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

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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.

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

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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.

PART I

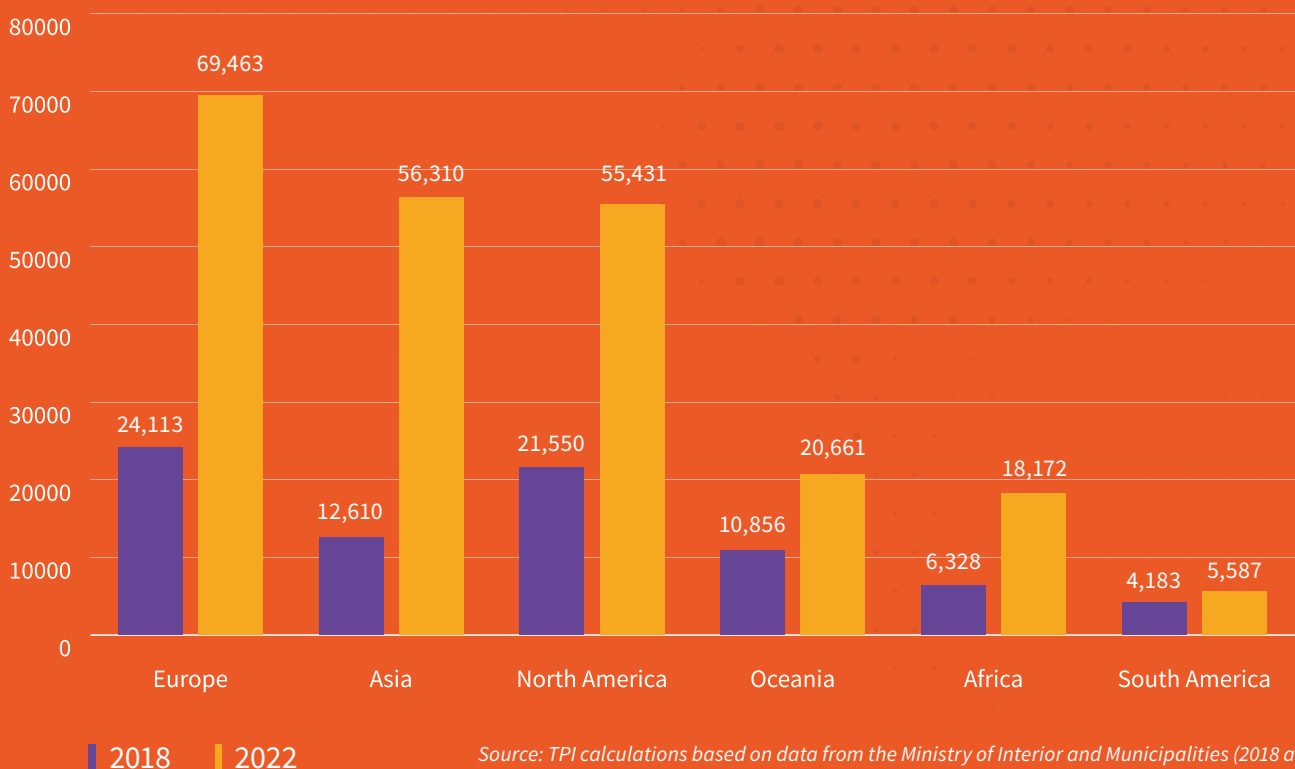
RESULTS AND TURNOUT IN THE AGGREGATE

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

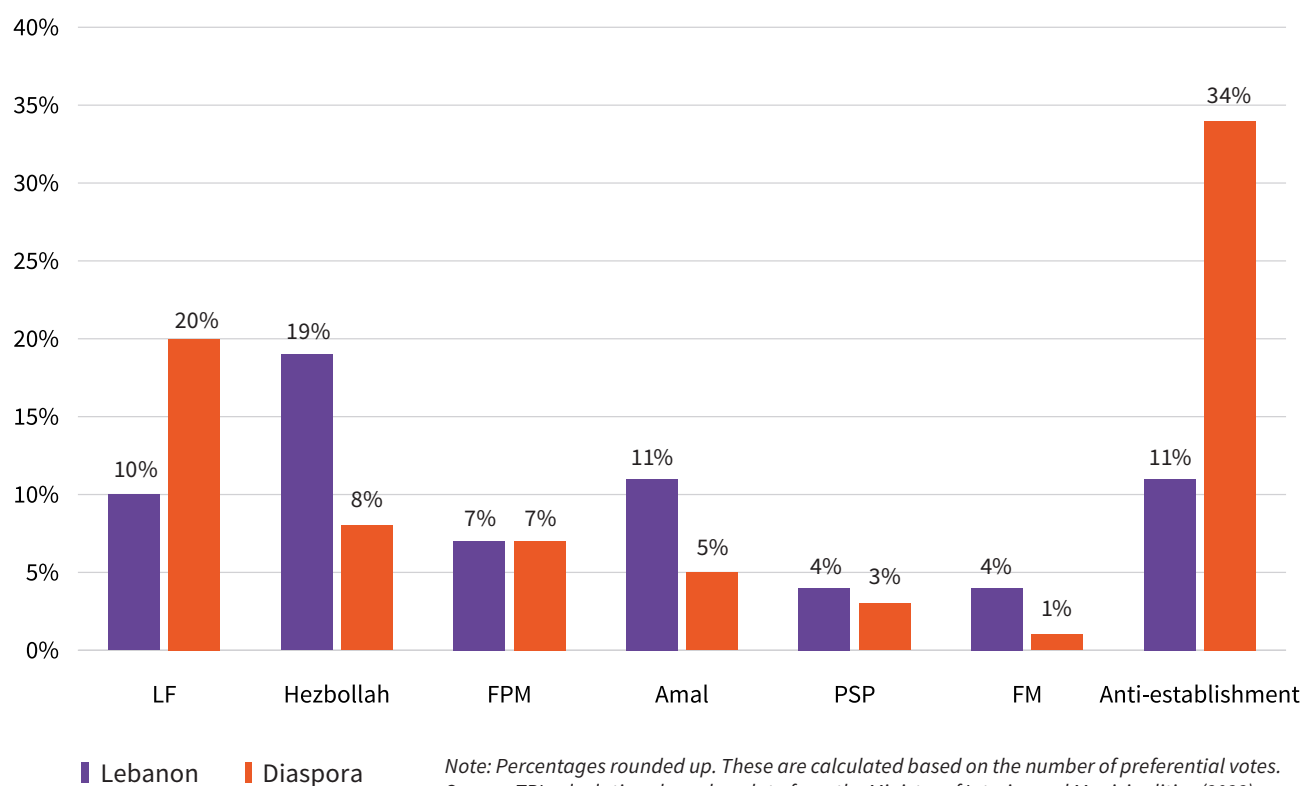
3. While the majority of candidates who ran in the election were not official members of any traditional political party, not all of them qualify as anti-establishment, as they ran on electoral lists affiliated or backed by these parties. Some of the anti-establishment political groups and parties include 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.

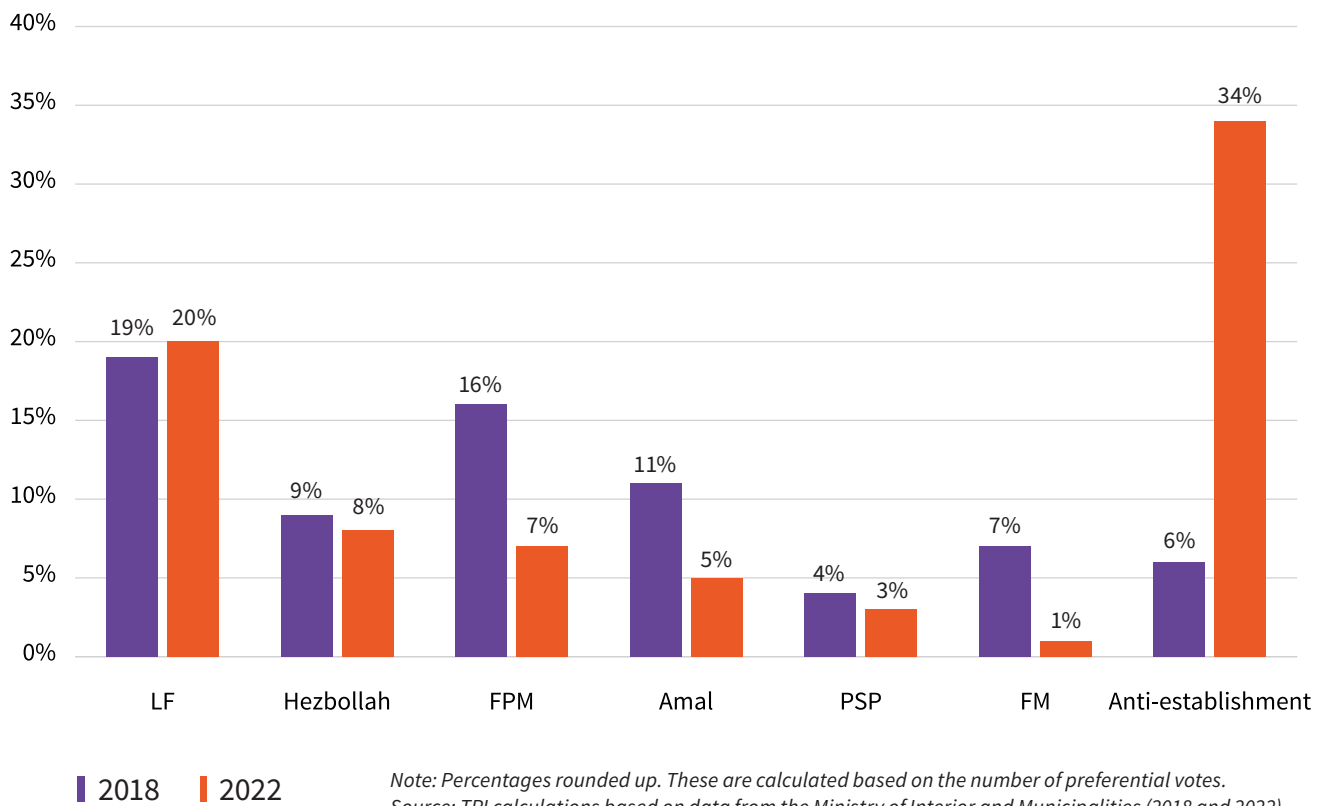
Such patterns were observed among both in-country and out-of-country voters, although to a different extent. Compared to Lebanese in the country, those abroad gave a higher share of their preferential votes to LF (20% compared to 10%), and anti-establishment candidates (34% compared to 11%). They supported 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	
Year	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%

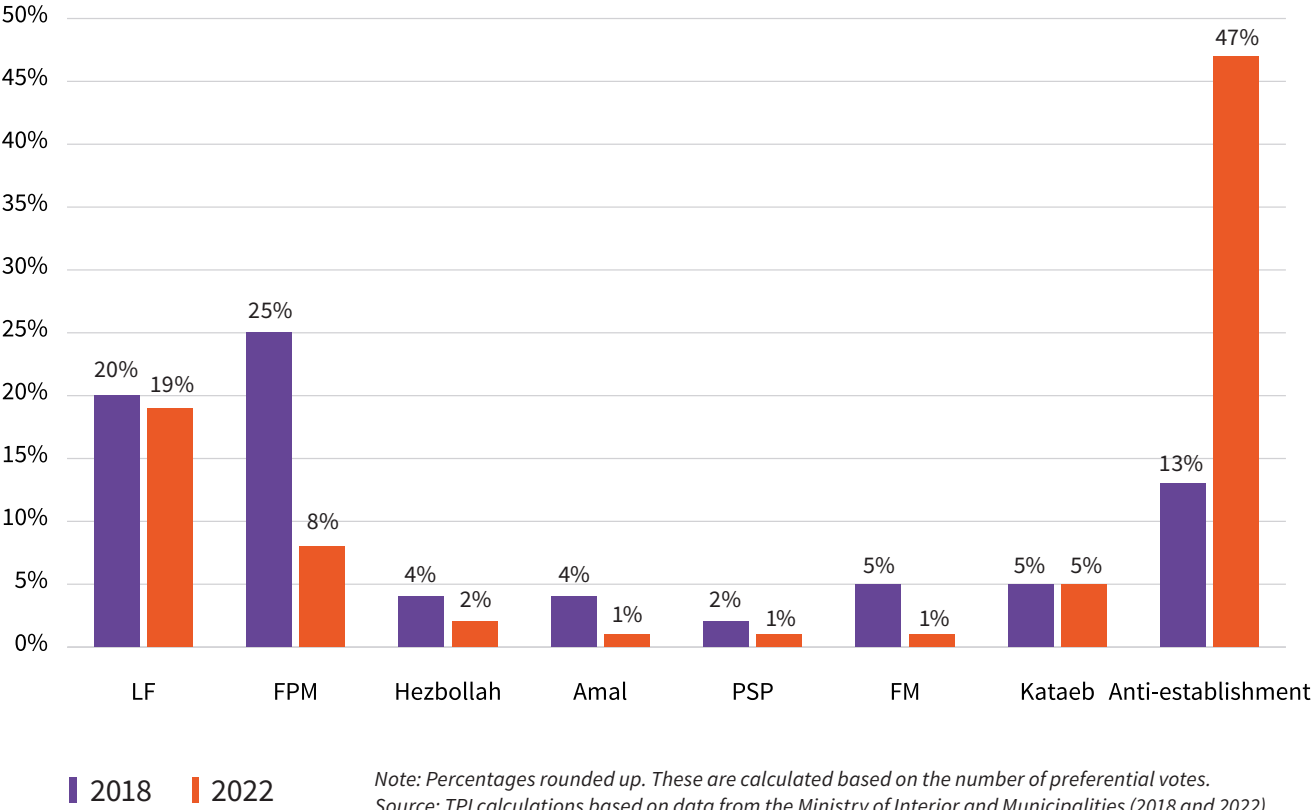
Note: Percentages rounded up.

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

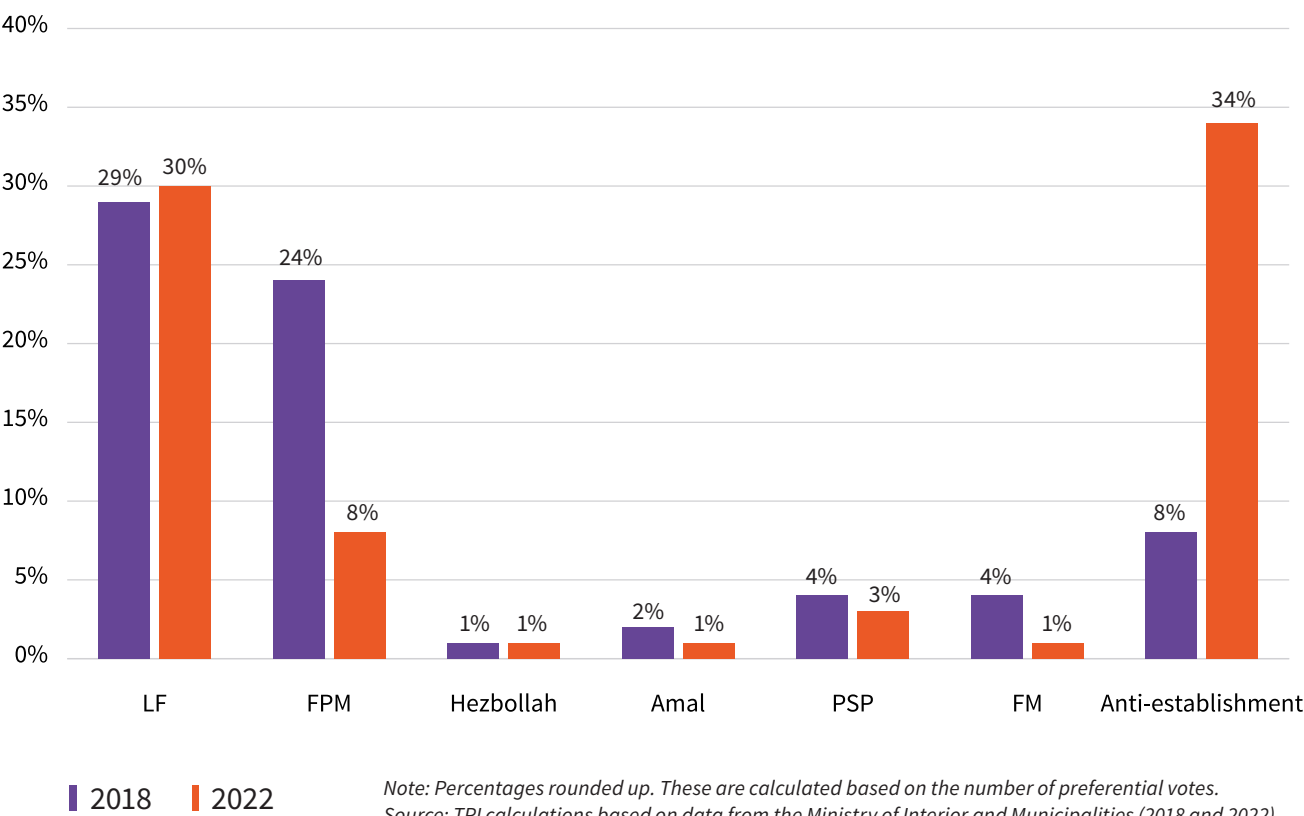
	Registered voters	Voters	Turnout	Turnout in 2018
Beirut 1	1,554	843	54%	35%
Beirut 2	2,869	1,527	53%	29%
Bekaa 1	1,502	857	57%	54%
Bekaa 2	833	430	52%	59%
Bekaa 3	769	430	56%	58%
Mount Lebanon 1	2,125	1,368	64%	66%
Mount Lebanon 2	2,253	1,335	59%	55%
Mount Lebanon 3	2,305	1,341	58%	56%
Mount Lebanon 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%

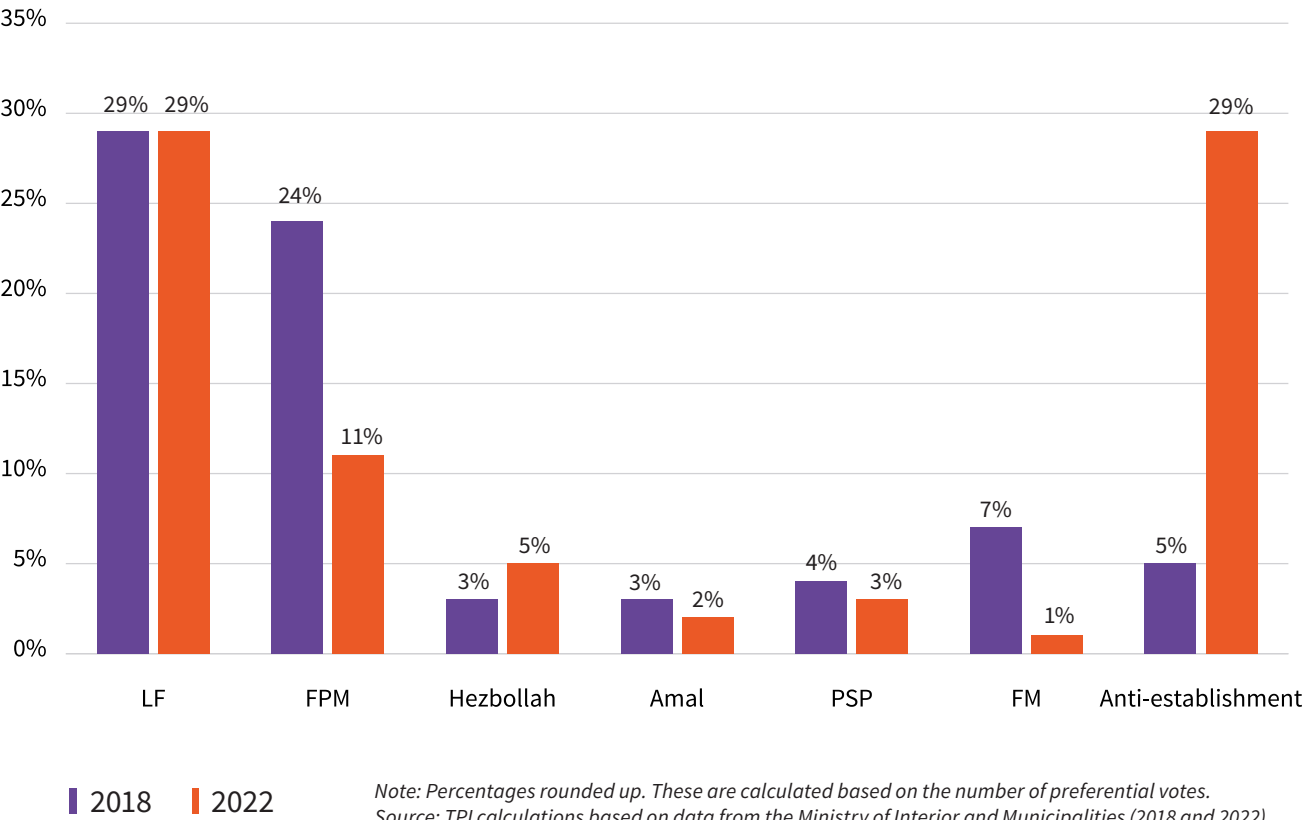
Note: Percentages rounded up.

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



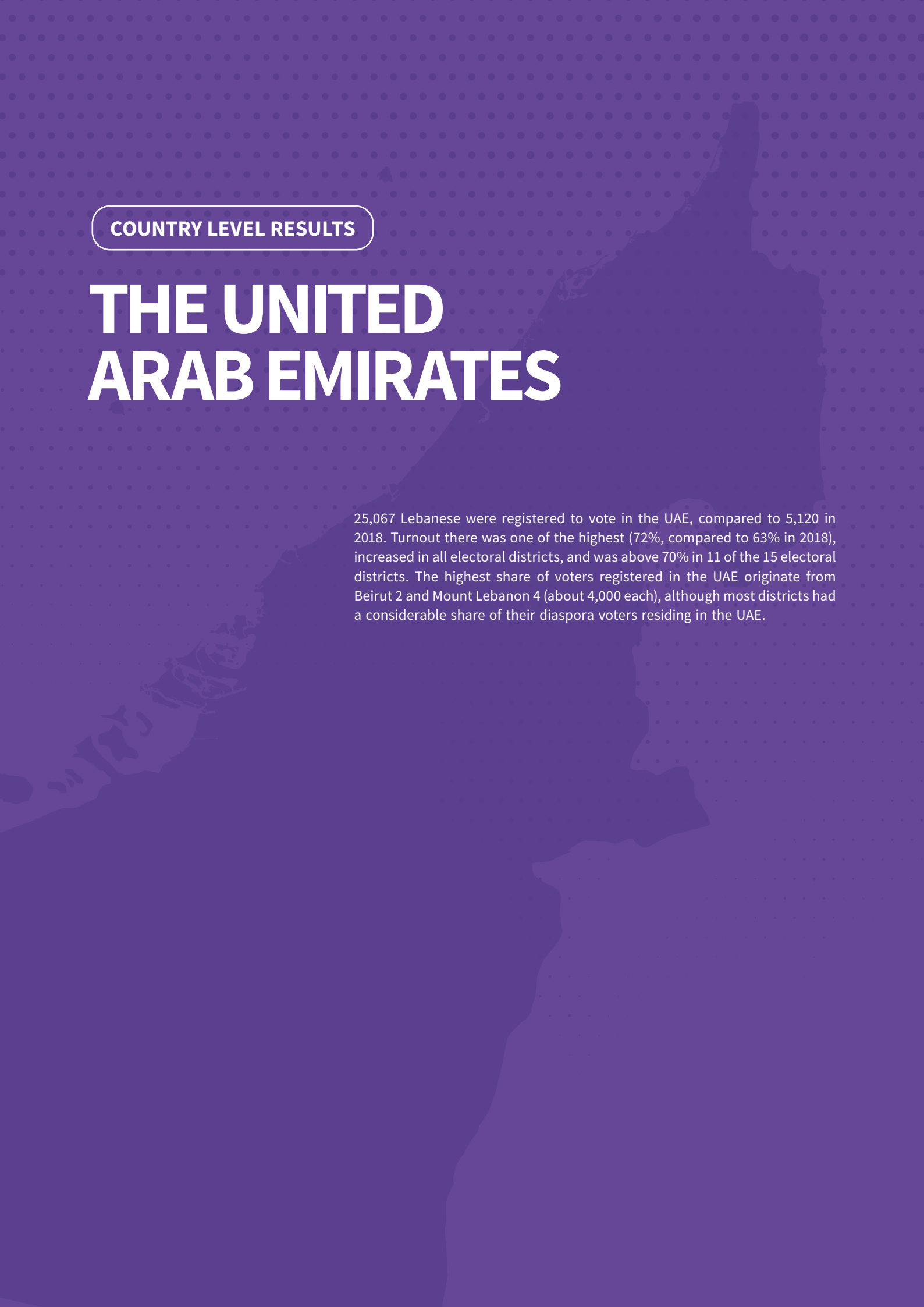
LF ranked first in nearly all electoral districts, and in most cases, was followed by anti-establishment candidates. As in other countries, Kataeb received some support in Beirut 1 and Mount Lebanon 2, although low when compared to LF's results in these districts. Hezbollah was highly popular in South 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

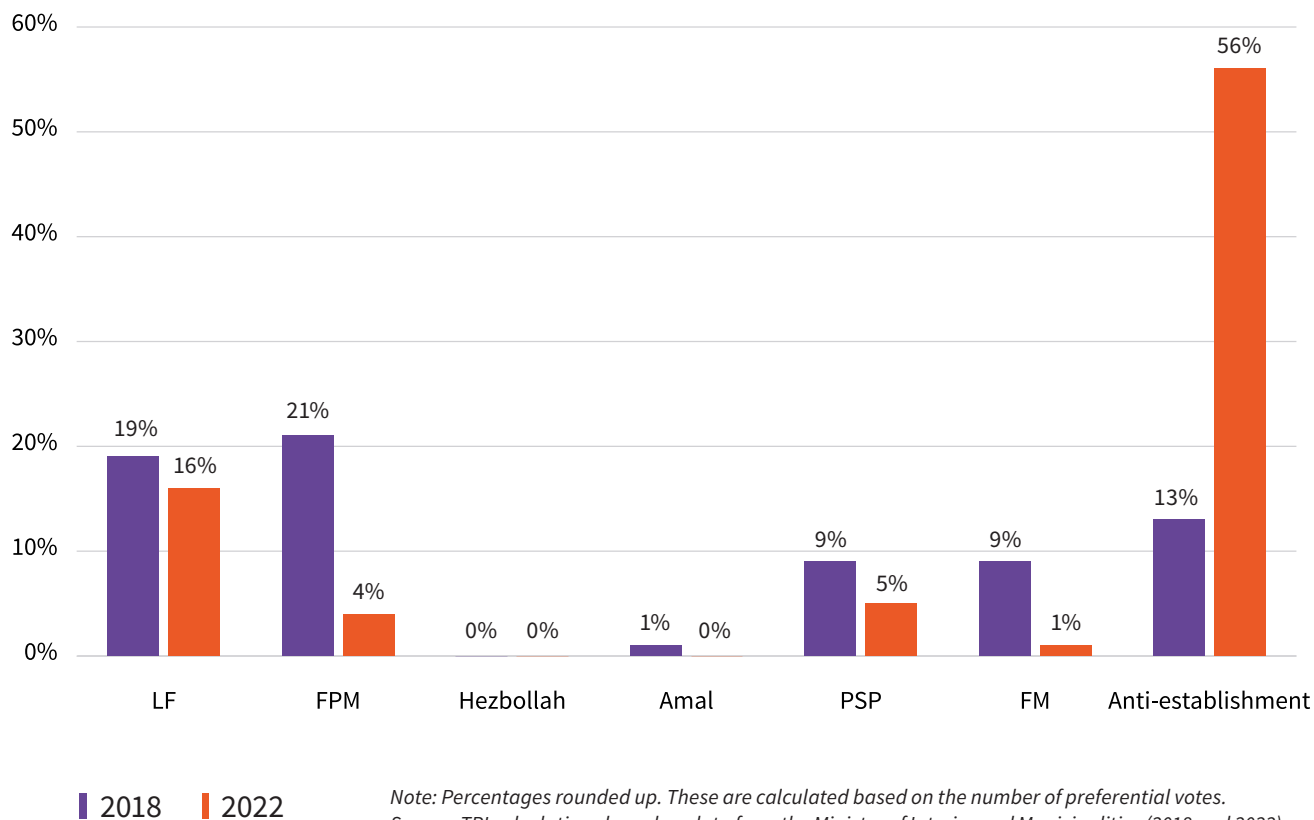
	Registered voters	Voters	Turnout	Turnout in 2018
Beirut 1	1,222	888	73%	67%
Beirut 2	4,174	2,917	70%	57%
Bekaa 1	956	675	71%	63%
Bekaa 2	645	484	75%	63%
Bekaa 3	601	426	71%	70%
Mount Lebanon 1	1,506	1,120	74%	72%
Mount Lebanon 2	1,835	1,428	78%	74%
Mount Lebanon 3	1,974	1,488	75%	62%
Mount Lebanon 4	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

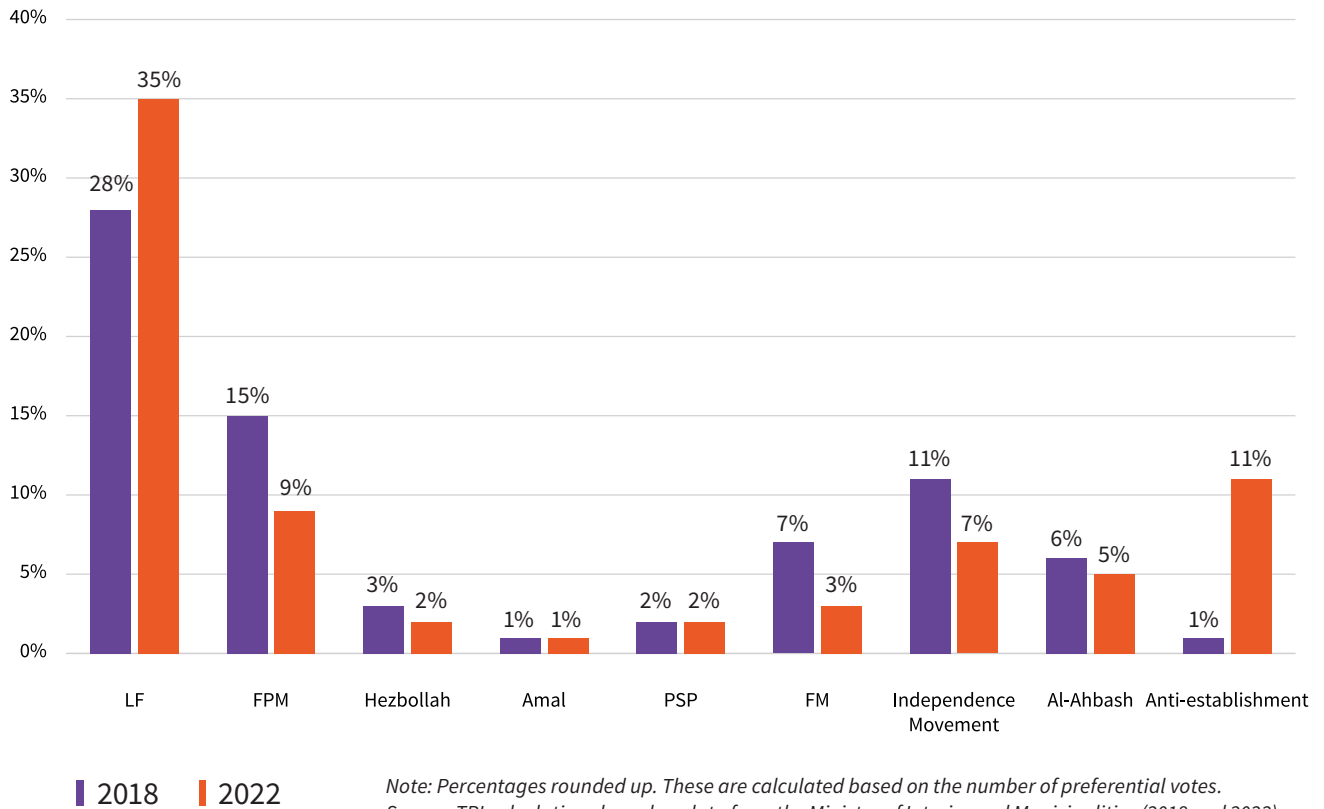
	Registered voters	Voters	Turnout	Turnout in 2018
Beirut 1	260	140	54%	42%
Beirut 2	490	315	64%	58%
Bekaa 1	630	356	57%	59%
Bekaa 2	235	138	59%	47%
Bekaa 3	647	369	57%	59%
Mount Lebanon 1	486	298	61%	81%
Mount Lebanon 2	444	257	58%	43%
Mount Lebanon 3	407	233	57%	46%
Mount Lebanon 4	1,769	992	56%	55%
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

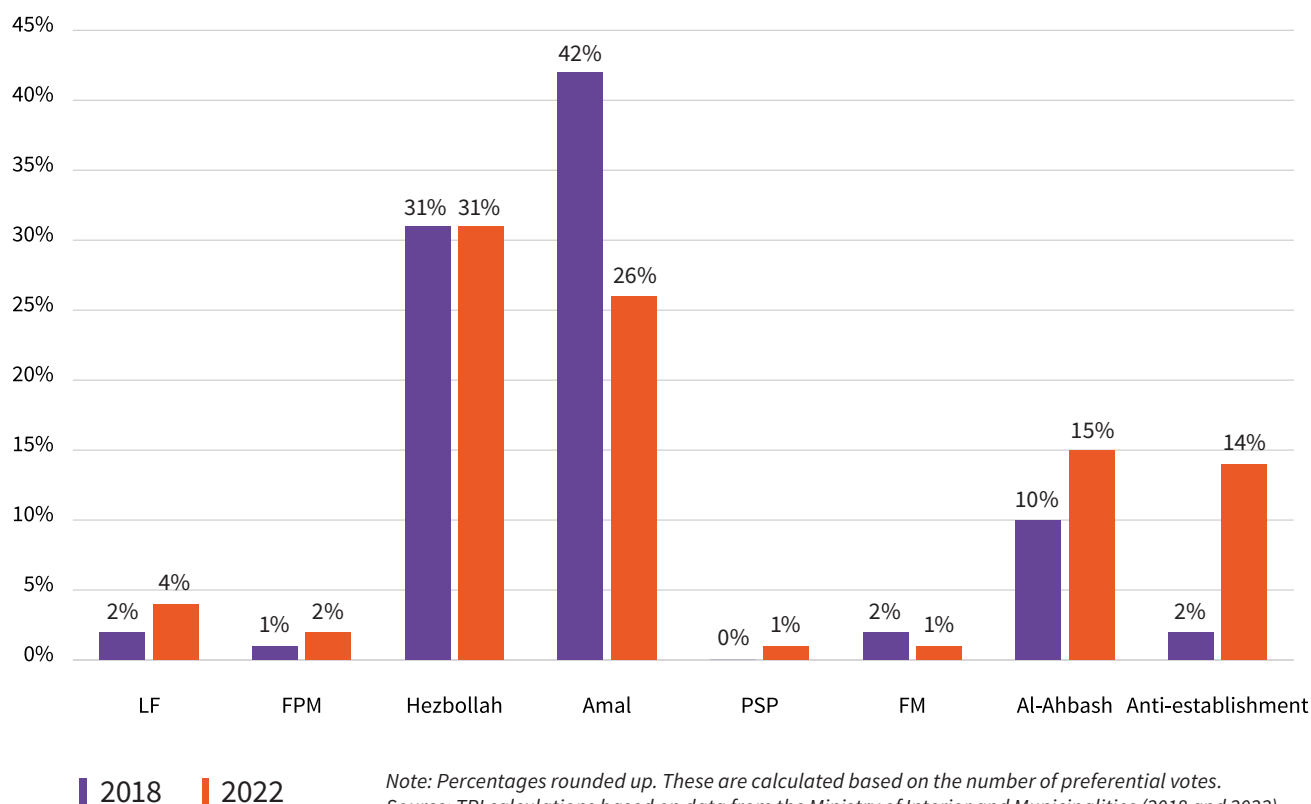
	Registered voters	Voters	Turnout	Turnout in 2018
Beirut 1	223	107	48%	48%
Beirut 2	3,797	2,281	60%	70%
Bekaa 1	342	168	49%	51%
Bekaa 2	161	89	55%	65%
Bekaa 3	737	397	54%	62%
Mount Lebanon 1	310	208	67%	63%
Mount Lebanon 2	293	173	59%	52%
Mount Lebanon 3	461	259	56%	51%
Mount Lebanon 4	457	282	62%	49%
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%

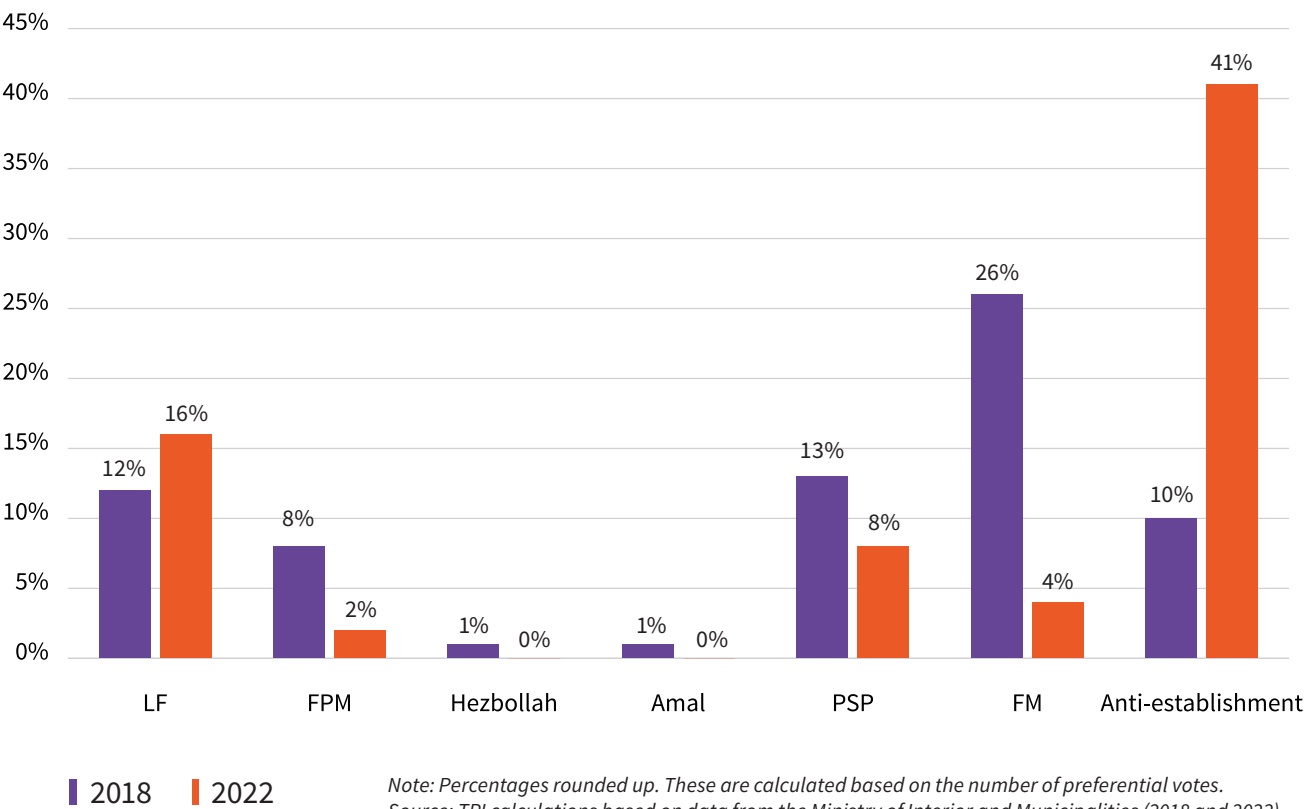
Note: Percentages rounded up.

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 Tantafer (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 Tantafer (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.

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