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Analysis of Platforms in Lebanon's 2018 Parliamentary Election

Nizar Hassan

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2
Henceforth referred to as 'emerging groups'.

3
'Established parties' refers to longstanding political parties that participated in an election prior to 2018.

Introduction

Prior to the May 2018 Lebanese Parliamentary Election, a majority of political parties and emerging political groups² launched electoral platforms outlining their political and socioeconomic goals and means by which to achieve them. These platforms most often comprised documents—which ranged in length from two to 70 pages—and addressed issues such as economic policy and administrative reform as well as defense and foreign policy. Some platforms, while short on words, contained photos and graphics. Others were accessible via an online portal or were announced during speeches by party officials.

This paper analyzes these platforms along three tiers: Scope, depth, and emphasis. Scope entails the number of policy matters covered in a given platform, depth covers the details of a platform and how a party planned to achieve its policy goals, and emphasis concerns the policy areas on which a given party most heavily focused. This report examines nine electoral platforms, six of which were released by established parties³—the Amal Movement, Free Patriotic Movement, Future Movement, Hezbollah, Kataeb, and Lebanese Forces—and the three by the emerging groups LiBaladi, LiHaqqi, and Sabaa.

Apart from Kataeb's electoral platform, the platforms of established political parties were thin in terms of scope and depth in comparison to emerging groups. They covered fewer policy issues and failed to elaborate on how to achieve them. The new political groups and Kataeb developed more comprehensive platforms covering a variety of policy issues. In terms of emphasis, established parties and emerging groups both focused on improving public services. However, emerging groups made social issues such as civil liberties, gender equality, and drug policy their second-highest priority while established parties highlighted political and administrative reform.

This paper comprises three sections. The first presents the methodology and results of an analysis of platforms' scopes, presents data for each group individually, and compares trends among established parties and emerging groups. The second section focuses on depth by analyzing platforms' levels of detail and commitment to specific policies. Finally, section three analyzes each party's or group's focus in terms of policy categories and examines the similarities and distinctions between established parties and emerging groups. The paper concludes by presenting a list of specific policies which appear in the platforms of each party or group that is represented in the government formed in 2019.

I Scope: What and How Much Did Platforms Cover?

One key element of an electoral platform is the number of policy issues a party or group includes in it and how that compares to other platforms. This section examines the policy scope of each electoral platform.

LCPS first placed platform components into five policy categories, namely, (1) economic policy, (2) political and administrative reform, (3) public services, (4) social policy, and (5) defense and foreign policy. Then, sub-categories were created for specific policy matters within each category, as shown in table 1. For example, economic policy entails public debt, fiscal policy, and privatization, while political and administrative reforms include decentralization, judicial reform, and political sectarianism. Welfare provisions such as health, education, and poverty-targeting programs, in addition to services such as electricity, water, and telecommunications, as well as urban planning and transport, are all aggregated in the public services category. Social policy focuses on civil rights such as personal status and women's rights, in addition to civil liberties, culture, media, and policies addressing age groups or minorities. Finally, defense and foreign policy contain the two named components in its title, in addition to policies regarding the Special Tribunal for Lebanon, 'patriotism', or violent extremism.

Sub-categories were identified based on the content of electoral platforms, rather than determined by researchers. In other words, all sub-categories covered by one or more political parties or groups were analyzed. This methodological choice made a comparative perspective of scope possible as the number of sub-categories covered by any electoral platform offers an idea of its scope relative to the aggregate of all platforms.

Table 1 Policy categories and sub-categories in platforms

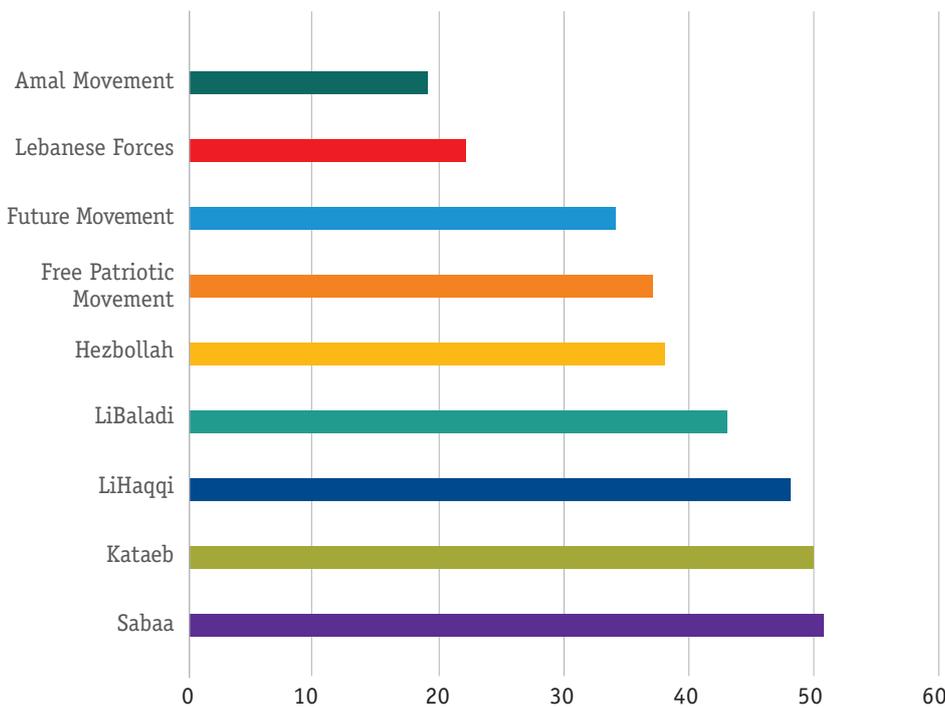
Economic Policy	Political and Administrative Reform	Public Services	Social Policy	Defense and Foreign Policy
Fiscal	Electoral Law	Electricity	Personal Status	Sovereignty and Defense
Privatization	Decentralization	Water	Women Rights	Foreign Policy
Public Debt	Voting Age	Telecom	People with Disabilities	Special Tribunal for Lebanon
Wages	Sectarianism	Environment	Children	Supporting the Army
Taxation	Ministry of Planning	Housing	Youth	Patriotism
Job Creation	Judiciary	Health	Labor Rights and Unions	Extremism and Fundamentalism
Labor Skills	Oversight Agencies	Education	Refugees	
Productive Sectors	Public Employment	Urban Planning	Migrant Workers	
Oil and Gas	Corruption	Airport	Drugs	
Trade	Ministry for Municipalities	Public Transport	Culture and Art	
Business Environment	E-Government	Public Spaces and Maritime Properties	Civil Liberties	
Money and Banking	Presidency's Jurisdiction	Solid Waste Management	Media	
Technology	Parliament	Wastewater Management	Sports	
Cooperatives	Public Pardon Law	Poverty	Lebanese Emigrants	
Economic-Social Council	Public Tenders	Unemployment	Lebanese Detainees in Syrian prisons	
Labor Skills		NGOs and Charities		
Tourism		War Victims Compensation		
		Urban Planning		

As shown in Table 1, 71 policy issues were covered in total by all political parties and groups. However, no platform covered all 71 issues or was nearly that comprehensive. On average, the number of platform issues covered was 38. However, there was significant variation between the average number of policies covered by established parties' platforms (33) compared to emerging groups (47).

Moreover, there was variation in scope between established parties' platforms. As figure 1 shows, Hezbollah's platform covered double the number of sub topics (38) found in the Amal Movement's platform (19), while Kataeb's platform—which comprised 50 policy issues—covered more than those of the Amal Movement and the Lebanese Forces combined. Hence, there was wide variation within established parties' scope.⁴

⁴ This reflects the standard deviation among established parties' scopes; which was 11.3 sub-topics, or 30% of these parties' average scope.

Figure 1 Number of policy sub-topics covered by each party or emerging group



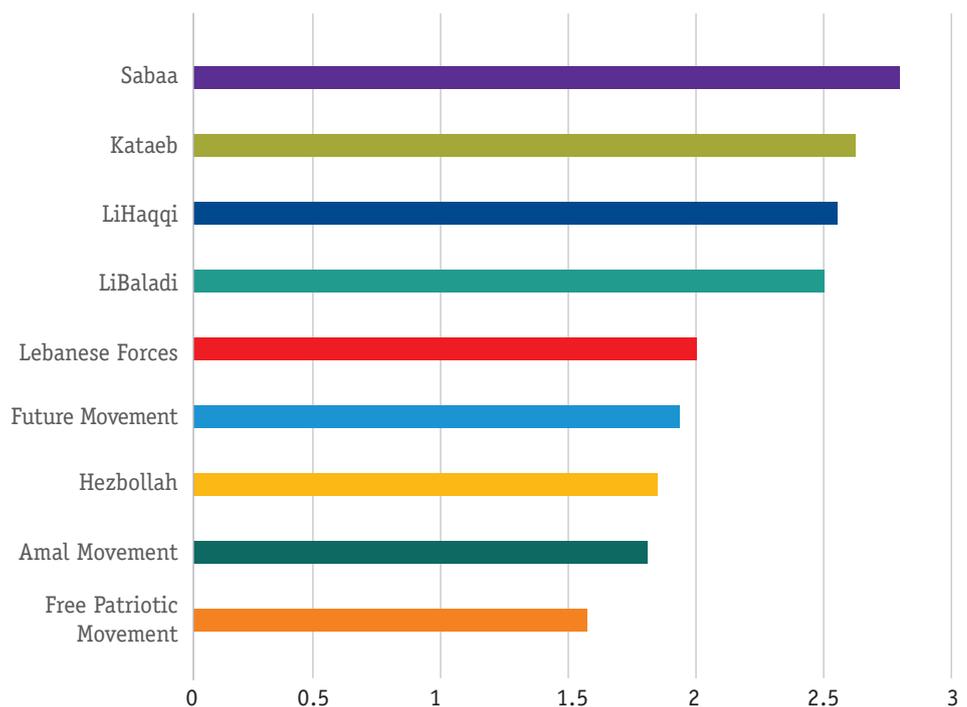
Emerging groups' platforms varied less significantly in scope. While Sabaa and LiHaqqi presented more comprehensive platforms, with 51 and 48 policy issues covered respectively, LiBaladi addressed 43 issues. Annex 1 provides details, broken down by category, on issues covered by each party platform.

II Depth: How Specific Were the Proposals?

While the scope of electoral platforms captures the breadth of issues addressed by political parties and groups, it does not measure the level of detail in an electoral platform, and in particular the means by which parties and groups intend to achieve their stated goals. This section therefore examines depth, namely, how parties and groups plan to achieve goals or realize visions promoted in their platforms.

An analysis of depth necessitated quantifying the level of detail in a platform's content. Accordingly, each component in an electoral platform which corresponds to one policy issue was allocated a score ranging from 1 to 3. A score of 1 indicates little or no detail on how to achieve a stated goal. For instance, general slogans such as 'adopting green energy and achieving 24 hours of electricity flow per day' or 'improving transport infrastructure and introducing public transport' would receive scores of 1 as they provide no proposal on how to realize these stated goals. A score of 2 is allocated to policy components that provide some specifics on how to achieve a policy goal. For example 'widening the jurisdiction of oversight agencies' or 'enacting a public pardon law with clear criteria' provide insight on how parties and groups plan to meet their broader objectives. A score of 3 is given to more specific components such as proposals that offered a clear commitment to a specific legislative or executive action, including introducing a specific law, amending an existing law, or creating a new institution with a clear role. Figure 2 shows the average level of depth of each electoral platform.

Figure 2 Platform depth by party or emerging group



These scores highlight how established political parties presented significantly less detailed platforms compared to their emerging counterparts. Indeed, established parties' average depth score is 2, while emerging groups were 30% more detailed with an average score of 2.6. Excluding Kataeb—which presented the second-most detailed platform—established parties' average score falls to 1.8. The Lebanese Forces would then have the highest score among the remaining established parties (2) and the Free Patriotic Movement the lowest (1.65). Moreover, the five remaining established parties offered merely 31 detailed proposals combined, while the three emerging groups offered 89, almost three times more. On average, an established party offered only 1.2 detailed proposals per policy area (such as economic policies, public services, etc.), or five times less than an emerging group.⁵

Several explanations could account for the failure of established parties—especially those with large parliamentary representation⁶—to offer detailed platforms. An optimistic appraisal would be that parties chose to compromise on detail in order to simplify their platforms and make them more accessible to voters. However, it is more likely that these parties tried to avoid committing themselves to specific policies, especially those on which party members do not share a common opinion. This explanation corresponds with the findings of a previous LCPS study,⁷ which highlighted inconsistencies within parliamentary blocs and parties and revealed that MPs were almost as likely to agree or disagree on policy preferences with members of the same bloc. Moreover, the parliamentary blocs that scored lowest in terms of consistency in policy preferences among their MPs are the same three groups that had the lowest depth scores in this study.

By contrast, emerging groups' platforms demonstrated a clearer commitment to engaging with specific policies. For instance, Sabaa's platform, which scored the highest on depth, contained detailed policy proposals on 42 out of the 51 topics it covered, with the remaining nine falling in the medium detail category. In other words, the party's platform did not address issues in general terms without committing to a specific policy or at least a clear vision. This applies to LiHaqqi as well, whose platform did not contain components scoring 1 on depth.

However, a distinction should be made between emerging groups' detailed platforms. While LiHaqqi and LiBaladi placed greater emphasis on legislative and executive action, Sabaa's proposals contained very detailed platforms without clearly delineating roles among actors that would be involved in implementation. Arguably, LiHaqqi's and LiBaladi's model has the advantage of making accountability easier, as it makes clear what elected MPs are expected to do, while Sabaa's model offers a comprehensive governance project with specific plans in most policy

⁵ The average of emerging groups is 30 items with a score of 3 in each platform, i.e. 6 for every policy area; without accounting to the distribution among these policy categories.

⁶ The five established parties with the least detailed programs are also those with the largest number of MPs in parliament.

⁷ The study revealed that out of 15 major public policies, MPs in the 2009-2017 parliament shared the same opinion on a mere 8.2 policies with other members of their parliamentary bloc. Atallah, S. and N. Geagea. 'المجلس النيابي اللبناني 2009-2017: بين التمديد والتفريغ خارطة طريق لاستعادة المجلس لدوره التشريعي والرقابي.'

areas. In other words, LiHaqqi's and LiBaladi's platforms seemed to be extensions of protests and social movements with specific reform demands, whereas Sabaa presented itself as a technocratic alternative to the government.

III Overall Platform Rankings

Based on the preceding analysis, it is possible to assess the overall quality of electoral platforms based on level of detail and comprehensiveness they offer. To do so, a score combining the two dimensions was calculated by multiplying the relative scope and depth of each platform (i.e. in relation to the average for all parties).⁸ The results are shown in the column titled 'Comprehensive Score' in table 2.

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The party's scope was divided by the average scope of all parties, and its average depth was divided by that of all parties; then the two results were multiplied.

Table 2 Scope and depth scores of parties and groups

	Scope	Avg Depth	Comprehensive Score
Sabaa	51	2.8	1.8
Kataeb	50	2.7	1.7
LiHaqqi	48	2.6	1.5
LiBaladi	43	2.5	1.3
Hezbollah	38	1.9	0.9
Future Movement	34	1.9	0.8
Free Patriotic Movement	37	1.6	0.7
Lebanese Forces	22	2	0.5
Amal Movement	19	1.8	0.4
Average	38	2.2	1
Average of Established Parties	33.3	2	0.8
Average of Emerging Groups	47	2.6	1.5

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The four categories were created by dividing the range—the highest score (1.8) minus the lowest (0.4)—over four equal intervals.

Parties and groups are organized into four categories⁹ according to their comprehensive score, as shown in the grey shading in table 2. At the lowest end of the spectrum, the Free Patriotic Movement, Lebanese Forces, and Amal Movement offered the lowest combination of scope and detail. The Amal Movement score the lowest of all groups. In addition to having the lowest scope at 19 components, the Amal Movement's platform contained only three components that articulate specific policies, while the average for all parties and groups is 17.3. The Lebanese Forces score second-lowest, due in large part to the limited scope of their platform compared to other parties. Sabaa, Kataeb, and LiHaqqi offered the most comprehensive and detailed platforms.

Hezbollah and the Future Movement fell on the lower side of the middle, while LiBaladi scores 1.3, on the higher end of the second-highest score range. Like other emerging groups, LiBaladi presented a highly detailed platform (with a depth score of 2.5), but their platform's scope was midway between that of Hezbollah (38) and that of LiHaqqi (48). Overall, emerging groups presented very detailed and comprehensive platforms compared to established parties. However, the Kataeb party's comprehensive and detailed policy document stands out among established parties.¹⁰

These rankings demonstrate how a clear rift exists between parties with large delegations in the parliament and groups that waged campaigns as alternatives to the political establishment. While established parties invested little effort in addressing broad scopes in their platforms, emerging groups were keen to provide solutions to most issues. This is not surprising given the political background of these groups' activists, many of whom have been active in non-governmental organizations with specific policy demands. Kataeb appears to have adopted the same approach in its platform, offering an extensive set of 131 bullet points, distributed among 50 sub-topics (according to our analysis). This is consistent with the 82-year-old party—once an icon of right-wing Christian ideology in Lebanon—rebranding itself as an opposition group that focuses on corruption and injustice. This effort was launched when Kataeb leader Sami Gemayel announced the resignation of his party's ministers in June 2016 from a government that he called 'failed' and 'corrupt'.¹¹ Since taking that action, and in particular during his 2018 electoral campaign, Gemayel's discourse has been focused on attacking the country's 'political class' and adopting rhetoric similar to that of civil society groups.

IV Emphasis: On What Did Parties Focus?

The third dimension that this report analyzes is emphasis, meaning the issues on which various platforms focused. Two dimensions determine the extent to which a platform focused on a given policy category: The number of policy issues covered in a category and the depth of proposals, as shown for all parties and categories in annex 2. Hence, the analysis of emphasis follows a similar methodological process to the analysis of depth and scope.

a Prioritizing Public Services and Institutional Reform

Public services were afforded the highest priority among all groups, taking the largest share of issues covered, with each platform covering 11.7 topics in this category on average. This was also the case for established parties and emerging groups alike, with averages of 10.5 and 14 components on public services, respectively. Political and

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Kataeb's full platform has been uploaded on the party's website in English. It can be accessed via this link:

<http://www.kataeb.org/local/2018/03/11/kataeb-party-unveils-131-point-platform>

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A news article covering the resignation speech given by Kataeb leader MP Sami Gemayel can be found at:

<http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2016/Jun-14/356974-kataeb-chief-sami-gemayel-announces-resignation-of-his-partys-two-ministers-from-lebanon-cabinet.ashx>

administrative reform (PAR) came in second, with an average of 8.3 components in each platform, followed by social policies, economic policies, and finally defense and foreign policies. Platforms offered the highest level of detail in the top two categories—public services and PAR—with average depth scores of 2.4 for PAR and 2.2 for public services. Table 3 presents policy areas in a decreasing order of emphasis across all platforms, taking into account both scope and depth.

b Social Policies Emphasized More by Emerging Groups

Beyond public services and PAR, there is a clear distinction in priorities between established parties and emerging groups. Established parties had nearly identical priorities to that of all groups combined, with significantly less focus on social policies compared to PAR. However, when restricting emphasis analysis to emerging groups' platforms, three of the categories (PAR, social policies, and economic policies) were covered equally across platforms. Moreover, among emerging groups, social policies replace economic policies as the third-most emphasized category, with an average of 10 sub-topics covered per platform and an average depth of 2.8, almost identical to that of PAR. Economic policy was equally covered in terms of the number of sub-topics (10), but in less detail. Therefore, emerging groups appear to have focused significantly more on social policies than their established counterparts. Given that social policies are primarily related to rights and freedoms, they are expected to be more of a central focus in the platforms of groups inspired by civil society activism. For instance, demands related to a secular personal status law, women's rights, civil liberties, and press freedom have been championed by several civil society organizations over the past two decades. Established parties, even when their elite members support progressive causes, might be less willing to discuss the details of these policies to avoid backlash among their more conservative constituents.

Table 3 Policy categories from most to least covered

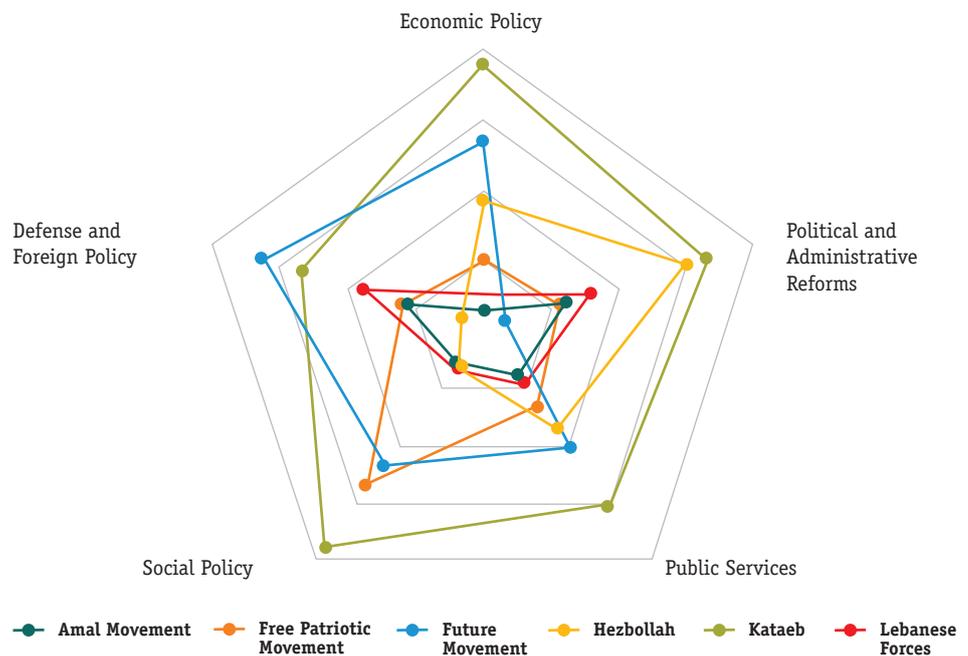
		Average Scope	Average Depth
All Parties and Groups			
1	Public Services	11.7	2.2
2	Political and Administrative Reform	8.6	2.4
3	Social Policy	7.6	2.1
4	Economic Policy	7.1	2.1
5	Defense and Foreign Policy	3.1	1.9
Established Parties			
1	Public Services	10.5	1.9
2	Political and Administrative Reform	7.8	2.1
3	Economic Policy	5.7	2
4	Social Policy	6.2	1.8
5	Defense and Foreign Policy	3.6	1.9
Emerging Groups			
1	Public Services	14	2.7
2	Political and Administrative Reform	10	2.83
3	Social Policy	10	2.77
4	Economic Policy	10	2.3
5	Defense and Foreign Policy	3	2.1

c Priorities Vary Across Groups Regarding Emphasis

Apart from general trends, parties and groups focused on different issues in their platforms. Accordingly, we assign each party a 'comprehensiveness score', which combines scope and depth on a specific policy category. Figures 3 and 4 present the results of calculations which compare the extent to which electoral platforms focused on specific issues. It shows which policy areas were emphasized in one platform (over others), as well as which parties and groups focused most on a given policy area. Among established parties (figure 3), Kataeb emphasized all categories similarly, with remarkably high focus on social and economic policies. The Future Movement primarily focused on defense and economic policies and came in second regarding emphasis on economic policies and public services. However, the Future Movement's coverage of PAR was weaker than any other party. Interestingly, Hezbollah barely mentioned foreign and defense policies in its platform, perhaps due to the central role that military and defense matters play in defining the party's politics. Instead, the focus was centered on PAR, in line with emphasis on eliminating corruption as voiced by the party's leader Hassan Nasrallah during a speech announcing the platform. The Free Patriotic Movement chose to focus on social policies, and significantly less on other policy areas. The

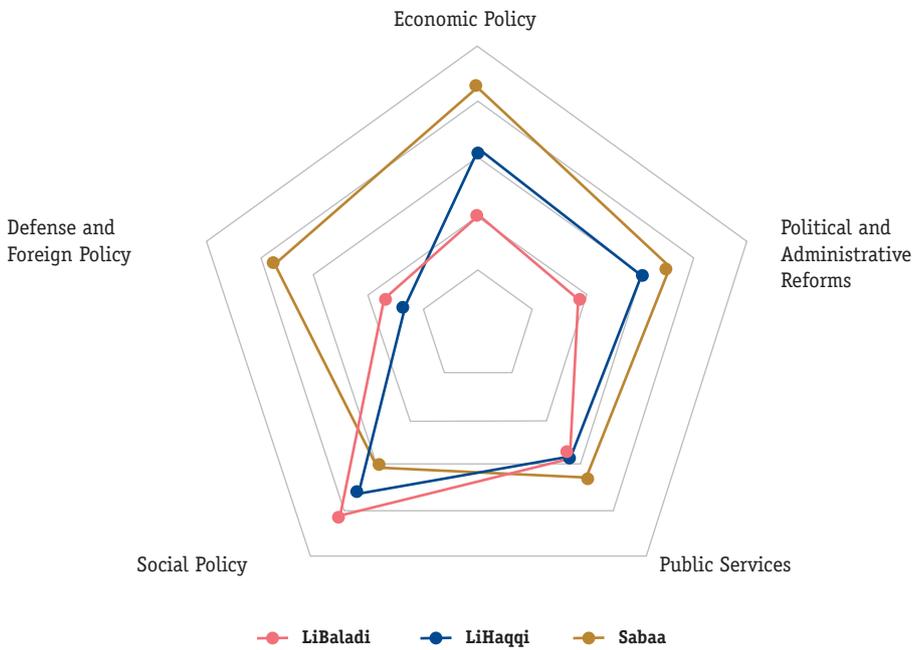
Lebanese Forces and Amal Movement, which as previously stated offered the least comprehensive and detailed platforms, had similar emphasis in their platforms. They placed little focus on economic and social policies, and focused primarily on defense and foreign policy as well as political and administrative reform.

Figure 3 Policy emphasis for each of the established parties



Among emerging groups, Sabaa had the most even distribution of focus, with more emphasis on four of the five categories than the other two groups (figure 4). Sabaa focused on economic policies most and LiBaladi the least; the same was true regarding PAR and public services. On social policies, LiHaqqi and LiBaladi had similarly equal high focus, while Sabaa's was slightly lower. In general, LiBaladi prioritized social policies and to a lesser extent public services. LiHaqqi's focus was primarily on social and economic policies, public services, and PAR, with the lowest emphasis on defense and foreign policy.

Figure 4 Policy emphasis for each of the emerging groups



d What Are the Winning Parties Promising?

The preceding analysis demonstrates that the five established parties with the largest parliamentary representation invested the least effort in formulating comprehensive and detailed electoral platforms. By virtue of 94 MPs in their parliamentary blocs (66 of whom are party members) holding 73% of parliamentary seats, these parties will be Lebanon's major decision makers over the next four years. This offers additional value to a more thorough examination of specific policies (those components given a score of 3 on depth) that they championed in their electoral platforms.

Table 4 Detailed policies in major parties' platforms¹²**12**

The sentences mentioned in table 4 are not always direct extracts from the platforms. A number of components have been rephrased and simplified to focus on the detailed policies.

Amal Movement	Enacting the onshore oil law, creating a sovereign wealth fund, and a national oil company.
	Creating the National Committee for the Elimination of Political Sectarianism.
	Reviving the Ministry of Emigrants to improve participation.
Free Patriotic Movement	Developing a public transport network: Tramway on wheels, buses, water ferries along the coast (Beirut-Tabarja and Beirut-Jiyeh), and completing the Ecochard Highway around Beirut.
	Compelling municipalities to construct parks, sports fields, and parking lots. Eliminating the Information Ministry and giving more jurisdiction to the National Media Council. Dedicating a satellite to Lebanese media channels. Establishing a national sports academy and a court for cases related to sports.
	Creating a central database for the diaspora, organizing diaspora lobbies, and introducing tourism strategy focused on the diaspora.
Future Movement	Providing tax incentives for small- and medium-sized enterprises, as well as the industrial and agricultural sectors.
	Creating industrial and economic zones with developed infrastructure. Supporting loans for environmentally responsible businesses.
	Enacting laws that create a health insurance plan to cover every citizen who is not otherwise covered by insurance.
	Completing the second stage of the airport expansion project and appointing members in the aviation regulation committee to revive Akkar's airport.
	Developing the project 'Targeting Poverty in Lebanon', which aims to provide health, education, and food services to 250,000 Lebanese, while expanding the scope of the project to include vocational training.
	Enacting the old age pensions law.
	Issuing a public pardon that includes Islamist detainees.
	Following up with the Special Tribunal for Lebanon and treating its verdicts as binding.
Hezbollah	Demanding five and ten year economic plans as part of a clear economic vision that aims to raise the rates of saving and investment, create jobs, grow the economy, and benefit from Lebanese emigrants' energy and resources.
	New Electoral law: proportional with Lebanon as one district.
	Passing the Administrative Decentralization Law.
	Lowering the voting age to 18.
	Bringing back the Ministry of Planning.
	Digitalizing the bureaucracy.
Enacting a new public tender law for more transparency.	

	Establishing the Telecom Regulatory Committee and the company Liban Telecom.
	Passing the social protection and old age pension law.
Lebanese Forces	Enacting the Administrative Decentralization Law.
	Creating an independent anti-corruption committee.
	Establishing a ministry specifically for municipalities.
	Digitalizing the bureaucracy and passing the e-government law submitted by Lebanese Forces MPs.
	Establishing an institution to offer real estate loans to youths to build houses in their hometowns.

■ Economic Policy
■ Public Services
■ Social Policy
■ Defense and Foreign Policy
■ Political and Administrative Reform

Table 4 displays these components for all parties and groups. The colors reflect the policy category of each component. For instance, the Amal Movement outlined three detailed policies in three different categories—namely economic, PAR, and social policies—all of which entail establishing institutions (a national oil company and a sovereign wealth fund in the oil and gas sector, a national committee to enact policies that eliminate political sectarianism, and a ministry dedicated to Lebanese emigrants abroad). The Free Patriotic Movement's pledges were focused on actions by branches of the executive authority, including establishing public transport networks, creating local public spaces, eliminating the Ministry of Information, and establishing a database for Lebanese emigrants. All parties offered detailed proposals in more than two areas, with the exception of the Free Patriotic Movement and Lebanese Forces. The latter focused on PAR and proposed a policy to facilitate real estate purchases for Lebanese youths. Hezbollah proposed five specific PAR policies, including a new electoral law, a lower voting age, and a return of the Ministry of Planning, as well as two public services-related policies focusing on social protection and telecoms, and a policy aimed at establishing long-term economic planning. Finally, in addition to economic policies and social protection, the Future Movement also proposed a public pardon covering Islamist detainees and a commitment by the Lebanese state to abide by the verdicts of the Special Tribunal for Lebanon, which is responsible for investigating and prosecuting the case of the assassination of late Prime Minister Rafic Hariri, the Future Movement's original leader.

On account of the level of detail, these components offer parties a limited margin of freedom in legislative and executive action. Therefore, making them visible allows the public to hold party officials accountable in the future.

Annex 1: Issues Covered by Each Electoral Platform

	Scope (number of issues covered)	Issues Covered				
		Economic Policy	Political and Administrative Reform	Public Services	Social Policy	Defense and Foreign Policy
Amal Movement	19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Oil and Gas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Youth ▪ Sectarianism ▪ Oversight Agencies ▪ Corruption ▪ E-government ▪ Public Pardon 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Electricity ▪ Water ▪ Telecom ▪ Education ▪ Public Transport ▪ Solid Waste ▪ Wastewater 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Women Participation ▪ Lebanese Emigrants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Resistance ▪ Foreign Policy ▪ Supporting the Army
Free Patriotic Movement	37	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Job Creation ▪ Productive Sectors ▪ Oil and Gas ▪ Tourism ▪ Taxation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Decentralization ▪ Sectarianism ▪ Judiciary ▪ Oversight Agencies ▪ Corruption ▪ E-government ▪ Public Tender Law 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Electricity ▪ Water ▪ Telecom ▪ Health ▪ Education ▪ Transport ▪ Solid Waste ▪ Wastewater ▪ Poverty ▪ Old Age Pension ▪ Public Spaces 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Women Rights ▪ Youth ▪ Culture ▪ Refugees ▪ Migrant Workers ▪ Drugs ▪ Media ▪ Sports ▪ Lebanese Emigrants ▪ Labor rights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Resistance ▪ Foreign Policy ▪ Supporting the Army ▪ Extremism
Future Movement	34	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Fiscal Policy ▪ Privatization ▪ Taxation ▪ Job Creation ▪ Productive Sector ▪ Business Environment ▪ Monetary Policy ▪ Labor Skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Public Employment ▪ Corruption 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Electricity ▪ Water ▪ Telecom ▪ Housing ▪ Health ▪ Education ▪ Airport ▪ Solid Waste ▪ Wastewater ▪ Poverty ▪ Old Age Pension ▪ Public Transport ▪ Environment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Women Participation ▪ Youth ▪ Sectarianism ▪ Job Tensions ▪ Civil Liberties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sovereignty ▪ Foreign Policy ▪ Supporting the Army ▪ Special Tribunal ▪ Defense ▪ Extremism
Hezbollah	38	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Public Debt ▪ Budget and Fiscal Policy ▪ Taxation ▪ Job Creation ▪ Productive Sectors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Electoral Law ▪ Decentralization ▪ Voting Age ▪ Ministry of Planning ▪ Judiciary ▪ Oversight 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Electricity ▪ Water ▪ Health ▪ Education ▪ Airport and Transport ▪ Public Spaces 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Women Protection ▪ People with Disabilities ▪ Refugees ▪ Drugs ▪ Children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Supporting the Army

	Scope (number of issues covered)	Issues Covered				
		Economic Policy	Political and Administrative Reform	Public Services	Social Policy	Defense and Foreign Policy
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Tourism ▪ Oil and Gas ▪ Trade 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agencies ▪ Public ▪ Employment ▪ Corruption ▪ E-government ▪ Public Pardon ▪ Public Tender Law ▪ Parliament Reform ▪ Prison Reform 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> and Maritime Properties ▪ Solid Waste Management ▪ Wastewater Management ▪ Poverty and Unemployment ▪ Old Age Pension 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Compensation for War Victims 	
Kataeb	50	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Fiscal Policy ▪ Privatization ▪ Public Debt ▪ Wages ▪ Taxation ▪ Productive Sectors ▪ Oil and Gas ▪ Trade ▪ Business Environment ▪ Monetary Policy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Electoral Law ▪ Decentralization ▪ Sectarianism Ministry of Planning ▪ Judiciary Public ▪ Employment ▪ Corruption Ministry for Municipalities ▪ E-government ▪ Presidency Parliament Reform 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Electricity ▪ Water ▪ Environment ▪ Housing ▪ Health ▪ Education Spaces and Maritime Properties ▪ Transport ▪ Solid Waste ▪ Wastewater ▪ Poverty and Unemployment ▪ Old Age Pension ▪ NGOs and Charities ▪ Urban Planning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Personal Status ▪ Women Rights ▪ People with Disability ▪ Youth ▪ Culture ▪ Refugees ▪ Children ▪ Civil Liberties ▪ Media ▪ Lebanese Emigrants ▪ Lebanese Detainees in Syrian Prisons 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Foreign Policy ▪ Defense and Sovereignty ▪ Supporting the Army
LiBaladi	43	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Budget and Fiscal Policy ▪ Public Debt ▪ Taxation ▪ Monetary and Banking ▪ Business Environment ▪ Productive Sector ▪ Economic-Social Council 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Parliament Reform ▪ Decentralization ▪ Sectarianism ▪ Judicial Reform ▪ Oversight Agencies ▪ Corruption ▪ E-government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Electricity ▪ Water ▪ Telecom ▪ Environment ▪ Housing ▪ Health ▪ Education ▪ Public Transport Public Spaces and Maritime Properties ▪ Solid Waste ▪ Wastewater ▪ Unemployment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Personal Status ▪ Women Rights and Participation ▪ People with Disabilities ▪ Youth ▪ Culture/Art ▪ Drugs ▪ Children ▪ Civil Liberties ▪ Media ▪ Labor Rights ▪ Migrant Workers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Defense ▪ Foreign Policy ▪ Supporting the Army

	Scope (number of issues covered)	Issues Covered				
		Economic Policy	Political and Administrative Reform	Public Services	Social Policy	Defense and Foreign Policy
				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Poverty ▪ Old Age Pensions ▪ Urban Planning 		
LiHaqqi	48	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Budget and Fiscal Policy ▪ Privatization ▪ Public Debt ▪ Wages ▪ Taxation ▪ Job Creation ▪ Productive Sectors ▪ Trade ▪ Business Environment ▪ Monetary Policies ▪ Cooperatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Electoral Law ▪ Parliament Reform ▪ Decentralization ▪ Voting Age ▪ Sectarianism ▪ Ministry of Planning ▪ Judicial Reform ▪ Public Employment ▪ Corruption ▪ E-Government ▪ Prison Reform 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Electricity ▪ Water ▪ Telecom ▪ Environment ▪ Housing ▪ Health ▪ Education ▪ Public Transport ▪ Public Spaces and Maritime ▪ Properties ▪ Solid waste ▪ Unemployment ▪ Old Age ▪ Pension ▪ Urban Planning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Personal Status ▪ Women Rights and Participation ▪ People with Disabilities ▪ Youth ▪ Refugees ▪ Job Tensions ▪ Drugs ▪ Children ▪ Civil Liberties ▪ Media ▪ Labor Rights and Unions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sovereignty and Defense ▪ Foreign Policy
Sabaa	51	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Privatization ▪ Public Debt ▪ Taxation ▪ Job Creation ▪ Productive Sectors ▪ Oil and Gas ▪ Trade ▪ Business Environment ▪ Monetary and Banking Policy ▪ Tourism ▪ Technology ▪ Labor Skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Electoral Law ▪ Parliament Reform ▪ Voting Age ▪ Sectarianism ▪ Ministry of Planning ▪ Judicial Reform ▪ Oversight Agencies ▪ State Employment ▪ Corruption ▪ E-government ▪ Prison Reform ▪ Public Tenders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Electricity ▪ Water ▪ Telecom ▪ Environment ▪ Housing ▪ Health ▪ Education ▪ Airport ▪ Public Transport ▪ Solid Waste ▪ Wastewater ▪ Old Age ▪ Pension ▪ NGOs and Charities ▪ Unemployment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Personal Status Law ▪ Women Rights ▪ People with Disabilities ▪ Youth ▪ Culture/Art ▪ Refugees ▪ Labor Rights ▪ Migrant Workers ▪ Lebanese Detainees in Syrian Prisons 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sovereignty and Defense ▪ Foreign Policy ▪ Patriotism ▪ Supporting the Army

Annex 2: Depth and Scope for Each Party or Group on Each Issue

	Economic Policy		Political and Administrative Reform		Public Services		Social Policy		Defense and Foreign Policy	
	Scope	Depth	Scope	Depth	Scope	Depth	Scope	Depth	Scope	Depth
Amal Movement	1	2	6	2	7	1.4	2	2.5	3	1.3
Free Patriotic Movement	5	1.4	7	1.6	11	1.5	10	2.1	4	1
Future Movement	9	2.1	2	1.7	13	2	5	1.2	5	2.2
Hezbollah	7	1.9	14	2.1	11	2	5	1	1	1
Kataeb	10	2.7	11	2.9	15	2.5	11	2.7	3	3
Lebanese Forces	2	2	7	2.4	6	2	4	1.3	3	2

	Economic Policy		Political and Administrative Reform		Public Services		Social Policy		Defense and Foreign Policy	
	Scope	Depth	Scope	Depth	Scope	Depth	Scope	Depth	Scope	Depth
LiBaladi	7	2.1	7	2.7	15	2.3	11	3	3	1.7
LiHaqqi	11	2.1	11	2.8	13	2.7	11	2.6	2	2
Sabaa	12	2.7	12	3	14	2.9	9	2.7	4	2.8



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