition (figure 20).
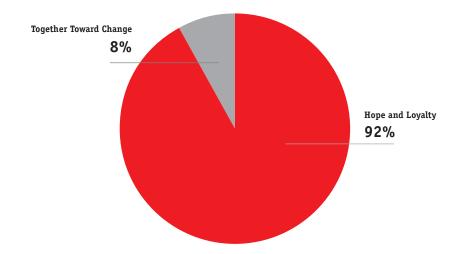
Figure 20 **Share of votes by electoral lists in South 2**

Table 8 lists the names of, political affiliations of, and votes won by newly elected MPs.

Table 8 **Affiliation and number of votes for MPs in South 2**

Name	Seat	List	Affiliation	Number of Votes
Nabih Berri	Shia	Hope and Loyalty	Amal Movement	42,137
Nawwaf Moussawi	Shia	Hope and Loyalty	Hezbollah	24,379
Hussein Jachi	Shia	Hope and Loyalty	Hezbollah	23,864
Inaya Ezzedine	Shia	Hope and Loyalty	Amal Movement	18,815
Ali Khreis	Shia	Hope and Loyalty	Amal Movement	15,672
Michel Moussa	Catholic	Hope and Loyalty	Non-Party Member	4,162
Adel Osseiran	Shia	Hope and Loyalty	Non-Party Member	2,203

f South 3 (Marjayoun - Nabatiyeh - Hasbaya - Bent Jbeil): Despite Broad Competition, Hezbollah-Amal Movement Dominate Again

In 2009, the March 8 coalition dominated the election in this district (then split into three separate districts Marjayoun-Hasbaya, Nabatiyeh, and Bent Jbeil) by securing nearly 90% of the vote. Predictably, Hezbollah, the Amal Movement, and their allies again won all the seats in South 3, with 86% of the vote (figure 21).
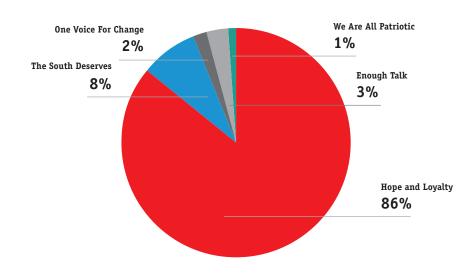
Figure 21 **Share of votes by electoral lists in South 3**

Table 9 lists the names of, political affiliations of, and votes won by newly elected MPs.

Table 9 **Affiliation and number of votes for MPs in South 3**

Name	Seat	List	Affiliation	Number of Votes
Mohammad Raad	Shia	Hope and Loyalty	Hezbollah	43,797
Hassan Fadlallah	Shia	Hope and Loyalty	Hezbollah	39,722
Ali Fayad	Shia	Hope and Loyalty	Hezbollah	27,460
Hani Kobeissi	Shia	Hope and Loyalty	Amal Movement	20,504
Ali Hassan Khalil	Shia	Hope and Loyalty	Amal Movement	16,765
Ali Ahmad Bazzi	Shia	Hope and Loyalty	Amal Movement	9,290
Yassine Jaber	Shia	Hope and Loyalty	Non-Party Member	7,920
Ayoub Hmayed	Shia	Hope and Loyalty	Amal Movement	7,875
Anwar Khalil	Druze	Hope and Loyalty	Non-Party Member	6,347
Kassem El-Hachem	Sunni	Hope and Loyalty	Ba'ath	6,012
Assaad Hardan	Greek Orthodox	Hope and Loyalty	Syrian Socialist Nationalist Party	3,321

g   North 1 (Akkar): Free Patriotic Movement Enters Akkar as Future Movement Loses Seats

The March 14 coalition clinched all seven seats in Akkar in 2009, with about 63% of the vote. In 2018, the Free Patriotic Movement-backed 'Strong Akkar' list took two seats, while the Future Movement-backed 'Future for Akkar' secured five (figure 22).
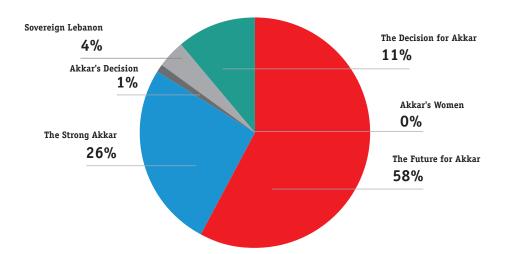
Figure 22 **Share of votes by electoral lists in North 1**

Table 10 lists the names of, political affiliations of, and votes won by newly elected MPs.

Table 10 **Affiliation and number of votes for MPs in North 1**

Name	Seat	List	Affiliation	Number of Votes
Walid El-Baarini	Sunni	Future for Akkar	Non-Party Member	20,426
Mohammad Suleiman	Sunni	Future for Akkar	Non-Party Member	14,911
Hadi Hobeich	Maronite	Future for Akkar	Future Movement	14,911
Mohamad El-Merehbi	Sunni	Future for Akkar	Future Movement	14,145
Wehbi Qatisha	Greek Orthodox	Future for Akkar	Lebanese Forces	7,911
Assaad Dargham	Greek Orthodox	Strong Akkar	Free Patriotic Movement	7,435
Mostafa El-Hussein	Alawite	Strong Akkar	Lebanese People's Movement	1,353

h   North 2 (Tripoli - Minnieh - Dannieh): Future Movement Sees Its Dominance in Lebanon's Northern City Challenged

In 2009, all seven seats in Tripoli were won by the March 14 coalition, with the 'Al Tadamon al Traboulsi' list—which included Najib Mikati— and Omar Karami's list winning 62% of the vote. In Minnieh-Dannieh, the 'Future for the North' list—also part of the March 14 coalition— secured all three seats. In 2018, the 'Future for the North' list— backed by the Future Movement—secured five seats with 36% of the vote, while the Azem-backed 'Al Azem' list won four with 29%, and 'National Dignity' with 20% won two (figure 23).
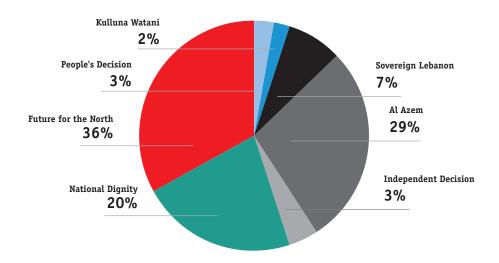
Figure 23 **Share of votes by electoral lists in North 2**

Table 11 lists the names of, political affiliations of, and votes won by newly elected MPs.

Table 11 **Affiliation and number of votes for MPs in North 2**

Name	Seat	List	Affiliation	Number of Votes
Najib Mikati	Sunni	Azem Movement	Azem Movement	21,300
Jihad al Samad	Sunni	National Dignity	Non-Party Member	11,897
Othman Alameldine	Sunni	Future for the North	Future Movement	10,221
Mohammad Kabbara	Sunni	Future for the North	Non-Party Member	9,600
Samir el Jisr	Sunni	Future for the North	Future Movement	9,527
Sami Fatfat	Sunni	Future for the North	Future Movement	7,943
Faisal Karami	Sunni	National Dignity	Arab Liberation Party	7,126
Ali Darwich	Alawite	Azem Movement	Azem Movement	2,246
Dima Jamali	Sunni	Future for the North	Future Movement	2,066
Jean Obeid	Maronite	Azem Movement	Non-Party Member	1,136
Nicolas Chammas	Greek Orthodox	Azem Movement	Azem Movement	1,057

i   North 3 (Batroun – Bcharre – Zgharta – Koura): Marada Movement, Lebanese Forces, and Free Patriotic Movement Share the District's 10 Seats

In the 2009 election, the March 14 coalition took all seven seats in three of North 3's regions—Batroun, Koura, and Bcharre. In Zgharta, the three remaining seats of North 3 were won by the March 8 coalition. In 2018, the Marada-Syrian Socialist Nationalist Party list 'Together for the North and Lebanon' secured 35% of the vote, winning four seats. Three went to 'Pulse of the Strong Republic,' backed by the Lebanese Forces, with 33%, and the remaining three were won by the Free Patriotic Movement's 'Strong North' list, with 29% (figure 24).
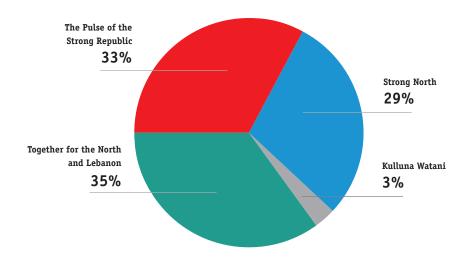
Figure 24 **Share of votes by electoral lists in North 3**

The Pulse of the
Strong Republic
33%

Strong North
29%

Together for the North
and Lebanon
35%

Kulluna Watani
3%

Table 12 lists the names of, political affiliations of, and votes won by newly elected MPs.

Table 12 **Affiliation and number of votes for MPs in North 3**

Name	Seat	List	Affiliation	Number of Votes
Gebran Bassil	Maronite	Strong North	Free Patriotic Movement	12,269
Georges Atallah	Greek Orthodox	Strong North	Free Patriotic Movement	3,383
Michel Moawad	Maronite	Strong North	Independence Movement	8,571
Estephan Douaihy	Maronite	Together for the North and Lebanon	Marada Movement	5,435
Salim Saade	Greek Orthodox	Together for the North and Lebanon	Syrian Social Nationalist Party	5,263
Tony Frangieh	Maronite	Together for the North and Lebanon	Marada Movement	11,407
Fayez Ghosn	Greek Orthodox	Together for the North and Lebanon	Marada Movement	4,224
Georges Isaac	Maronite	Pulse of the Strong Republic	Lebanese Forces	5,990
Sethrida Geagea	Maronite	Pulse of the Strong Republic	Lebanese Forces	6,677
Fadi Saad	Maronite	Pulse of the Strong Republic	Lebanese Forces	9,842

j   **Mount Lebanon 1 (Jbeil - Keserwen): Kataeb and the Lebanese Forces Assert Their Presence in Jbeil-Keserwen as the Free Patriotic Movement Loses Seats**

In 2009, all eight seats in the Mount Lebanon 1 district were won by the Free Patriotic Movement-affiliated 'Change and Reform' wing of the March 8 coalition. The list took 57.21% of the vote in Jbeil and 52.81% of the vote in Keserwen. The 2018 election yielded a very different result. The Free Patriotic Movement list 'Strong Lebanon' managed to win four seats, but the remaining four went to the party's opponents: The Lebanese Forces-backed 'The Certain Change' and the Kataeb-affiliated 'We Decide'—each won two seats (figure 25).
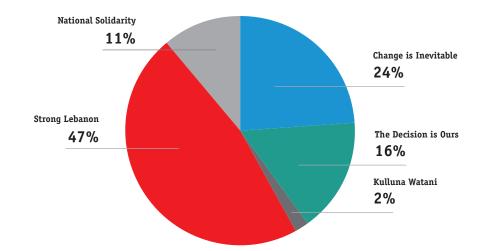
Figure 25 **Share of votes by electoral lists in Mount Lebanon 1**

Table 13 lists the names of, political affiliations of, and votes won by newly elected MPs.

Table 13 **Affiliation and number of votes for MPs in Mount Lebanon 1**

Name	Seat	List	Affiliation	Number of Votes
Ziad Hawat	Maronite	The Certain Change	Non-Party Member	14,424
Chawki Daccache	Maronite	The Certain Change	Lebanese Forces	10,032
Farid El-Khazen	Maronite	We Decide	Non-Party Member	9,081
Mostafa El-Husseini	Shia	We Decide	Non-Party Member	78
Roger Azar	Maronite	Strong Lebanon	Free Patriotic Movement	6,793
Simon Abi-Ramia	Maronite	Strong Lebanon	Free Patriotic Movement	9,729
Chamel Roukoz	Maronite	Strong Lebanon	Non-Party Member	7,300
Nehmat Efrem	Maronite	Strong Lebanon	Non-Party Member	10,717

k   Mount Lebanon 2 (Metn): No Clear Winner as District Remains Divided
In both 2009 and 2018, no single bloc dominated the election in the
Metn region. In 2009, 'The Change and Reform,' wing of the March 8
coalition—backed by the Free Patriotic Movement—won five seats,
with 51.04% of the vote. The other two were won by the March 14
coalition's 'Metn's Rescue.' In 2018, the Free Patriotic Movement-backed
list 'Strong Metn' retained four seats, while opposing parties made
gains. The Kataeb-backed 'Metn's Pulse' won two seats, and 'Metn the
Heart of Lebanon'—affiliated with the Lebanese Forces—won one.
The remaining seat went to independent candidate Michel el-Murr
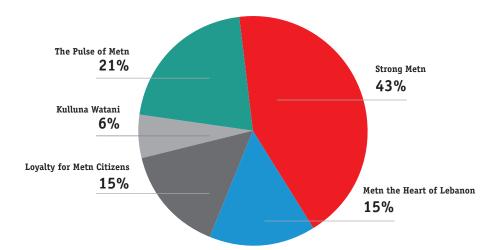(figure 26).

Figure 26 **Share of votes by electoral lists in Mount Lebanon 2**

Table 14 lists the names of, political affiliations of, and votes won
by newly elected MPs.

Table 14 **Affiliation and number of votes for MPs in Mount Lebanon 2**

Name	Seat	List	Affiliation	Number of Votes
Ibrahim Kanaan	Maronite	Strong Metn	Free Patriotic Movement	7,179
Edgar Maalouf	Catholic	Strong Metn	Free Patriotic Movement	5,961
Hagop Pakradounian	Greek Orthodox	Strong Metn	Tashnag	7,182
Elias Bou Saab	Greek Orthodox	Strong Metn	Free Patriotic Movement	7,299
Eddy Abillama	Maronite	Metn the Heart of Lebanon	Lebanese Forces	8,922
Michel Murr	Greek Orthodox	Loyalty to Metn	Non-Party Member	11,945
Elias Hankach	Maronite	Metn's Pulse	Kataeb	2,583
Sami Gemayel	Maronite	Metn's Pulse	Kataeb	13,968

l   Mount Lebanon 3 (Baabda): The Lebanese Forces and Progressive Socialist Party Clinch Two Seats as the Free Patriotic Movement, Hezbollah, and Amal Movement Settle for Four

The 2009 election in Baabda was dominated by the March 8 coalition, with the Free Patriotic Movement-backed 'Change and Reform' list taking all six seats with 53.6% of the vote. In 2018, 'National Accord'—a joint list put forward by the Free Patriotic Movement, Hezbollah, and the Amal Movement—took four seats, but two were won by the Lebanese Forces- and Progressive Socialist Party-backed 'Unity and Development for Baabda' (figure 27).
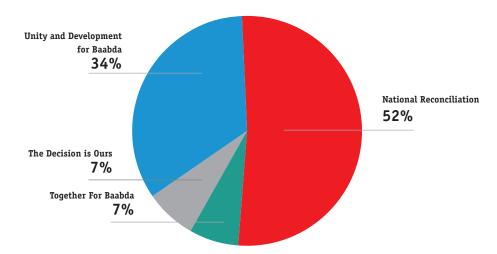
Figure 27 **Share of votes by electoral lists in Mount Lebanon 3**

Table 15 lists the names of, political affiliations of, and votes won by newly elected MPs.

Table 15 **Affiliation and number of votes for MPs in Mount Lebanon 3**

Name	Seat	List	Affiliation	Number of Votes
Alain Aoun	Maronite	National Accord	Free Patriotic Movement	10,200
Hikmat Dib	Maronite	National Accord	Free Patriotic Movement	4,428
Ali Ammar	Shia	National Accord	Hezbollah	13,692
Fadi Alame	Shia	National Accord	Amal Movement	6,348
Pierre Bouassi	Maronite	Baabda's Unity and Development	Lebanese Forces	13,498
Hadi Abou Hassan	Druze	Baabda's Unity and Development	Progressive Socialist Party	11,844

m   Mount Lebanon 4 (Aley - Chouf): Free Patriotic Movement, Lebanese Democratic Party, and Syrian Socialist Nationalist Party Increase Their Shares

In 2009, all but one seat in the Aley and Chouf regions were won by the March 14 list—12 in total—with 60.45% of the vote in Aley and 68.50% of the votes in Chouf. The remaining seat was won by 'Partner-

ship of Reform'—backed by Free Patriotic Movement and the Lebanese Democratic Party—which took 39.31% of the vote. The results were slightly different in 2018. 'Reconciliation'—backed by the Lebanese Forces, Future Movement, and Progressive Socialist Party—still won a majority of seats (seven), but the Free Patriotic Movement, Lebanese Democratic Party, and Syrian Socialist Nationalist Party alliance performed well, winning four seats for their 'Mount Lebanon's Guarantee' list (figure 28).
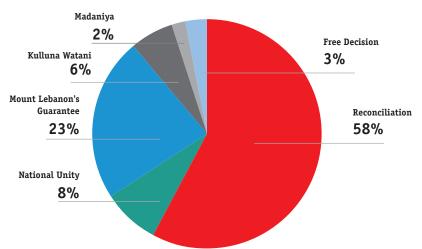
Figure 28 **Share of votes by electoral lists in Mount Lebanon 4**

Table 16 lists the names of, political affiliations of, and votes won by newly elected MPs.

Table 16 **Affiliation and number of votes for MPs in Mount Lebanon 4**

Name	Seat	List	Affiliation	Number of Votes
Anis Nassar	Greek Orthodox	Reconciliation	Lebanese Forces	7,872
Akram Chehayeb	Druze	Reconciliation	Progressive Socialist Party	14,088
Bilal Abdallah	Sunni	Reconciliation	Progressive Socialist Party	8,492
Taymour Jumblatt	Druze	Reconciliation	Progressive Socialist Party	11,478
Georges Adwan	Maronite	Reconciliation	Lebanese Forces	9,956
Mohammad El-Hajjar	Sunni	Reconciliation	Future Movement	10,003
Marwan Hamadeh	Druze	Reconciliation	Non-Party Member	7,266
Nehme Tohme	Catholic	Reconciliation	Non-Party Member	7,253
Henri Helou	Maronite	Reconciliation	Non-Party Member	7,894
Talal Arslan	Druze	Mount Lebanon's Guarantee	Lebanese Democratic Party	7,887
Cezar Abi-Khalil	Maronite	Mount Lebanon's Guarantee	Free Patriotic Movement	8,124
Farid al Bustani	Maronite	Mount Lebanon's Guarantee	Non-Party Member	2,557
Mario Aoun	Maronite	Mount Lebanon's Guarantee	Free Patriotic Movement	5,124

n   Beirut 1 and Beirut 2: March 8 Parties Make Inroads across Both of
Beirut's Voting Districts

In the 2009 election, Beirut was split into three districts (Beirut 1,
Beirut 2, and Beirut 3), in which all but one seat (won by the Amal
Movement) were won by the March 14 coalition. The 2018 election
results panned out much differently as the Free Patriotic Movement-led
list 'Strong Beirut First' was able to clinch four seats in the Beirut 1
district—the rest were won by the Lebanese Forces and Kataeb. This
district also voted in the only victorious civil society campaign in the
country. The capital's second district, Beirut 2, also experienced a
similar change as the list backed by Hezbollah and the Amal Movement
was able to win four seats and Fouad Makhzoumi of the Hiwar party
managed to win a seat. The Future Movement- and Progressive Socialist
Party-backed list 'Future for Beirut' settled for six seats (figure 29).

Figure 29 **Share of votes by electoral lists in Beirut**

Beirut 1

Kulluna Watani
16%

We are Beirut
3%

Beirut First
39%

Strong Beirut First
42%

Beirut 2

Beirut's Unity
33%

Future for Beirut
44%

Lebanon is Worth It
11%

Kulluna Beirut
4%

People's Voice
1%

Beirut al Watan
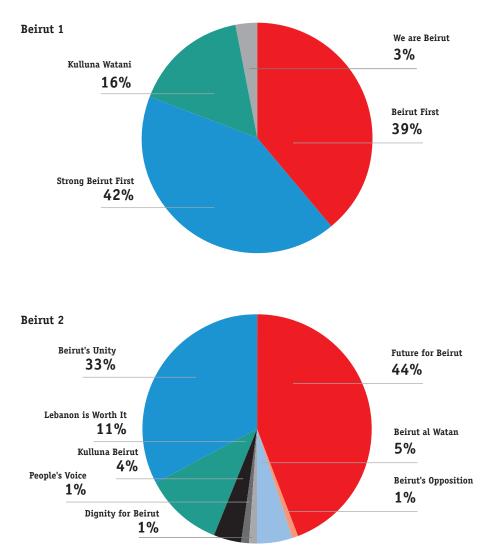**5%**

Beirut's Opposition
1%

Dignity for Beirut
1%

Table 17 lists the names of, political affiliations of, and votes won by newly elected MPs.

Table 17 **Affiliation and number of votes for MPs in Beirut 1 and Beirut 2**

Name	Seat	List	Affiliation	Number of Votes
Beirut 1				
Jean Talouzian	Armenian Catholic	Beirut First	Lebanese Forces	4,166
Imad Wakim	Greek Orthodox	Beirut First	Lebanese Forces	3,936
Nadim Gemayel	Maronite	Beirut First	Kataeb	4,096
Alexandre Matossian	Armenian Orthodox	Strong Beirut First	Tashnag	2,376
Antoine Pano	Minorities	Strong Beirut First	Free Patriotic Movement	539
Nicolas Sehnaoui	Catholic	Strong Beirut First	Free Patriotic Movement	4,788
Hagobe Terzian	Armenian Orthodox	Strong Beirut First	Tashnag	3,451
Paula Yacoubian	Armenian Orthodox	We Are All Patriotic	Sabaa Party	2,500
Beirut 2				
Tammam Salam	Sunni	For Beirut	Non-Party Member	9,599
Roula Tabsh Jaroudi	Sunni	Future For Beirut	Future Movement	6,637
Saad Hariri	Sunni	Future For Beirut	Future Movement	2,0751
Faisal al Sayegh	Druze	Future For Beirut	Progressive Socialist Party	1,902
Nazih Najm	Greek Orthodox	Future For Beirut	Non-Party Member	2,351
Nohad Machnouk	Sunni	Future For Beirut	Future Movement	6,411
Fouad Makhzoumi	Sunni	Lebanon Is Worth It	Dialogue Party	11,346
Edgard Traboulsi	Evangelical	Beirut's Unity	Free Patriotic Movement	13,018
Amin Cherri	Shia	Beirut's Unity	Hezbollah	22,961
Adnan Traboulsi	Sunni	Beirut's Unity	Al-Mashari' Association	1,919
Mohammad Khawaja	Shia	Beirut's Unity	Amal Movement	7,834

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