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Report

The 2018 Lebanese Parliamentary Elections:  
What Do the Numbers Say?

## Mount Lebanon 2 Electoral District: Metn

Georgia Dagher

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Metn



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# Mount Lebanon 2 Electoral District: Metn

## **Georgia Dagher**

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## Executive Summary

In the 2018 Lebanese parliamentary elections, Metn saw a highly competitive race, although there was no significant change in representation, with most parties and candidates retaining their seats. The winners heavily relied on their sectarian communities. While the Free Patriotic Movement winners received more widespread support across sects, the Kataeb winners relied on the Maronite vote, Michel Murr relied on the Greek Orthodox vote, the Tashnag winner on the Armenian Orthodox vote, and the Lebanese Forces on the Maronite and Greek Catholic vote. Moreover, the majority of voters in Metn gave their preferential vote to a candidate from their own sectarian group—although the sectarian bias in the district was much lower than that in most other districts. It however significantly varied across confessional groups, and rather than voting for candidates of their same denomination, Maronite, Greek Orthodox, and Greek Catholic voters tended to vote for each other, and barely gave any votes for Armenian Orthodox candidates. Some differing patterns in voting behavior were observed across genders. First, women voters were significantly more likely to vote for women candidates, and nearly all of these candidates received a higher share of votes from women voters. Second, women were more likely to vote for Kulluna Watani and nearly all of the anti-establishment list's candidates. In particular, the two women candidates in the list received almost twice as many votes from women voters. Apart from these results, there were some signs of irregularities in the results, pointing toward Kataeb and Michel Murr. First, Kataeb received better results in smaller polling stations and those that recorded much higher turnouts—which suggests voter rigging. Second, Michel Murr's list also performed better in polling stations that recorded very high turnouts, and its number of votes were distributed in an irregular pattern—which suggests vote rigging.

## Introduction

After passing a new electoral law in 2017, the Lebanese parliament finally agreed to hold elections in 2018—nine years after the previous ones, and two mandate extensions later. The new electoral law established a proportional representation system for the first time in the country's history, paving the way for increased competition. This new system, however, led to little changes in political representation, with voters in 2018 reiterating their support for the main established political parties. Nevertheless, these results must not be taken at face value and require a closer analysis, as voting patterns across and within electoral districts, as well as across voters' demographic characteristics, still showed variations.

As part of a larger study on the 2018 elections, LCPS has analyzed voter behavior at the national and the electoral district levels. Using

the official elections results from polling stations published by the Ministry of Interior,<sup>1</sup> the analysis unpacks the elections results and examines differing patterns in voting behavior across demographic characteristics and geographical areas. The results at the polling station level were merged with a series of potential explanatory factors at the individual and cadastral levels. First, based on the ministry's list of registered voters by confession and gender,<sup>2</sup> we identified the demographic characteristics of registered voters in each of the polling stations. The results at the polling station level were also merged with a series of factors that may have affected voters' choices at the cadastral level in each electoral district. These factors include the level of economic development in a cadaster, approximated by the night-time light intensity;<sup>3</sup> the poverty rate in a cadaster, approximated by the ratio of beneficiaries of the National Poverty Targeting Program over the population in the cadaster;<sup>4</sup> the level of sectarian homogeneity in a cadaster, constructed by LCPS and based on the distribution of voters by confession in each cadaster;<sup>5</sup> and, finally, the share of refugees over the number of registered voters in a cadaster.<sup>6</sup> Through the use of multivariate regression analyses, the explanatory significance of each of these factors on voter behavior is identified.

Apart from voters' preferences, the study also examines incidents of electoral fraud. We seek to identify evidence of voter rigging, such as vote buying, and vote rigging, such as ballot stuffing and vote counting manipulations.

This report unpacks the results in the electoral district of Metn (Mount Lebanon 2), which is allocated eight parliamentary seats—four Maronite, two Greek Orthodox, one Armenian Orthodox, and one Greek Catholic. The report is divided into seven sections. First, we present the demographic distribution of registered voters in Metn. The second section analyzes voter turnout which varied across confessional groups and geographical areas. The third section of this report delves into voters' preferences for political parties and candidates. Going beyond the results at the aggregate level, we shed light on the varying preferences for parties and candidates across voters' sect and across geographical areas in Metn. In the fourth section, we examine voters' sectarian behavior, i.e. their preferences for candidates of their same sectarian group. The fifth section looks at the performance of women candidates. The sixth section looks at the performance of the Kulluna Watani list, formed by independent and emerging political actors. The seventh and final section of this report identifies incidents of electoral fraud. Using a number of statistical methods—which include analyzing the distribution of results at the polling station level, such as turnouts, votes for each list and party, and the share of invalid ballots—we test for voter and vote rigging, such as pressure to vote through vote buying, or manipulations in the vote counting process.

1 Available at: <http://elections.gov.lb>.

2 Note that some polling stations had voters from multiple confessional groups registered to vote. Similarly, some had both men and women registered to vote.

3 Obtained from the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

4 Data on National Poverty Targeting Program beneficiaries was obtained from the Ministry of Social Affairs.

5 Based on electoral data on the sect of voters per polling station, we constructed an index of homogeneity  $(H) = \sum_{i=1}^n S_{ij}^2$ , where  $S_{ij}^2$  is the sum of the square root of the share of each sectarian group in the total number of registered voters in a cadaster. The index ranges between 0 (when the cadaster is fully heterogeneous) and 1 (when the cadaster is fully homogeneous, or only one sectarian group is present).

6 Data on the refugee population is collected from UNHCR.

## I Who are the voters?

In the parliamentary elections of May 2018, close to 185,000 Lebanese were registered to vote in the electoral district of Metn (Mount Lebanon 2). Among the total registered voters, 179,107 were registered in Lebanon<sup>7</sup> and 4,633 registered from abroad.

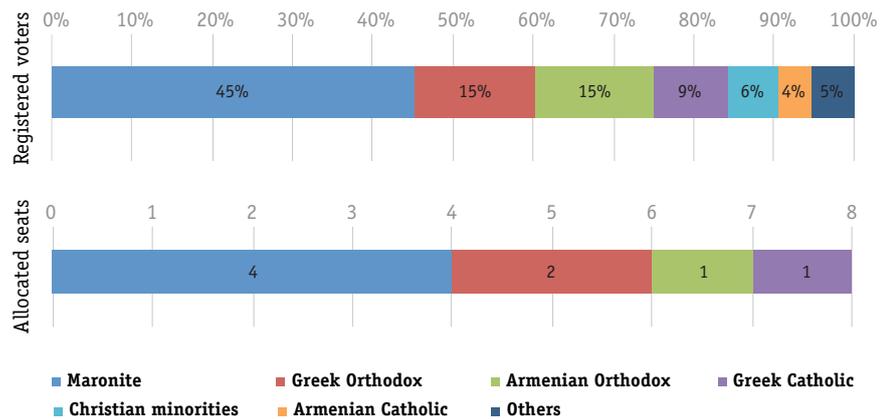
<sup>7</sup> This includes 196 public employees.

<sup>8</sup> We calculate the number of registered voters by confession using the official election results published by the Ministry of Interior, as well as the ministry's list of registered voters by confession in each of the polling stations. Our approximation of the confessional composition of each district excludes public employees and diaspora voters, whose confessions were not specified.

Compared to other districts, Metn has a high degree of confessional fragmentation. Maronites are the largest group (45%), followed by Greek Orthodox and Armenian Orthodox (15% each), Greek Catholics (9%), Christian minorities (6%), and Armenian Catholics (4%), while the remaining 5% is split between Sunnis, Shias, Druze, with a few Alawite and Jewish voters.<sup>8</sup>

Out of the total 128 parliamentary seats, eight are allocated to Metn: Four Maronite seats, two Greek Orthodox seats, one Armenian Orthodox seat, and one Greek Catholic seat.

**Figure 1 Registered voters and allocated seats by confessional group in Metn**



**Note Percentages have been rounded up.**

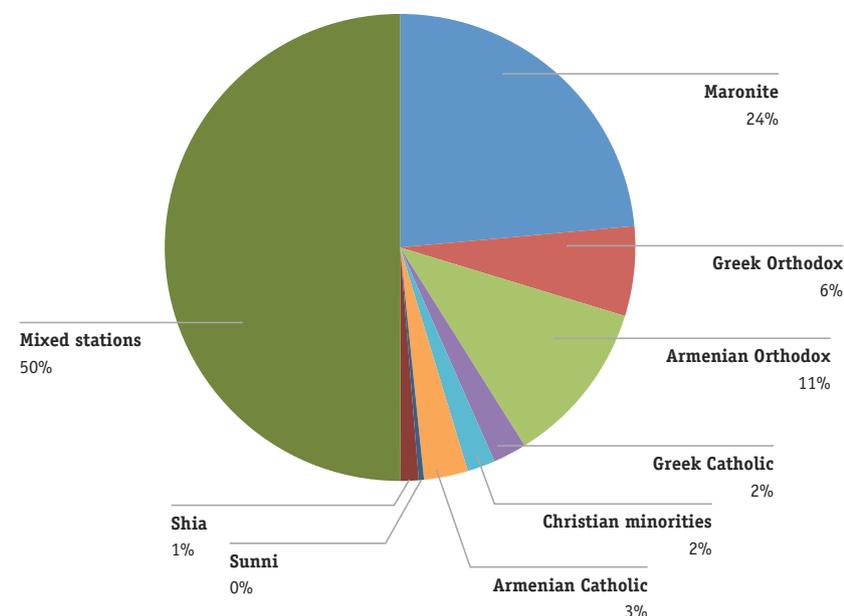
Given the confessional allocation of seats, representation is not equal for each voter, but rather depends on the confessional group to which they belong. Although Greek Orthodox and Armenian Orthodox voters constitute 15% of registered voters each, the former have two seats, while the latter only have one. Overall, the Greek Orthodox community benefits from the confessional quota the most, as each Greek Orthodox seat represents less than 14,000 voters. The Armenian Orthodox community benefits the least, with their seat representing about 26,000 constituents. Maronite and Greek Catholic voters fall in between, with each Maronite seat representing approximately 20,000 voters and the Greek Catholic seat representing 17,000 voters.

**Table 1 Confessional composition of Metn and allocated seats by confessional group**

Confessional group	Number of voters	Percentage	Number of seats	Voters per seat
Maronite	80,792	45%	4	20,198
Greek Orthodox	27,171	15%	2	13,586
Armenian Orthodox	26,111	15%	1	26,111
Greek Catholic	16,630	9%	1	16,630
Christian minorities	11,258	6%		
Armenian Catholic	7,184	4%		
Sunni	3,902	2%		
Shia	3,096	2%		
Druze	2,302	1%		
Alawite	453	0%		
Jewish	12	0%		
<b>Total</b>	<b>178,911</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>8</b>	
Public employees	196			
Diaspora	4,633			
<b>Total</b>	<b>183,740</b>			

Note Percentages have been rounded up.

Registered voters were generally divided into electoral centers based on their confession and gender. However, half of the centers in Metn had voters from multiple confessional groups registered—thus inhibiting the comprehensive analysis of voter behavior by confessional group. Overall, these serviced about 89,500 voters. Among the homogeneous stations, the largest share was reserved for Maronites (24%), followed by Armenian Orthodox (11%), Greek Orthodox (6%), with between 1% and 3% servicing Armenian Catholics, Greek Catholics, Christian minorities, Shias, and Sunnis.

**Figure 2 Confessional composition of polling stations in Metn**

Note Percentages have been rounded up.

Among the 89,500 voters registered in mixed stations, the largest share were Maronite (slightly over 40%), followed by Greek Orthodox (nearly 20%) and Greek Catholics (nearly 15%). The remaining voters were mostly Christian minorities (9%) and Armenian Orthodox (6%). Moreover, among the represented groups, slightly over half of Maronite voters were registered in their own polling stations, and only 40% and 25% of Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics were. Regarding Armenian Orthodox, almost 80% were registered in their own stations.<sup>9</sup>

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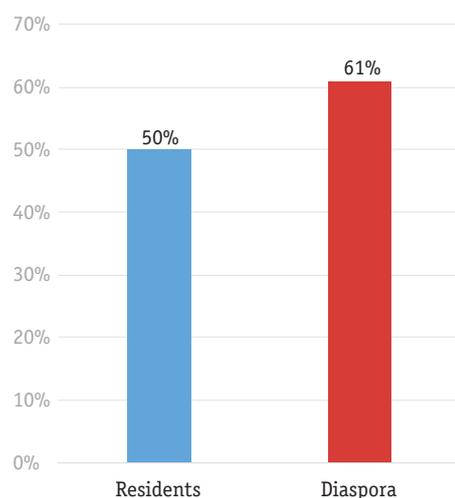
This is calculated by comparing the total number of registered voters by confessional group to the number of voters registered in their own stations. On the same basis, it is also possible to calculate the confessional composition of mixed stations, by looking at the share of each group that was registered in those stations.

## II Who voted?

Turnout in Metn was slightly higher than the national average—50% compared to 49%. Among the 183,740 Lebanese registered in the district, 92,446 cast a vote, while the remaining 91,294 did not. Metn also saw a large drop in turnout from the previous elections of 2009, when 56% of voters voted.

Similar to other districts, turnout was higher among constituents in the diaspora, who in 2018 were given the opportunity to participate in the elections for the first time. Among the 4,633 Lebanese emigrants who registered to vote in Metn, 61% cast a ballot compared to 50% of residents.

Figure 3 Turnout by residency in Metn



Note Percentages have been rounded up.

Turnout rates did not significantly vary across genders, and were only slightly higher among men voters (49.5%) than they were among women (48.6%). In stations that had both men and women registered to vote, however, turnouts were significantly higher (56%).<sup>10</sup>

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26,247 voters were registered in gender-mixed stations (or only 15% of the total voters).

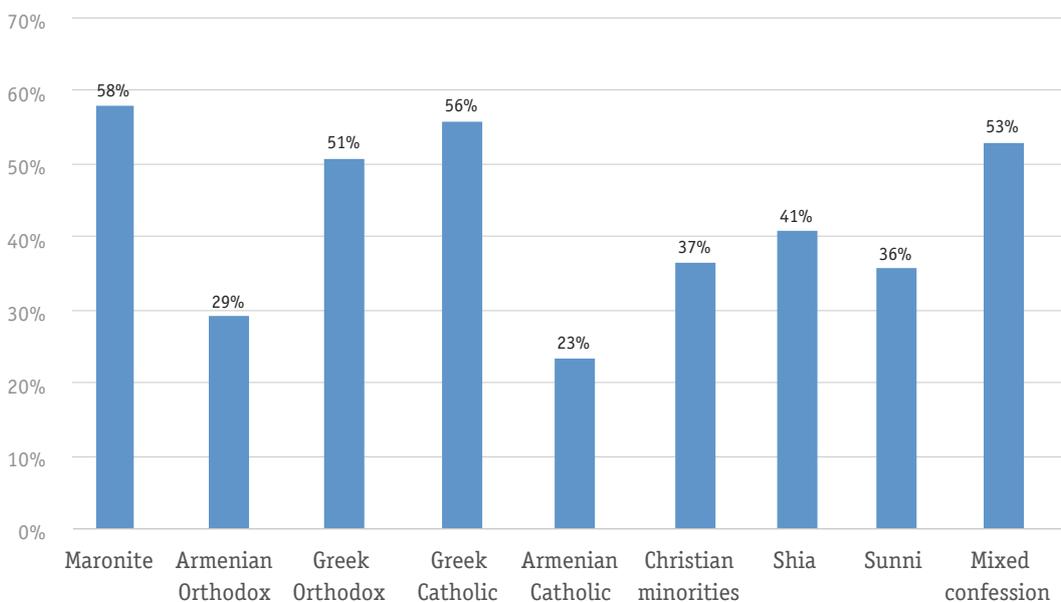
### Maronite and Greek Catholic voters were the most mobilized, while Armenian communities were the least mobilized

There were significant variations across confessional groups. The highest turnout was among the Maronite community (58%), followed by the Greek Catholic (56%) and Greek Orthodox (51%) communities. Armenian Orthodox voters, despite being represented by a seat, had one of the lowest turnouts (29%), and were followed by Armenian Catholic voters (23%). These low turnouts among Armenian voters reflect a trend observed across the country. Conversely, Greek Catholics were much more mobilized in Metn than they were in the majority of other electoral districts.

Regarding the other minority groups—Christian minorities, Sunnis, and Shias—turnouts varied between 36% and 41%. Variations in turnouts across confessional groups are statistically significant even after controlling for characteristics of the cadasters voters were registered in, such as the level of confessional fragmentation, economic development, poverty rates, and voters' gender.

Turnout in mixed polling stations, or those that had more than one confessional group registered to vote, was among the highest (53%). This may be explained by the fact that the largest group of voters in these stations were Maronites, followed by Greek Orthodox and Catholics.

Figure 4 Turnout by confessional group in Metn



Note Percentages have been rounded up.

### Some geographical disparities in turnout were apparent, partly driven by a cadaster's confessional composition

While the majority of cadasters saw average turnouts ranging between 40% and 60%, turnout was below 40% in two cadasters and above 80% in five.

The two cadasters with the lowest turnouts were Bourj Hammoud (31%) and Bikfaya (40%). They were followed by Ain El-Qabou, Qennabet Broummana, Mhaydse, Choueir, Qornet Chehouane, Kfar Aaqab, and Broummana (between 43% and 45%).

Conversely, between 80% and 85% of registered voters in Sfaile, Deir Chamra, Mar Boutrous Karm El-Tine, Ain El-Teffaha, and Daychouniye decided to vote. All of these cadasters were smaller, with each having one polling station and less than 400 registered voters. Higher turnouts could suggest pressure to vote, and after controlling for voters' sect and gender, as well as certain geographical characteristics, voters in smaller polling stations were indeed more likely to vote.

Geographical variations in turnouts were partly driven by the confessional composition of cadasters. In line with the higher turnouts among Maronite voters, a higher share of Maronite voters registered in a cadaster was generally associated with higher turnout rates. The cadasters with the highest turnouts were geographically condensed and in an area with a high prevalence of Maronites. In all of the high-turnout cadasters (above 80%), over 90% of registered voters were Maronite. Conversely, a higher share of Armenian voters registered in a cadaster tended to be associated with lower turnouts. In Bourj Hammoud, for example, the majority of registered voters were Armenian Orthodox (50%) and Armenian Catholic (20%), which explains the very low turnout in this area. Bikfaya, despite having a large Maronite population (80%), also has a sizable Greek Catholic population (10%), while the rest is divided between the Greek Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox and Armenian Catholic voters. Low turnout rates in Bikfaya may be explained by its geographical location: The cadasters neighboring it have highly different confessional compositions, for example: Mhaydse, where 80% of registered voters were Greek Orthodox; Chrine, where nearly all voters were Greek Orthodox (98%); and Saqait El-Misk where 80% were Maronite.

### The more homogeneous the cadaster is, the higher the participation rate in the elections

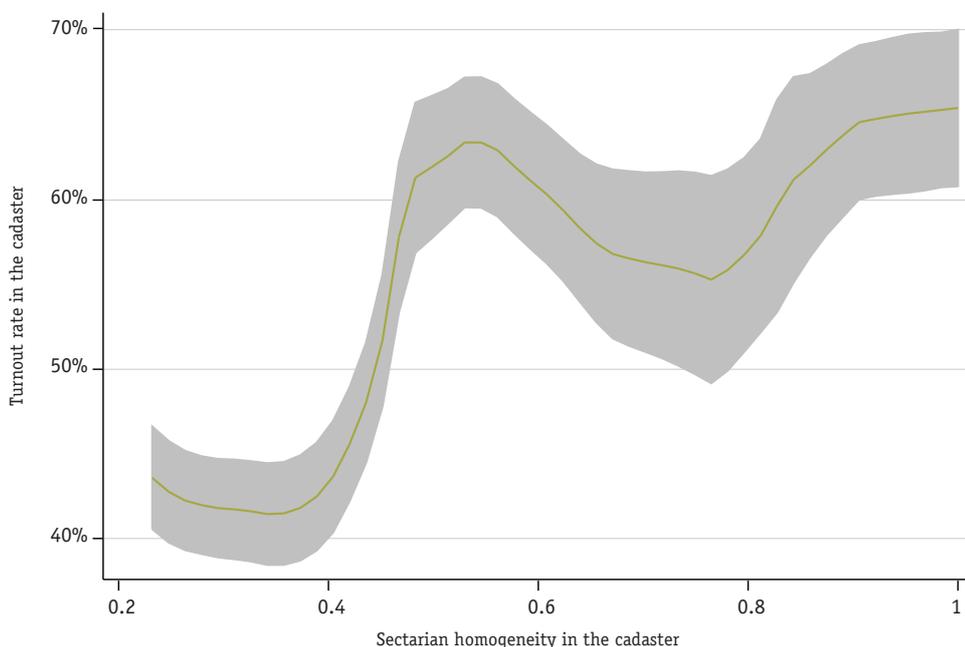
Beyond the prevalence of any specific confessional group, geographical variations in turnout were also affected by the level of confessional homogeneity in a cadaster—that is, whether many different groups cohabit or there is a high predominance of one, regardless of which.<sup>11</sup>

In Metn, average turnout rates by cadaster steadily increased from 45% in the most heterogeneous cadasters, to 65% in the most

11 We use an index of confessional homogeneity  $(IH) = \sum_{i=1}^n S_{ij}^2$ , where  $S_{ij}^2$  is the sum of the square root of the share of each confessional group in the total number of registered voters in a cadaster. The index goes from 0.2 (most heterogeneous) to 1 (fully homogeneous—only one group is present in the cadaster).

homogeneous ones. This factor is statistically significant even after controlling for voters' gender, confession, and other characteristics of the cadasters they were registered in, such as level of economic development and poverty rates. Given the sectarian nature of politics in Lebanon, this result could point to a higher capacity and interest of sectarian parties to mobilize the vote in more homogeneous localities, where their sectarian community represents the largest share of voters.

Figure 5 Sectarian homogeneity by cadaster and turnout rate in Metn



Another factor, however, seems to have affected turnout rates across cadasters. On average, larger cadasters had lower turnouts, while smaller ones had higher turnouts. This points toward parties' higher capacity and facility in mobilizing voters in smaller areas—where voter behavior is easier to influence and monitor. Mobilizing a high share of voters in larger areas could be more challenging for parties, given the need for more widespread presence on the ground. In fact, the vast majority of cadasters that saw turnouts above 70% had less than 1,000 voters registered to vote—the only exceptions were Mrouj (1,689 voters) and Bsalim (1,092 voters). Conversely, the cadasters that had over 4,000 voters registered to vote saw less than the majority of voters participate in the elections—with the exception of Dekouaneh and Baskinta (60-62% turnout). It must be noted, however, that in both of these cadasters, turnout rates were higher in polling stations that had Maronite voters registered to vote. In Baskinta, Maronite polling stations saw 66% turnouts, while Greek Orthodox ones saw 59% and mixed stations saw 56% turnouts—meaning that a higher prevalence of Maronite voters still tended

to increase turnouts. Similarly, in Dekouaneh, turnout in Maronite polling stations was 66%, while in mixed ones it was 58%.

### What are the main drivers of turnout in Metn?

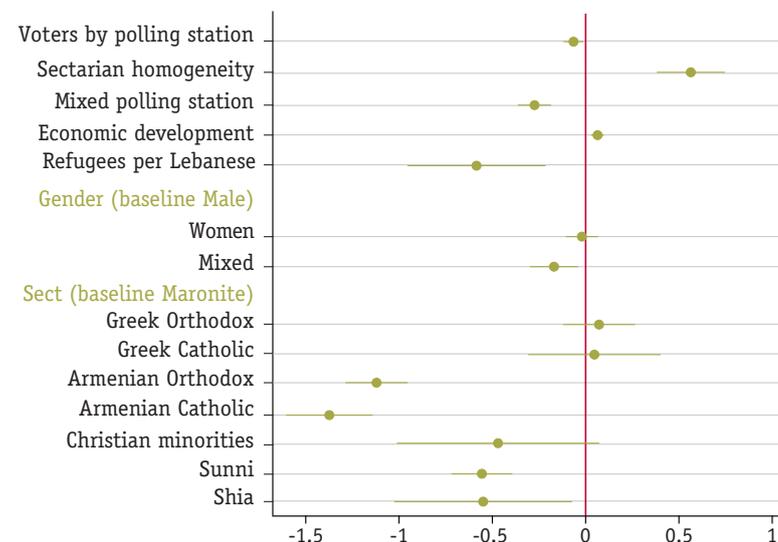
A number of characteristics at the geographical, polling station, and individual levels affected turnout rates in Metn. First, across cadasters, as mentioned above, voters in more homogeneous cadasters were significantly more likely to vote compared to those in more heterogeneous cadasters. This factor had one of the biggest effects on turnout. One other factor is the confessional composition of polling stations: Polling stations that had voters from multiple confessional groups registered to vote tended to see significantly lower turnouts than homogeneous polling stations. Moreover, turnout by polling station tended to decrease as the size of the polling station increased.

All of these factors combined could suggest that sectarian parties had a higher interest and capacity to mobilize voters in more homogeneous areas, as well as homogeneous polling stations, where each of their constituents were registered to vote. Parties may also have had a higher interest in exerting pressure on voters in smaller homogeneous polling stations, where voters have easily identifiable characteristics, as the smaller number of voters facilitates aggregate monitoring of their behavior—i.e. whether they turned out to vote, and for whom.

One cadaster level factor that seems to have affected voters' decision to vote was the ratio of refugees to the Lebanese population in a cadaster, with voters registered in cadasters that had a lower concentration of refugees being more likely to vote.

Across confessional groups, Maronite, Greek Catholic, and Greek Orthodox voters were the most likely to vote, and were followed by Sunnis, Shias, and Christian minorities, while Armenian Catholic and Armenian Orthodox were significantly less likely to vote.

Figure 6 Drivers of turnout in Metn



### III Who voted for whom?

Five lists competed in Metn, with a total of 35 candidates. Nineteen candidates competed for the four Maronite seats, eight candidates competed for the two Greek Orthodox seats, five candidates for the Greek Catholic seat, and three candidates for the Armenian Orthodox seat.

**The race in Metn was highly competitive even though most of the same parties maintained their seats**

The 'Strong Metn' list formed by the Free Patriotic Movement (FPM), the Armenian Tashnag party and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP) won four seats with 43% of the votes (38,897 votes). Three FPM candidates won seats,<sup>12</sup> while the single candidate from Tashnag won the fourth seat. The winners from FPM were Elias Bou Saab (Greek Orthodox, 7,299 votes), Ibrahim Kanaan (Maronite, 7,179 votes), and Edgar Maalouf (Greek Catholic, 5,961 votes), while the Tashnag winner was Hagop Pakradounian (Armenian Orthodox, 7,182 votes).

Some other candidates in the list were highly successful: Sarkis Sarkis (Maronite, independent backed by FPM, 4,337 votes), Ghassan Moukheiber (Greek Orthodox, incumbent, independent affiliated with FPM, 2,553 votes), and Ghassan Achkar (SSNP, 2,757 votes), while the last candidate, Corinne El Achkar (Maronite, independent), was much less successful (696 votes).

The second winning list, 'Metn's Pulse,' formed by the Kataeb party, won two seats with 21% of the votes (19,003 votes). The winners from the party were Maronite candidates Samy Gemayel (13,968 votes) and Elias Hankach (2,583 votes). The other candidates in the list were much less successful—with only two winning over 500 votes: Joseph Karam (Maronite) from the Ahrar party (National Liberal Party, 580 votes), and Mikhael Rammouz (Greek Catholic, independent, 532 votes). The other candidates in the list were Mazen Skaf (Greek Orthodox, independent, 366 votes), Nada Ghorayeb Zaarour (Maronite, Green party, 242 votes), Violette Ghazal (Greek Orthodox, independent, 178 votes), and Yeghisheh Andonian (Armenian Orthodox, independent, 160 votes).

Michel Murr's list 'Metn's Loyalty' came in third with 15% of the votes (13,779 votes), and Michel Murr won the second Greek Orthodox seat (11,945 votes). The list had a total of five candidates, with the four others being Georges Abdo (Greek Catholic, 454 votes), Milad Sabaaly (Maronite, 446 votes), Najwa Azar (Maronite, 285 votes), and Charbel Abou Jaoude (Maronite, 182 votes).

Finally, 'Metn the Heart of Lebanon,' formed by the Lebanese Forces (LF), received 15% of the votes (13,138 votes) and won the last Maronite seat, which went to Maged Eddy Abillama (8,922 votes). The list fielded a total of eight candidates. The two remaining candidates

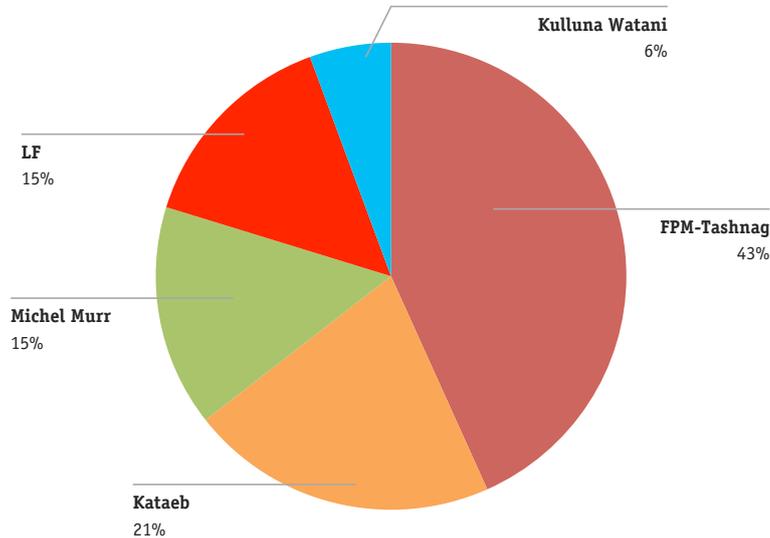
<sup>12</sup> A drop from four party members in 2009, as well as a fifth previous MP affiliated to the party.

from the party were Michel Mecattaf (Maronite, 1,212 votes) and Jessica Azar (Greek Orthodox, 1,030 votes). Other candidates on the list were Ara Koyounian from the Ramgavar party (Armenian Orthodox, 156 votes), and three independent candidates, who were Gisele Hachem Zard (Maronite, 185 votes), Lina Moukheiber (Greek Orthodox, 178 votes), and Choucri Moukarzel (Maronite, 171 votes).

The only losing list in Metn was Kulluna Watani, a coalition between independent and emerging political groups, which won 6% of the votes (5,027 votes)—although this was still one of its best results across the electoral districts it ran in. The list fielded six candidates: Charbel Nahas (Greek Catholic, 2,680 votes), Victoria El-Khoury Zwein (Maronite, 780 votes), Emile Kanaan (Maronite, 457 votes), Nadine Moussa (Maronite, 394 votes), Adib Tohme (Maronite, 326 votes), and George Rahbani (Greek Orthodox, 175 votes).

Overall, the 2018 elections results were very similar to the 2009 ones: Although the FPM saw a drop from five to three seats, Tashnag, Murr, and Kataeb retained their seats—with the latter winning an additional one. The LF was the only party that had not won a seat in Metn in 2009.

**Figure 7 Percentage of votes for each list in Metn**



**Note Percentages have been rounded up.**

The diaspora's vote largely diverged from that of non-emigrants in Metn.<sup>13</sup> Lebanese residing abroad voted significantly more for the LF's list (7% more than residents, or 21% compared to 14%), slightly more for the FPM-Tashnag list (5% more, or 48% compared to 43%), and twice as much for Kulluna Watani (10% compared to 5%). On the other hand, they voted significantly less for Murr's list (12% less, or 4% compared to 16%), and slightly less for the Kataeb list (5% less, or 16% compared to 21%). Across candidates, emigrants voted more for Maged

<sup>13</sup> 2,769 diaspora voters cast a ballot for a list.

Eddy Abillama (7% more), Hagop Pakradounian (5% more), and Charbel Nahas (4% more), while they voted less for Michel Murr (11% less).

**Table 2** Number and percentage of votes for each list by residency in Metn

		FPM-Tashnag	Kataeb	Michel Murr	LF	Kulluna Watani
Number of votes	Residents	37,571	18,551	13,658	12,553	4,742
	Diaspora	1,326	452	121	585	285
Share of votes	Residents	43%	21%	16%	14%	5%
	Diaspora	48%	16%	4%	21%	10%

**Note** Percentages have been rounded up.

Similar to most districts, an important factor in winners' success seemed to be their political connections and presence in the district. All winners in Metn were prominent politicians—whether at the national or district level. For example, five out of the eight winners were incumbent MPs already representing Metn.

Michel Murr, from Metn's Bteghrine, has been representing Metn since 1992—the first parliamentary elections after the Lebanese civil war—and has served as minister in several governments. Samy Gemayel, born in Metn's Bikfaya to one of the most prominent Christian political families in Lebanon and head of the Kataeb, was elected to parliament for the first time in 2009. He is the nephew of former president Bashir Gemayel, assassinated in 1982, son of former president Amine Gemayel, and brother of former Metn MP Pierre Amine Gemayel, who represented Metn in parliament between 2000 and 2006, when he was assassinated. Among other candidates, Ibrahim Kanaan, Edgar Maalouf, and Hagop Pakradounian have been representing Metn since 2005. Elias Bou Saab is the former president of the municipality of his hometown Dhour El-Choueir (2010-2012), and has served as a minister in Tammam Salam's 2014-2016 government. Elias Hankach was an advisor to the Minister of Economy in the 2014-2016 government, has been a member of Kataeb's political bureau since 2015, and is the former deputy secretary-general of his party. Finally, LF winner Maged Eddy Abillama has been the head of his party in the district since 2005.

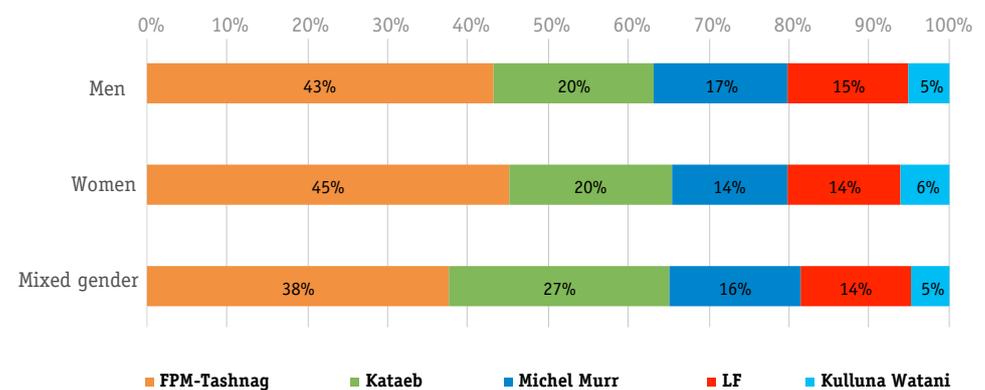
Overall, the candidate who ranked first in the district was Samy Gemayel (16%), and the second candidate was Michel Murr (14%). They were followed by most of the other winners—Maged Eddy Abillama (10%), Ibrahim Kanaan, Elias Bou Saab, Hagop Pakradounian (8% each), and Edgar Maalouf (7%). These seven candidates were the only ones to win over 5% of preferential votes in Metn. The final winner in the district Elias Hankach, however, won slightly less than 3% of preferential votes. Twenty out of the 35 candidates won less than 1% of preferential votes each.

In fact, Elias Hankach won despite receiving a much lower number of votes than other candidates. Under the proportional representation system, candidates who receive the highest number of preferential votes do not necessarily win. Had the seats been obtained by the most successful candidates representing each sectarian group, regardless of list, the Kataeb list would have won one instead of two seats, while the FPM-Tashnag list would have won five seats instead of four. Elias Hankach (Kataeb) would have lost his Maronite seat to Sarkis Sarkis (FPM-Tashnag list). While Hankach won with 2,583 votes, Sarkis lost despite receiving 4,337 votes.

### Large variations in voters' preferences for lists across confessional groups but not across genders

Across genders, the most significant differences were in the votes for Michel Murr's and the FPM-Tashnag lists. Compared to men voters, women voted more for the FPM-Tashnag list (2% more), driven by their higher support for Elias Bou Saab (3% more). In comparison, women voted less for Murr's list (3% less), driven by their lower support for the head of the list. Women also gave a slightly higher share of their vote to Kulluna Watani (1% more)—driven by their higher support for the two women candidates on the list, Victoria El-Khoury Zwein and Nadine Moussa (0.5% and 0.3% more, respectively).

Figure 8 Percentage of votes for each list by gender in Metn



Note Percentages have been rounded up.

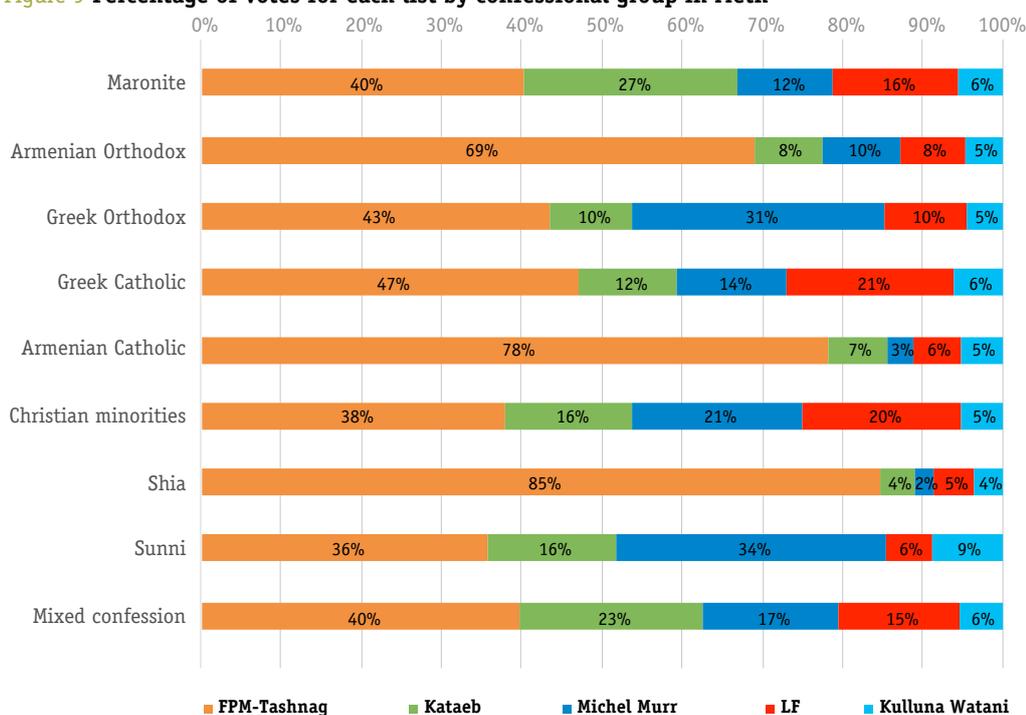
There were large variations in support for lists across confessional groups. The FPM-Tashnag list was the most popular among all confessional groups, and performed significantly better than other lists among Armenian Orthodox (69%), Armenian Catholic (78%), and Shia voters (85%). These three confessional groups had the least fragmented vote. Even after controlling for voters' gender and characteristics of cadasters they were registered to vote in, both Armenian groups and Shias were the most likely to vote for the FPM-Tashnag list.

Other confessional groups' votes were more fragmented, with no list managing to win the majority. The FPM-Tashnag list received between 40% and 47% of the Maronite, Greek Orthodox, and Greek Catholic vote. Maronite voters cast a high share for the Kataeb list (27%), and were overall significantly more likely to vote for this list compared to other groups. The Kataeb list won less than 20% of every other confessional group's vote. Greek Orthodox voters showed high support for Murr's list (31%), while Greek Catholic voters voted more for the LF list (21%).

Among Sunnis, the vote was fragmented between the FPM-Tashnag and Murr's lists (36% and 34%), while Christian minorities gave their highest share to FPM-Tashnag (38%), with most of the remainder being split between Murr's and the LF lists (21% and 20%).<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Note that about 1,200 Armenian Catholic and 1,200 Christian minorities voters voted for a list, while only about 900 Shia and 210 Sunni voters voted for one.

Figure 9 Percentage of votes for each list by confessional group in Metn



Note Percentages have been rounded up.

Votes for each list were driven by preferences for specific candidates in those lists. When looking at the performance of each candidate regardless of their party, only a few candidates tended to capture the majority of any confessional group's votes, and a maximum of seven won over 5% of any group's vote.

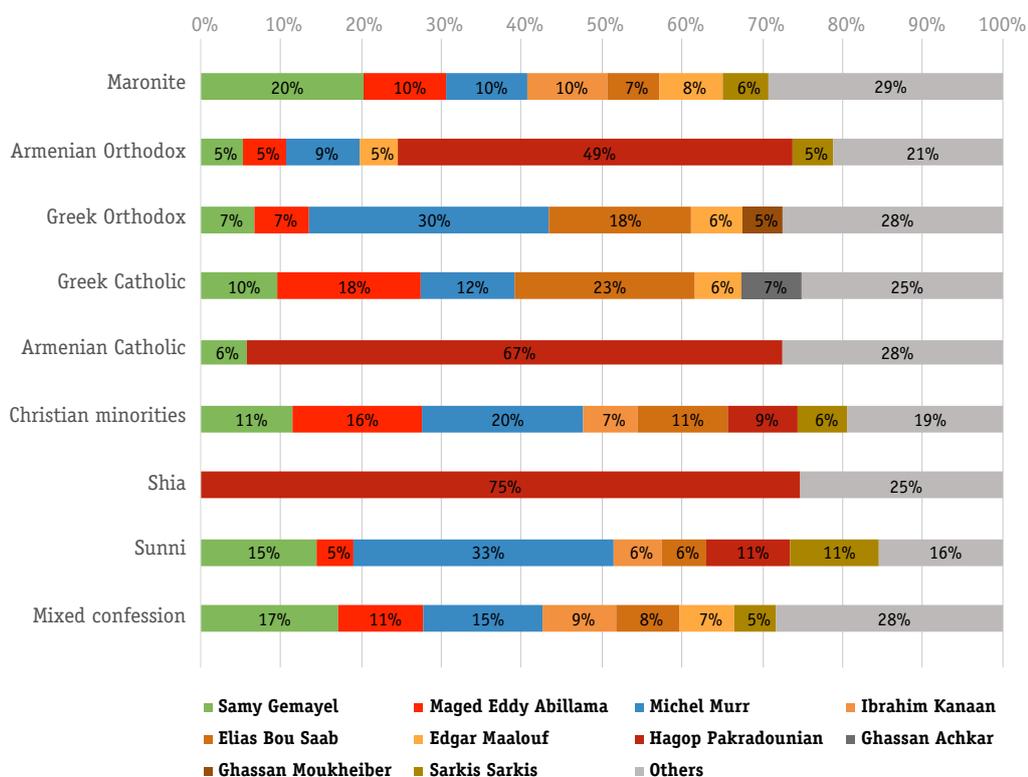
Regarding groups represented by a seat, Samy Gemayel was the preferred candidate among Maronite voters by a significant margin, winning 20% of their preferential votes. He was followed by Maged Eddy Abillama, Michel Murr, and Ibrahim Kanaan, who won 10% each. Other candidates who managed to win over 5% of the

Maronite vote were Elias Bou Saab, Edgar Maalouf, and Sarkis Sarkis. Michel Murr received almost one third of the Greek Orthodox vote (30%), whose second-preferred candidate was Elias Bou Saab (18%). Samy Gemayel, Maged Eddy Abillama, Edgar Maalouf, and Ghassan Moukheiber (affiliated with FPM) each won between 5% and 7% of the Greek Orthodox vote. The latter was most successful among this community. The candidate who received the highest share of the Greek Catholic vote was Elias Bou Saab (23%), followed by Maged Eddy Abillama (18%), and Michel Murr (12%). Samy Gemayel, Edgar Maalouf, and Ghassan Achkar (SSNP, running on the FPM-Tashnag list) won between 6% and 10% of their vote. The latter was also most successful among this community. Armenian Orthodox voters had a much less fragmented vote, with close to the majority voting for Hagop Pakradounian (49%). Most of the remainder of their vote was received by Michel Murr (9%), Samy Gemayel, Maged Eddy Abillama, Edgar Maalouf, and Sarkis Sarkis (5% each).

Regarding groups not represented by a seat, Armenian Catholic and Shia voters gave an overwhelming majority of their vote to Hagop Pakradounian (67% and 75%). Only one other candidate was able to capture over 5% of the Armenian Catholic vote, Samy Gemayel (6%), while no other candidate won over 5% of the Shia vote. Sunnis and Christian minorities had a more fragmented vote. One third of Sunni voters chose Michel Murr (33%), and 15% chose Samy Gemayel. Hagop Pakradounian, Sarkis Sarkis, Ibrahim Kanaan, Elias Bou Saab, and Maged Eddy Abillama each received between 5% and 11% of their vote. Christian minorities also gave the highest share of their vote to Michel Murr (20%), who was closely followed by Maged Eddy Abillama (16%). The other candidates who were successful among other groups—Samy Gemayel, Elias Bou Saab, Hagop Pakradounian, Ibrahim Kanaan, and Sarkis Sarkis—each won between 6% and 11% of Christian minorities' vote.

Overall, among represented voters, Samy Gemayel, Maged Eddy Abillama, Michel Murr, and Edgar Maalouf, were able to win at least 5% of any group's vote. Elias Bou Saab was successful among all represented Christians, while Ibrahim Kanaan was only successful among Maronites, Hagop Pakradounian among Armenian Orthodox, and Sarkis Sarkis among Maronites and Armenian Orthodox. Elias Hankach, who won one of the Maronite seats, failed to win over 5% of any group's vote, though he was most successful among Maronites, obtaining 4% of their vote.

Figure 10 Preferred candidates by confessional group in Metn



Note Percentages have been rounded up.

Looking at the number of votes obtained by the winners in Metn that came from voters from different confessional groups can also show how diverse the winners’ constituents were, as well as which group each candidate mostly relied on. Moreover, as the number of voters from each confessional group were highly unequal, these shares mentioned above do not always translate into a substantial number of votes. As the majority of votes in Metn were cast in mixed polling stations, most of the winners received the majority of their votes from these stations. The exception was Armenian Orthodox winner Hagop Pakradounian, who relied primarily on the Armenian Orthodox, Armenian Catholic, and to some extent Shia vote. In total, among the votes Pakradounian received from resident voters, 40% came from Armenian Orthodox (2,707 votes), 12% from Armenian Catholics (797 votes), and 9% from Shias (637 votes). Among the other winners, Elias Hankach, Samy Gemayel, Ibrahim Kanaan, and Edgar Maalouf relied on the Maronite vote particularly more than other candidates, with each receiving between 32% and 37% of their total votes from Maronite polling stations. Michel Murr and Elias Bou Saab were able to rely on the Greek Orthodox vote more than other candidates, with 14% of each of their total votes coming from Greek Orthodox polling stations (1,607 votes and 951, respectively)—a comparatively high share given that 6% of the total preferential votes in Metn were cast

in these stations. Compared to the other winners, Elias Bou Saab received particularly higher support from Greek Catholic polling stations, as 7% of his total votes came from those (499 votes)—again a significant share given that 3% of the total preferential votes in Metn were cast in Greek Catholic polling stations.

**Table 3 Number of votes for winners by confessional group in Metn**

List	FPM-Tashnag				Kataeb		Michel Murr	LF	Total number of preferential votes
Candidate	Ibrahim Kanaan	Elias Bou Saab	Edgar Maalouf	Hagop Pakradounian	Samy Gemayel	Elias Hankach	Michel Murr	Maged Eddy Abillama	
Confession	Maronite	Greek Orthodox	Greek Catholic	Armenian Orthodox	Maronite	Maronite	Greek Orthodox	Maronite	
Maronite	2,309	1,512	1,839	463	4,727	931	2,351	2,368	23,222
Armenian Orthodox	148	247	256	2,707	289	80	508	296	5,503
Greek Orthodox	204	951	347	217	360	88	1,607	369	5,374
Greek Catholic	71	499	130	53	213	39	259	395	2,216
Armenian Catholic	31	35	34	797	69	2	35	46	1,195
Christian minorities	80	133	34	103	135	20	236	191	1,179
Shia	11	35	8	637	17	4	19	23	853
Sunni	12	11	4	21	29	1	65	9	200
Mixed confession	4,088	3,576	3,103	1,837	7,741	1,371	6,750	4,747	45,071

### Geographically, political parties had different strongholds

The FPM-Tashnag list was the most successful in capturing a large share of votes across the district, obtaining over half of the votes in 15 cadasters, with the highest share being 70% in Dik El-Mehdi (equivalent to 159 votes), and between 65% and 67% in Bourj Hammoud (7,721 votes), Choueir (1,299), Qornet El-Hamra (412 votes), and Ain El-Sindiane (206 votes). The list was much less successful (less than 15% of votes) in Ain El-Teffaha (5%), Ain El-Kharroube, Ain El-Safsaf, and Mar Boutros Karm El-Tine (between 13% and 15%). In these, either Kataeb or Murr's list were more successful.

Regarding candidates in the list, Ibrahim Kanaan won over 20% of the votes in five cadasters, with the highest being in Dahr El-Souane and Jouret El-Ballout (33% and 31%). However, given the small number of preferential votes in these cadasters, most of the votes he received came from voters in other cadasters.<sup>15</sup> Among all the votes he received, a significantly high share came from voters in Baouchriyeh (966 votes, 14%), followed by Jdaidet El-Matn (448 votes, 20%). He also won a high number in Baskinta (420 votes, 10%). Other cadasters he won a high share of his votes from were Sinn El-Fil, Aintoura, Bourj Hammoud (between 300-400 votes), Antelias, Dekouaneh, and Qaaqour, where he ranked first (between 199 and 236 votes in each).

Elias Bou Saab won over half of the votes (1,052 votes, 55%) in Choueir, where he is from, representing 15% of his total votes. He

<sup>15</sup> Kanaan won 168 votes in Dahr El-Souane and 135 votes in Jouret El-Ballout.

also won a high share of votes in the neighboring Ain El-Sindiane (147 votes, 48%) and Abou Mizane (43%, although that is only equivalent to 6 votes), but won less than 20% in all other cadasters. Bou Saab also received a sizable number of votes (over 400 votes) in Bourj Hammoud, Baouchriyeh, Sinn El-Fil, and over 200 in Baskinta, Antelias (10%), and El-Khenchara (14%).

Edgar Maalouf won his highest share in Kfar Aaqab (128 votes, 48%), followed by Wadi El-Karm (124 votes, 43%), and Ain El-Qabou (only 30 votes, 33%). Most of the votes he won came from Baskinta, Baouchriyeh (over 400 votes each), Bourj Hammoud, Sinn El-Fil, Beit Chabab, and Mtein (between 250 and 375 votes, each)—for a total of 2,065 votes.

Regarding Hagop Pakradounian, he won 48% of votes in Bourj Hammoud—or 5,414 out of the 6,835 votes he obtained among residents (79%). This is due to the high prevalence of Armenian voters registered in the cadaster. He also won 37% of votes in Mezher (123 votes). However, he only won over 10% of votes in one other cadaster, Zalqa (143 votes, 11%), and over 200 votes in Baouchriyeh (327 votes, representing 5%).

Ghassan Achkar won his highest share in Dik El-Mehdi (41%) and Majdel Tarchich (32%), with most votes coming from Aintoura, Baskinta, and Beit Chabab (about 250 votes in each of the first two, and 200 in the third). He only won more than 100 votes in four other cadasters: Bourj Hammoud, El-Khenchara, Majdel Tarchich, and Mtein.

Ghassan Moukheiber won the highest share of votes in Beit Mery (371 votes, 22%), ranking first in the cadaster. He was also the most successful candidate in Mansourieh (170 votes, 17%).

Qornet El-Hamra saw 53% of the votes go to Sarkis Sarkis (331 votes). Similar to others, the candidate won a high share of his votes from Bourj Hammoud (571), Baouchriyeh, Sinn El-Fil, Beit Chabab, and Baskinta, for a total of 2,036 votes.

Finally, the last candidate in the list, Corinne El Achkar (independent) was able to obtain 20% and 18% in Dbayeh (232 votes) and Zouk El-Kharab (132 votes). She ranked first in both cadasters, where over half of her votes also came from (364 out of the 673 votes she obtained from residents).

Other parties and candidates were less successful in mobilizing the votes across the district.

The list formed by Kataeb won the majority of votes in nine cadasters—with the highest being in Ain El-Kharroube (529 votes, 70%).<sup>16</sup> Although votes for the party largely varied across cadasters in the district, it was most successful in the Northern central part of the district. In particular, the cadasters neighboring Bikfaya—Samy Gemayel's hometown—showed the highest support for the list, with an average of 50-60% of the votes going for it.

<sup>16</sup> The list won its highest share in Wadi Chahine (83%). However, that is only equivalent to 19 over the 23 votes that were cast for a list.

In comparison, the list received below 10% of the votes in a high number of cadasters, such as Majdel Tarchich (2%), Bteghrine (4%), Jouret El-Ballout, Choueir, Zaraaoun, Abou Mizane, and Wata Aamaret Chalhoub (between 6% and 8% each). It was particularly unsuccessful in cadasters with a high prevalence of Greek Orthodox voters, as well as the small number of cadasters that had a high share of Shia or Druze voters, such as Abou Mizane and Bteghrine (majorly Greek Orthodox), Majdel Tarchich (Shia), and Zaraaoun (Druze). Geographically, it tended to perform poorly in the western border of the district as well as the eastern part of it.

Samy Gemayel won between 50% and 60% of votes in six cadasters: Ain El-Safsaf, Ain El-Kharroube, Ain El-Teffaha, Bikfaya, Sfaile, and Mhaydse, with these, overall, totaling 2,059 votes. While nearly all candidates performed well in Sinn El-Fil, given the higher number of votes, Gemayel ranked first with 1,108 votes (25%), while he received 972 votes from Bikfaya (55%).

Second winner Elias Hankach only won over 10% in Roumieh (346 votes, 35%), Ouyoun (20 votes, 15%), and Beit Mery (164 votes, 10%).

On the same list, Joseph Karam (Ahrar), won 16% in El-Machrah and 10% in Kfartay, although these only represent less than 30 votes combined. The most significant share of his votes came from voters in Baskinta (164 votes) and Baouchriyeh (69 votes), while he won less than 50 votes in all other cadasters.

Three other candidates in the list won over 10% in some cadasters. Mazen Skaf (independent) won 13% in Zeghrine (27 votes), Mikhael Rammouz (independent) won 10% in Mezher (33 votes) and Nabay (131 votes), and Nada Ghorayeb Zaarour (Green party) won 10% in Qornet Chahwan (54 votes).

Michel Murr's stronghold was his home village of Bteghrine, where he won the vast majority of the votes (1,457 votes, 66%). He also managed to win over 40% in Wata Aamaret Chalhoub (335 votes), Dekouaneh (1,075 votes), and Majdel Tarchich (138 votes). Only two candidates in his list managed to win over 10% of preferential votes in any cadaster: Milad Sabaaly, who won 25% in Mayasseh (159 votes), and Charbel Abou Jaoude, who won 10% in Masqa (this was, however, equivalent to only 36 votes). Although in most other cadasters the list received below 20% of the votes, it tended to perform better in cadasters with a higher prevalence of Greek Orthodox voters.

The LF list, the last winning list, was the least successful in capturing a high share of votes across the district. It only managed to win over 30% of votes in Ain Aalaq (37%), which was also the only cadaster where LF performed better than its two Christian competitor parties, FPM and Kataeb. Nevertheless, it still managed to win over 20% in 15 other cadasters.

The winner from the party Maged Eddy Abillama won the highest share of votes in Zaraaoun (96 votes, 29%), and also captured above 20% in Qennabet Broummana (only 35 votes), Baabdat (247 votes), and El-Khenchara (285 votes). Similar to other candidates, a high share of his votes came from voters in Baouchriyeh (1,201 votes, 18%)—where he ranked first—as well as those in Bourj Hammoud and Sinn El-Fil (819 and 539 votes, respectively).

Among other candidates in the list, the only ones who managed to win above 10% of votes in any cadaster were Razi El Hage, Choucri Moukarzel, and Michel Mecattaf. Razi El Hage won between 10% and 15% in Baskinta (588 votes, where he ranked first), Ain El-Qabou (equivalent to only 12 votes), and Zabbougha (38 votes), with over half of his votes coming from voters in Baskinta. Choucri Moukarzel won 19% in Ain Aalaq (although only 45 votes, but a significant share of the total 169 votes he won among residents), while in all other cadasters he obtained less than 3% of votes. Michel Mecattaf won 13% in Wadi Chahine (only three votes), and between 5% and 8% in a number of cadasters, with his highest number of votes in any cadaster being in Baouchriyeh (100 votes) followed by Bhorsaf (82 votes).

Beyond this, the LF list tended to perform better in cadasters where neither of the competing Christian parties—FPM and Kataeb—could capture above 40% of the vote, and its main competitor in all cadasters was FPM.

Given the different number of votes cast in each cadaster, the vast majority of the main candidates received a high share of their votes from Bourj Hammoud, Baouchriyeh, Baskinta, Dekouaneh, Beit Chabab, Aintoura, and Jal El-Dib. However, other smaller cadasters were some candidates' strongholds. As mentioned above, Samy Gemayel significantly relied on the votes in Bikfaya, Bhersaf, and Ain El-Kharroube; Elias Hankach on those in Roumieh, Beit Mery, and Broummana; Michel Murr on Bteghrine, and to some extent Zalqa; Maged Eddy Abillama on El-Khenchara, Mtein, and Baabdat; and Elias Bou Saab on Choueir.

Beyond the success of each list in specific cadasters, some general factors affected votes for each list, even after controlling for voters' gender and confession.

### What are the drivers of votes for each list?

A multivariate analysis can highlight the relevant impact of different factors on the votes for each list.

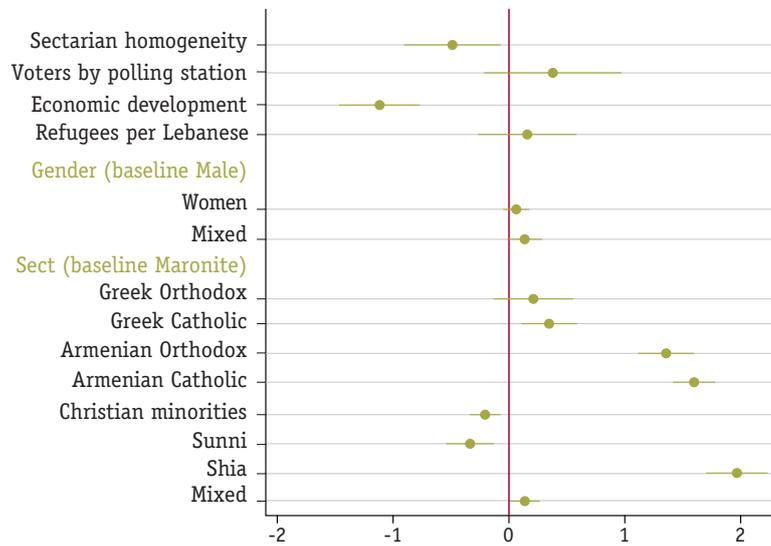
Across geographical areas, voters registered in more homogeneous cadasters tended to vote much less for LF's list, Murr's list, and to a lesser extent, FPM-Tashnag, while they voted significantly more for Kataeb's list. This latter result could be due to higher prevalence of Maronite voters registered in homogeneous cadasters. Regarding the

level of economic development in a cadaster, higher levels of economic development were associated with a higher share of votes for Murr’s list, and a lower one for the FPM-Tashnag and LF lists, while this factor did not have any effect on the performance of Kataeb.

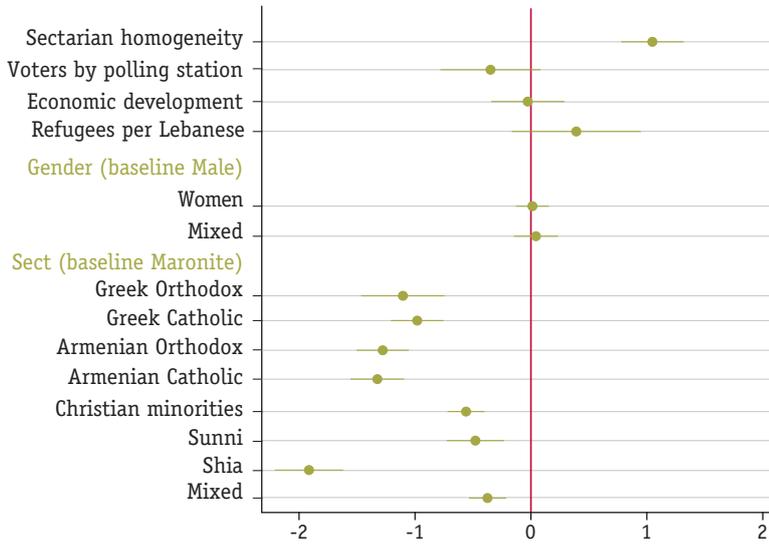
Across confessional groups, even after controlling for geographical characteristics, Armenian Orthodox, Armenian Catholic, and Shia voters were the most likely to vote for the FPM-Tashnag list, while they tended to be the least likely to votes for all other lists, although there were some minor variations. Sunnis and Christian minorities, on the other hand, were the least likely to vote for this list. Regarding other lists, Maronite voters, followed by Sunnis and Christian minorities, were the most likely to vote for the Kataeb list. Maronites and Christian minorities, along with Greek Catholics, were also the most likely to vote for the LF list. Greek Orthodox voters, even when controlling for other factors, were the most likely to vote for Murr’s list, similar to Sunni voters.

Figure 11 Drivers of votes for the winning lists in Metn

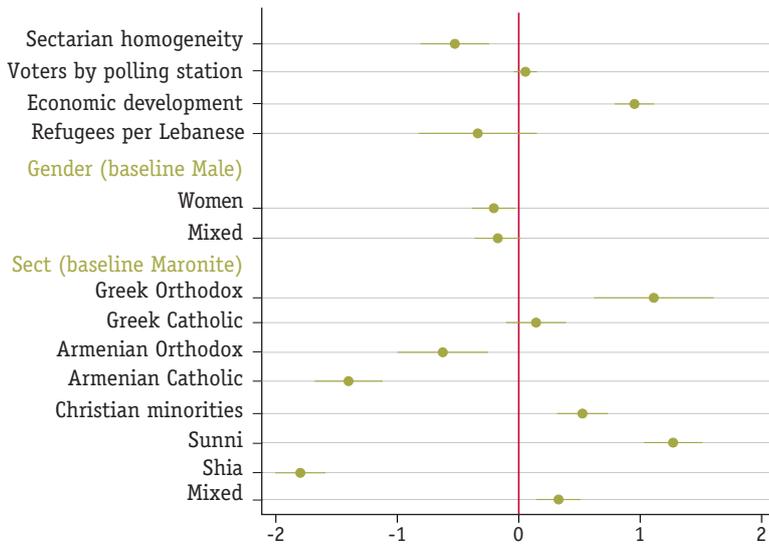
a Drivers of votes for the FPM-Tashnag list in Metn



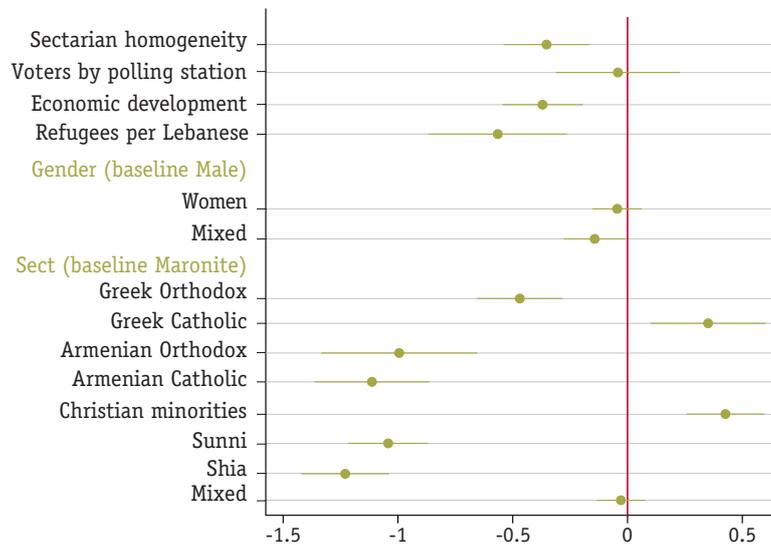
**b Drivers of votes for the Kataeb list in Metn**



**c Drivers of votes for Michel Murr's list in Metn**



d Drivers of votes for the LF list in Metn



## IV Do citizens cast preferential votes for candidates from their own confession?

In Metn, 98% of voters represented by a seat gave a preferential vote to one candidate within their selected list. Among them, 57% chose a candidate from their own confession. The confessional bias in Metn was significantly weaker than in many other districts, which is partly due to the fact that most represented groups in the district are Christian who tended to give a high share of their votes to Christian candidates.

### Confessional biases varied across confessional groups

There were variations across confessional groups, with the highest confessional bias being among Maronite voters, and the lowest among Greek Catholic voters.

Sixty-three percent of Maronite voters voted for a Maronite candidate. They were followed by Greek Orthodox (55%) and Armenian Orthodox voters (51%). Only 11% of Greek Catholics voted for a Greek Catholic candidate, and they tended to choose Maronite candidates instead (48%). When combining all Christian candidates, however, the confessional bias in Metn increases to 90%. Among Christian voters, over 95% of every group voted for a Maronite, Greek Orthodox, or Greek Catholic candidate.<sup>17</sup>

Regarding the few voters not represented by a seat, Armenian Catholics showed a high preference for Armenian Orthodox candidates (69%). The Shia vote also overwhelmingly went to Armenian Orthodox candidates (77%), while the Christian minorities and Sunni votes were split between Maronite and Greek Orthodox candidates.<sup>18</sup>

17

There were 19 Maronite, eight Greek Orthodox, and five Greek Catholic candidates.

18

The number of preferential votes cast by these groups was low. 821 out of the 1,195 Armenian Catholic, and 660 out of the 853 Shia voters who cast a preferential vote chose an Armenian Orthodox candidate. Regarding Christian minorities, who cast 1,179 preferential votes, 551 chose a Maronite, and 436 chose a Greek Orthodox candidate. Finally, only 200 preferential votes were cast in the single Sunni polling station, with 84 of them going to Maronite candidates, and 82 going to Greek Orthodox candidates.

Table 4 Votes for candidates from each confession across confessional groups in Metn

		Candidate's sect			
		Maronite	Greek Orthodox	Armenian Orthodox	Greek Catholic
Voter's sect	Maronite	63%	23%	2%	13%
	Greek Orthodox	30%	55%	4%	11%
	Armenian Orthodox	25%	16%	51%	8%
	Greek Catholic	48%	39%	2%	11%
	Armenian Catholic	18%	7%	69%	6%
	Christian minorities	47%	37%	9%	7%
	Shia	12%	8%	77%	3%
	Sunni	42%	41%	11%	7%
	Mixed confession	54%	28%	4%	13%

Note Percentages have been rounded up.

In Metn, the percentage of votes for co-confessional candidates across different groups seemed to be partly driven by the popularity of certain candidates, regardless of their confession. For example, among voters who voted for the Kataeb list, an overwhelming majority of each confessional group chose Samy Gemayel, while Elias Hankach was the second-preferred candidate (both Maronite). Similarly, among those who voted for the LF list, the majority chose Maged Eddy Abillama (Maronite), and almost all voters who voted for Murr's list chose Michel Murr (Greek Orthodox). Those who voted for the FPM-Tashnag list had different preferences. Armenian Orthodox voters who voted for the list gave an overwhelming share of their vote to Hagop Pakradounian, the leader of Tashnag. Among the other candidates, Elias Bou Saab (Greek Orthodox) and Edgar Maalouf (Greek Catholic) received support from all Christian groups, and ranked among the top three among Maronite, Greek Orthodox, and Greek Catholic voters. However, Maronite voters who voted for the list gave a much higher share to Ibrahim Kanaan (Maronite), their co-sectarian candidate. Greek Orthodox voters voted much more for Elias Bou Saab, their co-sectarian candidate. Bou Saab was also significantly more successful than the other candidates among Greek Catholic voters, showing that this community had a much lower sectarian bias. Finally, among Kulluna Watani voters, most chose Charbel Nahas (Greek Catholic), leader of the 'Mouwatinoun wa Mouwatinat fi Dawla' (Citizens in a State) party. The second preferred candidate was Victoria El-Khoury Zwein (Maronite). Only Greek Orthodox voters gave a higher share of their vote to their co-confessional candidate George Rahbani.

Overall, out of the 19 Maronite candidates running in Metn, 12 won less than 1% their co-confessional voters' votes, each, while out of the eight Greek Orthodox candidates, five won less than 1%, and out of the five Greek Catholic candidates, three won less than 1%. There

were only three Armenian Orthodox candidates, with two of them failing to win over 1% of their co-confessional voters' vote.

There were slight variations across genders, with the share votes cast for co-sectarian candidates being lower among women: 55% of women, compared to 57% of men, voted for a co-confessional candidate. In particular, Greek Orthodox women had a significantly lower sectarian bias, with their percentage of votes for Greek Orthodox candidates being 4% lower than that among their male counterparts. Maronite women also showed lower support for Maronite candidates compared to men (2% lower). Conversely, Greek Catholic women were more sectarian than their male counterparts (4% higher).

**Table 5 Votes for co-sectarian candidates by confessional group and gender in Metn**

		Gender			Total
		Men	Women	Mixed gender	
Confessional group	Maronite	63%	61%	69%	63%
	Greek Orthodox	57%	53%		55%
	Armenian Orthodox	51%	51%		51%
	Greek Catholic	9%	13%		11%
	Total	57%	55%	69%	57%

Note Percentages have been rounded up.

### Preferences for co-confessional candidates differed across cadasters even within each confessional group

In two cadasters, Sfaile and Qornet El-Hamra, more than 80% of voters voted for a candidate of the same sect, while in another, El-Khenchara (where about 80% were Greek Catholic), less than 20% did so.

These variations tended to be driven both by the confessional composition of each cadaster and the popularity of specific candidates in certain areas. In Sfaile, which only had Maronite voters registered to vote, 83% of them voted for a co-confessional candidate, with 53% of their preferential vote going to Samy Gemayel alone. Regarding Qornet El-Hamra, where all the homogeneous polling stations were also Maronite, 59% voted for Sarkis Sarkis, out of the 86% who cast a confessional vote. It seems, therefore, that the high confessional bias is partly driven by preferences for certain candidates in a cadaster. Conversely, in El-Khenchara, where the only homogeneous stations had Greek Catholics registered to vote, only 16% of them cast a confessional vote. While votes in the cadaster were fragmented between different candidates, the highest share went to Maged Eddy Abillama (Maronite, 20%), with most of the remainder being divided between different Maronite candidates. In fact, the most popular Greek Catholic candidate in El-Khenchara, Edgar Maalouf, won only 10% of the Greek Catholic vote in the cadaster.

Other cadasters which saw a high share of votes go to co-confessional candidates—between 70% and 80%—were Bikfaya, Bteghrine, Aintoura, and Bnabil—also partly driven by the popularity of specific candidates.

There were significant geographical variations in sectarian biases even within each sectarian group.

Among Maronites, support for candidates from the same sect was widespread across the district. As mentioned above, over 80% of Maronite voters cast a sectarian vote in Qornet El-Hamra and Sfaile. The Maronite confessional bias was also high (70%-80%) in Aintoura, Bnabil, Wadi Chahine, and Bikfaya. Most of the confessional vote in these cadasters went to one candidate: The majority of the Maronite vote in Bikfaya (56%), Bnabil (50%), and Wadi Chahine (78%, which translates to a total of 23 preferential votes) went to Samy Gemayel. In Aintoura, however, most of the votes were divided between different Maronite candidates, the most successful being Gemayel (28%), and the remaining was mostly divided between Ibrahim Kanaan (FPM), Ghassan Achkar (SSNP), and Najwa Azar (independent on Murr's list). In all of these cadasters where over 70% of Maronite voters cast a confessional vote, nearly all of the registered voters were Maronite (above 95% in all cases, except in Bikfaya where 80% of registered voters were Maronite).

Only in Bourj Hammoud was the sectarian bias among Maronite voters at 10%—where 81% of them voted for Hagop Pakradounian. This is likely explained by the fact that this cadaster is majority Armenian Orthodox and Armenian Catholic, and is also the candidate's stronghold in the district.

Beyond this, looking at support for Maronite candidates, regardless of voters' confession, shows that Maronite candidates enjoyed the widest support across the district. In six cadasters, they obtained above 80% of the votes: Wadi Chahine, Qornet El-Hamra, Mayasseh, Ain El-Safsaf, Sfaile, Ain El-Teffaha, and Deir Chamra. In almost all of these cadasters, over 90% of registered voters were Maronite, thus explaining this vast support. The only exception is Ain El-Safsaf, which is almost fully Greek Catholic (95%), and where the high share of votes for Maronite candidates was driven by support for Samy Gemayel (who won 58% by himself).

Only in eight cadasters did Maronite candidates obtain less than 25% of the votes. The weakest support garnered by Maronite candidates was in Bteghrine (16%), where most of the votes went to Michel Murr (65%), who is from that town.

Among Greek Orthodox voters, the bias was the strongest in Bteghrine (76%), where 68% of them voted for Murr. The confessional bias was also high in Choueir (69%), where Greek Orthodox voters

voted mostly for Elias Bou Saab (57%). Even voters from other confessional groups in Bteghrine and Choueir gave the majority of their votes for these two candidates, a sign that the success of a candidate in a cadaster was driven by their popularity on the ground rather than the area's confessional composition only.

In the few other cadasters which had Greek Orthodox polling stations—Mansourieh, Broummana, Baskinta, Bourj Hammoud, and Nabay—the majority did not cast a confessional vote. Their lowest sectarian bias was in Bourj Hammoud (23%), where the largest share of the Greek Orthodox vote went to Hagop Pakradounian (39%). It was followed by Baskinta, where 31% of Greek Orthodox voters cast a confessional vote. However, even when less than the majority of Greek Orthodox voters voted for a co-confessional candidate—except in Bourj Hammoud—their preferred candidate was Greek Orthodox.

In Mansourieh, Nabay, and Broummana, where between 40% and 50% of Greek Orthodox voters cast a confessional vote, Greek Orthodox candidates ranked first by a significant margin. In Mansourieh, Ghassan Moukheiber received 21% of the Greek Orthodox vote, 6% more than the second candidate Edgar Maalouf (Greek Catholic, 15%); while in Nabay and Broummana, Michel Murr received 25% and 23% of the Greek Orthodox vote, over 10% more than any other candidate. In Baskinta, the votes were more fragmented, although Greek Orthodox candidate Elias Bou Saab still ranked first among the group (16%). Even when Greek Orthodox voters did not give the majority of their votes for Greek Orthodox candidates, in each cadaster, the candidate who ranked first among this group was Greek Orthodox.

Besides the confessional bias among Greek Orthodox voters, Greek Orthodox candidates did not manage to win over 80% of votes in any cadaster. Support for Greek Orthodox candidates was highest in Bteghrine (72%) and Choueir (67%).<sup>19</sup> It also varied between 50% and 60% in Ain El-Sindiane, Chrine, Majdel Tarchich, and Wata Aamaret Chalhoub, with again, most of these votes going to Michel Murr and Elias Bou Saab. Conversely, support for Greek Orthodox candidates was lower than 10% in Zabbougha, Mayasseh, Qornet El-Hamra, Ain El-Kharroube, Ain El-Teffaha, and Qennabet Salima, where Maronite candidates, in particular Samy Gemayel, tended to be more successful.

The Greek Catholic sectarian bias was weak across the district. However, Greek Catholic voters had their own polling stations in only three cadasters, thus inhibiting the ability to measure the co-sectarian bias among this group. In El-Khenchara, 16% of Greek Catholics voted for a co-confessional candidate, while in Bourj Hammoud and Choueir, only 5% and 3%, respectively, did so. Greek Catholic voters voted

<sup>19</sup> Abou Mizane also saw 79% of votes for to Greek Orthodox candidates. However, only 14 voters in this cadaster cast a preferential vote, with 6 going to Bou Saab and 5 going to Murr.

mostly for Maged Eddy Abillama in El-Khenchara (Maronite, 20%), with the rest of their vote being divided between other Maronite candidates. The most voted for Greek Catholic candidate, Edgar Maalouf, only won 10% of their preferential vote. Similarly, in Bourj Hammoud 24% voted for Maged Eddy Abillama, with the rest being divided between the other main candidates. Finally, in Choueir, 53% of the Greek Catholic vote went to Elias Bou Saab (Greek Orthodox), likely explained by Choueir being his hometown.

Compared to other candidates, support for Greek Catholic candidates was much less widespread across the district. They only managed to capture the majority of votes in Kfar Aaqab (58%), with most of these going to Edgar Maalouf (48%), who is from there. Greek Catholic candidates also won over 30% of votes in Wadi El-Karm, El-Machrah, Ain El-Qabou, and Kfartay—all those cadasters were geographically condensed and had a higher prevalence of Greek Catholic registered voters. However, similar to candidates from other sects, most of the votes for Greek Catholic candidates in these cadasters went to one candidate, Edgar Maalouf. The other Greek Catholic candidates barely received any votes in these areas.

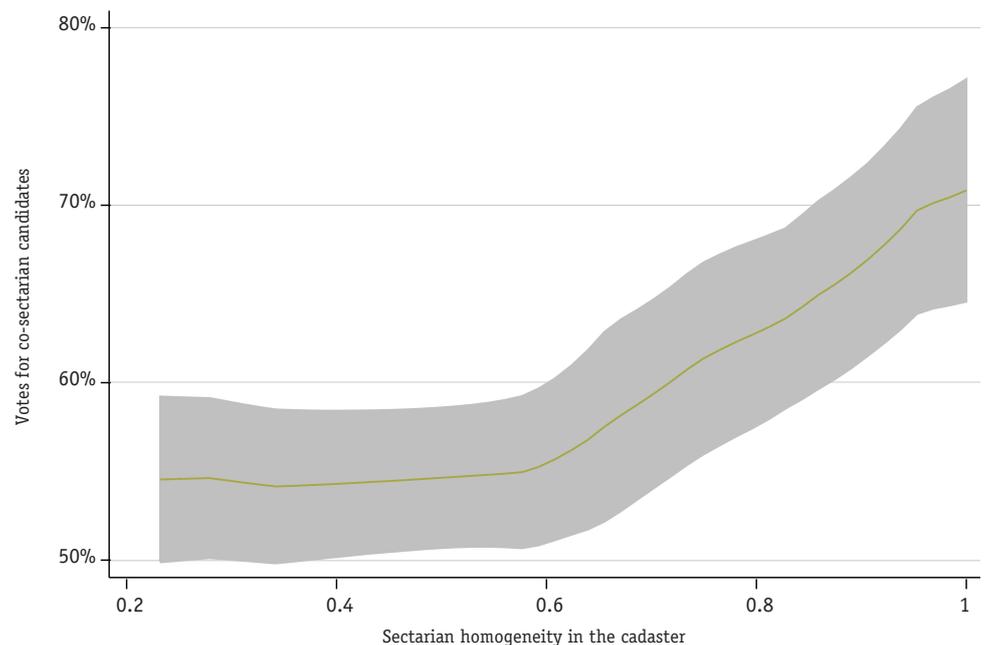
There were only Armenian Orthodox polling stations in Bourj Hammoud, where 51% voted for an Armenian Orthodox candidate, with 49% going to Hagop Pakradounian. The remainder of their vote was divided between the different main candidates.

Support for the three Armenian Orthodox candidates—Hagop Pakradounian, Yeghisheh Andonian, and Ara Koyounian—was very low across the district. They only captured the majority of votes in Bourj Hammoud, as well as a high share in Mezher (37%), and 10% in Zalqa, Antelias, and Naccache. Generally, a higher share of Armenian Orthodox voters registered in a cadaster was associated with a higher share of votes for their representative candidates; this was mostly the case in the western border of the district. Just like with other sects, the votes went to one Armenian Orthodox candidate, Hagop Pakradounian. Ara Koyounian (Ramgavar, on the LF list) only won 1% of preferential votes in Bourj Hammoud, Masqa, and Wata Aamaret Chalhoub; and Yeghisheh Andonian (independent on the Kataeb list) only won 1% in Bourj Hammoud, Bياقوت, Kfartay, and Mezher. All of the three Armenian Orthodox candidates heavily relied on the Bourj Hammoud vote: Hagop Pakradounian won 5,414 votes in Bourj Hammoud (out of the 6,835 votes he received among residents), Ara Koyounian won 108 votes (out of the 146 votes he received among residents), and Yeghisheh Andonian won 89 votes (out of the 157 votes he received among residents).

### The share of votes for co-sectarian candidates was higher in more homogeneous cadasters

Apart from preferences for specific candidates, intra-sect geographic variations in co-sectarian preferences are partially explained by the level of confessional homogeneity in a cadaster. In Metn, the percentage of votes for co-confessional candidates tended to increase as the level of confessional homogeneity in a cadaster increased. While on average 55% of voters in the most confessionally mixed cadasters voted for a co-confessional candidate, that rate steadily increased until reaching an average of 70% in the most homogeneous cadasters. This relationship is statistically significant even after controlling for voters' gender, confession, and level of economic development in the cadaster, and may point at sectarian parties' higher capacity to mobilize voters in more homogeneous areas, or to a stronger sectarian identity of voters in more homogeneous places.

**Figure 12** Sectarian homogeneity by cadaster and percentage of votes for co-sectarian candidates in Metn



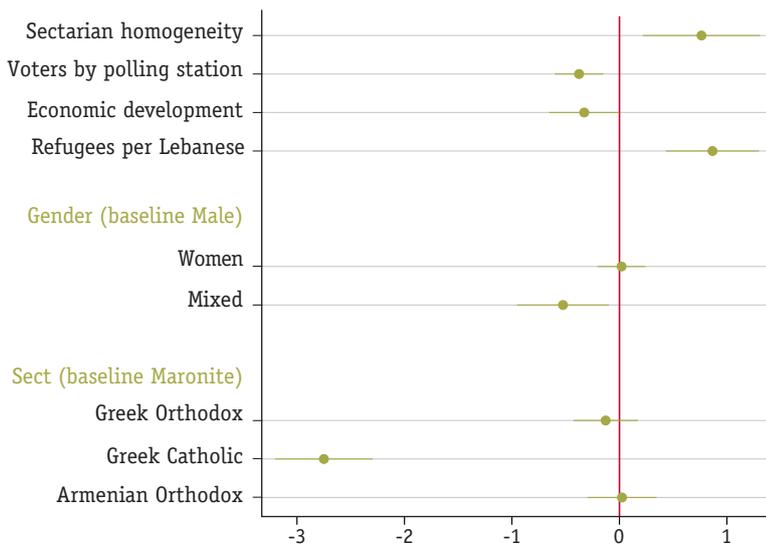
### What are the drivers of votes for co-sectarian candidates?

Across cadasters, as mentioned above, voters in more homogeneous cadasters were significantly more likely to cast a confessional vote, which might be due to sectarian parties' higher capacity to mobilize voters in more homogeneous areas or due to a stronger sectarian identity of voters in more homogeneous places. Other geographical factors that affected voters' preferences for co-sectarian candidates were the level of economic development and concentration of refugees in a cadaster. Lower levels of economic development in a cadaster were

associated with a higher share of votes for co-sectarian candidates. This might suggest sectarian parties' higher ability to mobilize their constituents in less developed areas, through, for example, vote buying. Moreover, a higher concentration of refugees in a cadaster was associated with a higher share of votes for co-sectarian candidates. Across polling stations, voters registered in smaller polling stations were more likely to vote for a co-sectarian candidate. This could point toward sectarian parties' higher interest in mobilizing the votes in smaller stations, as the smaller number of voters facilitates monitoring of their behavior.

Maronite, Armenian Orthodox, and Greek Orthodox voters were the most likely to cast a sectarian vote, with no significant variations between them. Conversely, Greek Catholic voters were significantly less likely to vote for a co-sectarian candidate.

Figure 13 Drivers of votes for co-sectarian candidates in Metn



## V How did women candidates perform?

Nine women candidates ran in Metn, out of the 35 candidates, and they obtained 4.5% of preferential votes (3,968 votes). There were only six Maronite and three Greek Orthodox women candidates, with no woman running for the Greek Catholic or Armenian Orthodox seats.

In contrast to many districts, all lists in Metn included at least one woman. The LF list had three: Jessica Azar (Greek Orthodox, 1,030 votes), Gisele Hachem Zard (Maronite, 185 votes), and Lina Moukheiber (Greek Orthodox, 178 votes). Kulluna Watani and the Kataeb list had two each: The women candidates in Kulluna Watani were Victoria El-Khoury Zwein (Maronite, 780 votes) and Nadine Moussa (Maronite, 394 votes); and those in the Kataeb list were Nada Ghorayeb Zaarour (Maronite, 242 votes) and Violette Ghazal (Greek

Orthodox, 178 votes). Finally, the FPM-Tashnag and Murr's lists had one woman candidate, each: Corinne El Achkar (Maronite, 696 votes) and Najwa Azar (Maronite, 285 votes), respectively.

### Women were more likely to vote for women candidates

By gender, women voters voted more for women candidates: 5% of women (1,765 voters) chose a woman, while 4% of men (1,358 voters) did so. Voters in stations that had both men and women registered gave 5% of their vote to women candidates (697 voters). Variations across genders are statistically significant, even after controlling for characteristics of the cadasters voters were registered in, such as level of economic development and confessional fragmentation, as well as voters' confession.

Moreover, all women candidates received a higher share of their votes from women than they did from men voters. The only exception was Jessica Azar, who obtained a slightly higher number of votes from men (414 votes) than from women (405 votes). Compared to men, women voters showed particularly higher support for Victoria El-Khoury (424 votes, compared to 224 from men) and Nadine Moussa (208 votes, compared to 109), whose votes were nearly double among women voters. Although she won a low number of votes, Lina Moukheiber received a much higher share from women (100 votes, compared to 59 from men).

**Table 6 Number and percentage of votes for each woman candidate by gender in Metn**

List	LF	Kulluna Watani				FPM-Tashnag	Michel Murr	Kataeb	
		Gisele Hachem Zard	Lina Moukheiber	Victoria El-Khoury Zwein	Nadine Moussa	Corinne El Achkar	Najwa Azar	Nada Ghorayeb Zaarour	Violette Ghazal
Men	414	73	59	224	109	192	130	85	72
Women	405	95	100	424	208	209	143	99	82
Mixed gender	161	11	17	104	55	272	10	50	17
Share of votes									
Men	1.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.6%	0.3%	0.6%	0.4%	0.2%	0.2%
Women	1.1%	0.3%	0.3%	1.2%	0.6%	0.6%	0.4%	0.3%	0.2%
Mixed gender	1.2%	0.1%	0.1%	0.7%	0.4%	2.0%	0.1%	0.4%	0.1%

Note Percentages have been rounded up.

### Support for women candidates varied across confessional groups

The percentage of votes cast for women candidates varied across confessional groups.

The highest share was among Christian minorities (7%) followed by Maronites (6%) and Sunnis (5%). The percentage varied between 2% and 3% among other groups, with the lowest being among

Greek Orthodox voters (2%). In stations that had more than one confessional group registered to vote, 4% voted for a woman candidate. Apart from these percentages, as the number of votes cast by each confessional group were unequal, the highest number of votes obtained by women candidates in Metn came from mixed stations (1,973 votes) and Maronite ones (1,349 votes). They were followed, although by far, by Armenian Orthodox (157 votes) and Greek Orthodox polling stations (121 votes). Women candidates obtained a total of 220 votes from other sectarian groups.

**Table 7** Number and percentage of votes for women candidates by confessional group in Metn

	Number of votes	Share of votes
Maronite	1,349	6%
Armenian Orthodox	157	3%
Greek Orthodox	121	2%
Greek Catholic	72	3%
Armenian Catholic	37	3%
Christian minorities	81	7%
Shia	21	2%
Sunni	9	5%
Mixed confession	1,973	4%

Note Percentages have been rounded up.

Support for specific women candidates varied across confessional groups, although Jessica Azar and Victoria El-Khoury Zwein generally performed better among all confessional groups. Most Maronite voters chose Jessica Azar and Corinne El Achkar (257 votes and 258 votes, 1% each), followed by Victoria El-Khoury Zwein (230 votes, 1%). Jessica Azar was the preferred woman among Greek Orthodox (56 votes), Armenian Orthodox (50 votes), Greek Catholics (22 votes), and Christian minorities (34 votes), and was closely followed by Victoria El-Khoury Zwein among Armenian Orthodox and Greek Catholics (48 and 21 votes, respectively). Among the Greek Orthodox voters who did not vote for Azar, most chose El-Khoury Zwein (25 votes) and Nadine Moussa (17 votes). Moussa also ranked third among Armenian Orthodox voters (23 votes). Among minority groups, El-Khoury Zwein was the most successful woman candidate among Armenian Catholic (19 votes), Shia, and Sunni voters (only seven and five votes, respectively).

Most of the votes received by Gisele Hachem Zard, Lina Moukheiber, Najwa Azar, and Nada Ghorayeb Zaarour came from Maronite voters or those in mixed stations. The last woman candidate, Violette Ghazal, won some of her votes—although very low numbers—from Armenian

Orthodox and Christian minorities (16 and 14 votes), and was the woman candidate who ranked last among Maronite voters.

**Table 8 Number of votes for each woman candidate by confessional group in Metn**

List	LF	Kulluna Watani				FPM-Tashnag	Michel Murr	Kataeb	
Candidate	Jessica Azar	Gisele Hachem Zard	Lina Moukheiber	Victoria El-Khoury Zwein	Nadine Moussa	Corinne El Achkar	Najwa Azar	Nada Ghorayeb Zaarour	Violette Ghazal
Maronite	257	105	75	230	123	258	153	106	42
Armenian Orthodox	50	0	2	48	23	11	5	2	16
Greek Orthodox	56	2	5	25	17	5	2	1	8
Greek Catholic	22	0	7	21	8	4	1	2	7
Armenian Catholic	6	3	0	19	6	1	0	1	1
Christian minorities	34	1	0	14	8	8	1	1	14
Shia	4	0	0	7	3	0	0	2	5
Sunni	2	0	0	5	2	0	0	0	0
Mixed confession	549	68	87	383	182	386	121	119	78

Some of the differences in support for certain women candidates across confessional groups may be related to the geographical variations in their performance, as many of them received the most significant share of their votes from one cadaster or two, in which voters from specific confessional groups were registered.

#### **The performance of each woman candidate varied across cadasters**

Across geographical areas, Corinne El Achkar (FPM-Tashnag list) received the vast majority of her votes from voters in the neighboring Dbayeh and Zouk El-Kharab cadasters, where she ranked first. She won 232 votes in Dbayeh (20% of preferential votes) and 132 votes in Zouk El-Kharab (18%). Her success in Dbayeh may be related to the fact that she is the president of the Dbayeh international festival, as well as the daughter of the president of the municipality of Dbayeh.

Najwa Azar, running on Murr's list, obtained the majority of her votes from voters in Aintoura (167 votes), the municipality her father had been president of for 40 years. In fact, she won 8% of preferential votes there, receiving more than Michel Murr himself (3%), a high number compared to the 0.3% she won in Metn overall.

On the LF list, Jessica Azar, who was the most successful woman candidate in Metn, did not rely on one specific cadaster. Her highest share was in Sinn El-Fil (166 votes, 4%), followed by Bourj Hammoud (134 votes, 1%), and Baouchriyeh (113 votes). She also won 3% in Jouret El-Ballout, Ain El-Qabou, Mzakkeh, and Bnabil—which only total 32 votes.

Gisele Hachem Zard received over half of her votes from voters in Jal El-Dib alone (104 out of the 179 votes she received among residents). This also represents 5% of preferential votes in the cadaster, the highest share she won across the district.

As for Lina Moukheiber, she won 5% of preferential votes in Beit Mery, her hometown. These represent 77 of the 176 votes she won among residents.

On the Kataeb list, Nada Ghorayeb Zaarour (Green party) managed to win 10% of preferential votes in Qornet Chahwan, representing 54 votes, her highest number in a cadaster. The second woman on the list, Violette Ghazal, did not win a high share of her votes in any cadaster, and her highest number came from Bourj Hammoud (55 votes, while in all other cadasters, she won 11 votes or less).

In the Kulluna Watani list, Victoria El-Khoury Zwein won her highest number of votes in Sinn El-Fil (152 votes, 3%), the municipality she was elected as municipal counselor of in both 2004 and 2016. Similar to most candidates, she won a high share of her votes from voters in Bourj Hammoud (110 votes). While she managed to win between 2% and 3% of votes in Airoun, Zabbougha, and Fraikeh, these total less than 30 votes.

As seen above, most of the votes received by Corinne El Achkar, Gisele Hachem Zard, Lina Moukheiber, Najwa Azar, and Nada Ghorayeb Zaarour came from Maronite voters or those in mixed stations. This is explained by geographical factors rather than Maronite voters' general support for these candidates. In the cadasters each of these candidates performed best, all of the polling stations were reserved for Maronite voters or serviced multiple confessional groups.

Apart from the votes received by each woman, some general factors seem to have affected their performance.

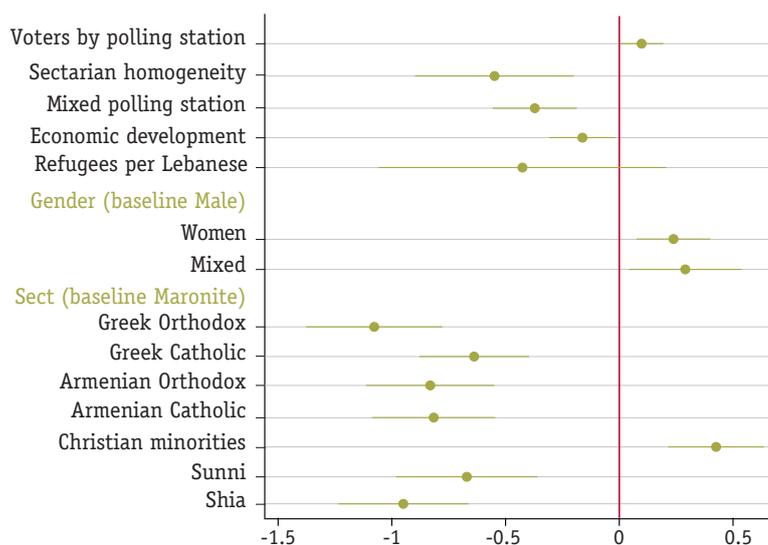
### What are the drivers of votes for women candidates?

Across cadasters, voters in more homogeneous cadasters were significantly less likely to vote for women candidates, and those in cadasters with higher levels of economic development were also less likely to vote for a woman. Women candidates generally performed better in larger polling stations, as well as those that had only one sect registered to vote.

Across genders and confessional groups, women voters were significantly more likely to cast their preferential vote for a woman candidate compared to men voters. Christian minorities, followed by Maronites, were the most likely to vote for a woman candidate. There were no significant variations among other groups, although Greek Orthodox and Shia voters were less likely to vote for a woman compared to others. As mentioned above, all women candidates were either Maronite or Greek Orthodox. Yet, despite having a co-sectarian

woman candidate to vote for, Greek Orthodox voters were the least likely to vote for a woman. This might, however, be due to the fact that this community tended to vote for Michel Murr, the Greek Orthodox leader in the district.

Figure 14 Drivers of votes for women candidates in Metn



## VI How did emerging political groups perform?

Kulluna Watani, the list formed by emerging and independent political groups, won 6% of votes (5,027 votes) in Metn. The list received a much higher share of votes among diaspora voters (285 votes, 10%) compared to resident voters (4,742 votes, 5%).

Kulluna Watani fielded four Maronite, one Greek Orthodox, and one Greek Catholic candidate. The Maronite candidates were Victoria El-Khoury Zwein (780 votes), Emile Kanaan (457 votes), Nadine Moussa (394 votes), and Adib Tohme (326 votes); the Greek Orthodox candidate was George Rahbani (175 votes); and the Greek Catholic candidate was Charbel Nahas (2,680 votes). The list did not have a candidate running for the Armenian Orthodox or the second Greek Orthodox seat.

Over half of the votes obtained by Kulluna Watani went to Charbel Nahas—2,680 out of the 5,027 votes received by the list. This higher support for Nahas can be explained by the fact that he is a well-known politician: He served as Minister of Telecommunications and Minister of Labor between 2009 and 2012, when he resigned. In 2016, Nahas formed a new independent and secular political party, 'Mouwatinoun wa Mouwatinat fi Dawla' (Citizens in a State). Nahas also received much higher support from the diaspora compared to the other candidates in the list (174 votes, 6%), as all the others won less than 30 votes from emigrants. The strong performance of Victoria El-

Khoury Zwein, the second-ranking candidate in the list, may also be partly explained by the fact that she is better known than the other candidates in the list. She was elected to the municipal council of Sinn El-Fil twice (2004 and 2016), and is one of the founders of the independent party Saba'a, formed in 2016.

### Women were more likely to vote for Kulluna Watani and the women candidates in the list

Across genders, women were more likely to vote for Kulluna Watani, with 6% of women voters voting for the list (2,225 votes), compared to 5% of men (1,804 votes). In polling stations that had both men and women registered to vote, 5% voted for the list (696 votes). Both genders voted mostly for Charbel Nahas (1,013 men and 1,096 women). However, women voters showed higher support for the women candidates in the list. Victoria El-Khoury Zwein obtained 424 votes from women, compared to 224 from men, and Nadine Moussa obtained 208 from women, compared to 109 from men. Overall, 30% of women who voted for a Kulluna Watani candidate chose one of the women candidates, while 19% of men did so. The much higher support for the two women candidates among women voters could be explained by their experience as women's rights advocates. Victoria El-Khoury Zwein is one of the founders of 'Women in Parliament', a coalition launched in 2012 which aims to support women reach decision-making positions in politics. Nadine Moussa founded the 'National Committee for Women's Empowerment' in 2004, an organization which provides legal advice to Lebanese women elected to public office. Moreover, as coordinator of the Bar Association Committee for Family Affairs (2009-2010), Moussa proposed amendments to laws pertaining to women's rights, among other issues.

Regarding the other candidates, both Adib Tohme and George Rahbani received a higher number of votes from women (148 votes and 81 votes, respectively) than they did from men (103 and 65 votes, respectively). Emile Kanaan was the only Kulluna Watani candidate who was more successful among men voters (211 votes, compared to 176 votes from women).

**Table 9 Number and percentage of votes for Kulluna Watani and its candidates by gender in Metn**

		Kulluna Watani	Charbel Nahas	Victoria El-Khoury Zwein	Emile Kanaan	Nadine Moussa	Adib Tohme	George Rahbani
Number of votes	Men	1,804	1,013	224	211	109	103	65
	Women	2,225	1,096	424	176	208	148	81
	Mixed gender	696	381	104	51	55	60	17
Share of votes	Men	5.1%	2.9%	0.6%	0.6%	0.3%	0.3%	0.2%
	Women	6.0%	3.0%	1.2%	0.5%	0.6%	0.4%	0.2%
	Mixed gender	4.9%	2.7%	0.7%	0.4%	0.4%	0.4%	0.1%

Note Percentages have been rounded up.

### Support for Kulluna Watani varied across confessional groups

Sunni voters were significantly more likely to vote for Kulluna Watani compared to other groups (9%), while Shia voters were significantly less likely (slightly less than 4%). However, as there was a low number of Sunni voters in Metn, this percentage represents only 19 votes. All the other confessional groups gave between 5% and 6% of their votes to the list, with the highest being among Greek Catholics (6%).

In terms of number of votes, Kulluna Watani obtained most of its votes from voters in mixed stations (2,545 votes), while the second highest share came from Maronite stations (1,344 votes). Most of the remainder came from Armenian Orthodox (269 votes), Greek Orthodox (252), and Greek Catholic voters (137 votes), with less than 200 combined coming from Armenian Catholics, Christian minorities, Shias, and Sunnis.

**Table 10 Number and percentage of votes for Kulluna Watani by confessional group in Metn**

	Number of votes	Share of votes
Maronite	1,344	5.7%
Armenian Orthodox	269	4.7%
Greek Orthodox	252	4.6%
Greek Catholic	137	6.1%
Armenian Catholic	65	5.3%
Christian minorities	63	5.2%
Shia	31	3.6%
Sunni	19	8.9%
Mixed confession	2,545	5.5%

Note Percentages have been rounded up.

Regarding support for specific candidates in the list, Charbel Nahas won the majority of the votes cast for Kulluna Watani among nearly all confessional groups. Overall, Nahas received over 2% of each confessional group's vote. Similar to all candidates in the list, the majority of his votes came from mixed stations, although his share was much higher (1,418 votes, 57% of his votes, came from mixed stations). Nahas was particularly more successful among Armenian Orthodox and Greek Orthodox voters who voted for a Kulluna Watani candidate (147 votes and 146 votes, respectively). The second preferred candidate among most groups was Victoria El-Khoury Zwein. The only exception was among Greek Orthodox voters, who voted slightly more for George Rahbani, their co-confessional candidate (32 votes, compared to 25 for El-Khoury Zwein). Emile Kanaan was most successful among Maronite voters, and received a relatively higher share of his votes from Maronites than he did from other groups (167 votes). Adib Tohme, who ranked fifth in the list, also received relatively higher support from the Maronite community (116 of his votes). Among the few remaining voters from other confessional groups, Nadine Moussa ranked third among Armenian Orthodox (23 votes), Christian minorities, Armenian Catholic, and Shia voters (17 votes in total). George Rahbani, who ranked last in the list, received relatively higher support from the Greek Orthodox community (32 votes, representing one fifth of his total votes). Rahbani obtained a much lower number of votes than the other candidates among Maronite and Armenian Orthodox voters (28 and five votes, respectively).

**Table 11 Number and percentage of votes for Kulluna Watani candidates by confessional group in Metn**

	Charbel Nahas	Victoria El-Khoury Zwein	Emile Kanaan	Nadine Moussa	Adib Tohme	George Rahbani	
Number of votes	Maronite	628	230	167	123	28	
	Armenian Orthodox	147	48	12	23	5	
	Greek Orthodox	146	25	11	17	13	32
	Greek Catholic	67	21	16	8	6	14
	Armenian Catholic	33	19	2	6	3	0
	Christian minorities	27	14	4	8	4	2
	Shia	17	7	1	3	0	0
	Sunni	7	5	0	2	2	2
	Mixed confession	1,418	383	225	182	151	80
Share of votes	Maronite	2.7%	1.0%	0.7%	0.5%	0.5%	0.1%
	Armenian Orthodox	2.7%	0.9%	0.2%	0.4%	0.3%	0.1%
	Greek Orthodox	2.7%	0.5%	0.2%	0.3%	0.2%	0.6%
	Greek Catholic	3.0%	0.9%	0.7%	0.4%	0.3%	0.6%
	Armenian Catholic	2.8%	1.6%	0.2%	0.5%	0.3%	0.0%
	Christian minorities	2.3%	1.2%	0.3%	0.7%	0.3%	0.2%
	Shia	2.0%	0.8%	0.1%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%
	Sunni	3.5%	2.5%	0.0%	1.0%	1.0%	1.0%
	Mixed confession	3.1%	0.8%	0.5%	0.4%	0.3%	0.2%

Note Percentages have been rounded up.

### There were large geographical variations in the votes received by Kulluna Watani

While Kulluna Watani received less than five votes in 12 cadasters, it won over 100 in others. The list received over 10% of votes in El-Machrah (18%), Naccache (13%), Kfar Aaqab, and Rabieh (11% each). It also won 9% in Fraikeh, Baabdat, Beit El-Koukko, Zaraaoun, Ain Aar, and Kfartay. However, all of these percentages in these 10 cadasters translate into only 371 votes.

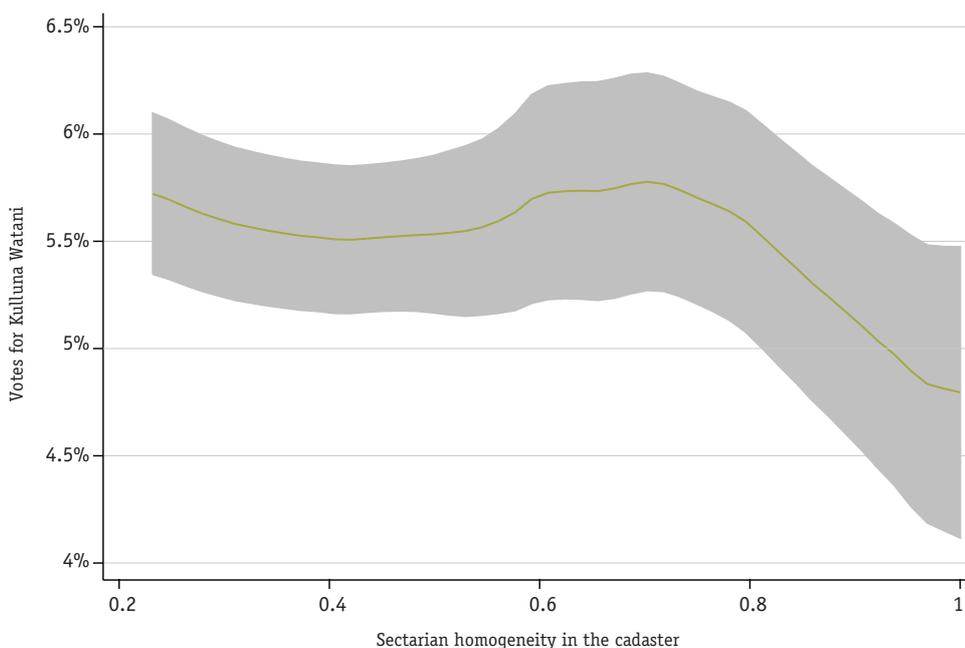
Similar to many lists and candidates, Kulluna Watani received most of its votes from the larger cadasters. The highest numbers were in Bourj Hammoud (559 votes, 5%), Baouchriyeh (402 votes, 6%), and Sinn El-Fil (309 votes, 7%). The list received between 100 and 200 votes in Beit Chabab, Jdaidet El-Matn, Mtein, Broummana (8% in each), Antelias (7%), Jal El-Dib, Choueir, Bikfaya (6% in each), Baskinta, and Bteghrine (4% in both).

Among the candidates, Charbel Nahas was more successful than the other Kulluna Watani candidates in nearly all cadasters. He received a high share of votes in El-Machrah (18%, although only 10 votes) and Naccache (41 votes, 10%). Victoria El-Khoury Zwein won her highest

share of votes in Sinn El-Fil (152 votes, 3%), followed by Airoun (only 10 votes, 3%). Sinn El-Fil was the cadaster in which she performed significantly better than the other candidates in her list. Emile Kanaan’s highest share of votes was in Jdaidet El-Matn (70 votes, 3%), which was also the cadaster where he was particularly more successful than all other candidates on his list. Nadine Moussa, the fourth candidate, won her highest share in Rabieh (16 votes, 3%), and less than 2% in all other cadasters. Adib Tohme was most successful in Qornet El-Hamra (33 votes, 5%), winning less than 2% in all other cadasters. Qornet El-Hamra was also the only cadaster where Tohme received a significantly higher share of votes than other candidates in his list. Finally, George Rahbani only won a maximum of 2% of votes in Choueir (42 votes) and Ain El-Sindiane (six votes).

Beyond the performance of the list in specific cadasters, some factors affected its performance. First, Kulluna Watani generally performed slightly better in more heterogeneous cadasters with, on average, its percentage of votes decreasing from 6% in the most heterogeneous cadasters to slightly less than 5% in the most homogeneous ones. However, after controlling for other characteristics of the cadasters, as well as voters’ confession and gender, this relationship was not statistically significant, meaning that it may be driven by other factors.

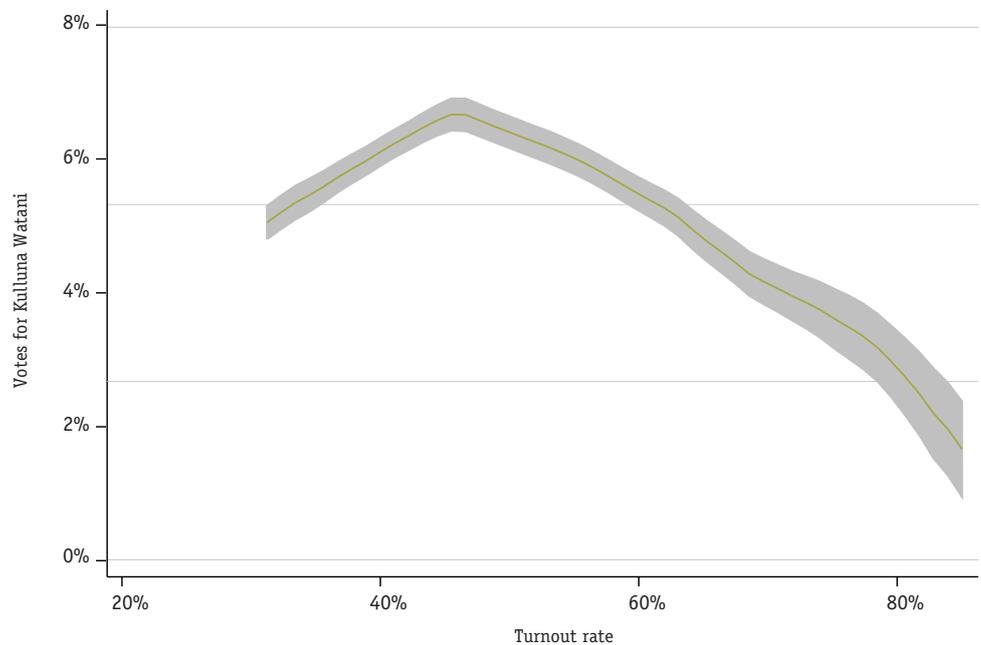
**Figure 15** Sectarian homogeneity by cadaster and percentage of votes for Kulluna Watani in Metn



One factor that significantly affected the performance of Kulluna Watani across cadasters was turnout rates. The lower the turnout in a

cadaster, the higher the percentage of votes received by the list. On average, Kulluna Watani received 6% of votes in the cadasters that had the lowest turnouts, a share that decreased to 2% in the cadasters that had the highest turnouts. This suggests that the list failed to mobilize voters, in contrast to the other party-led lists, or that the list tended to do better among voters who were not specifically targeted by political parties. Moreover, even specific polling stations with lower turnouts saw a higher share of votes go to the list. This relationship is statistically significant even after controlling for voters' and other geographical characteristics.

**Figure 16** Turnout by cadaster and percentage of votes for Kulluna Watani in Metn

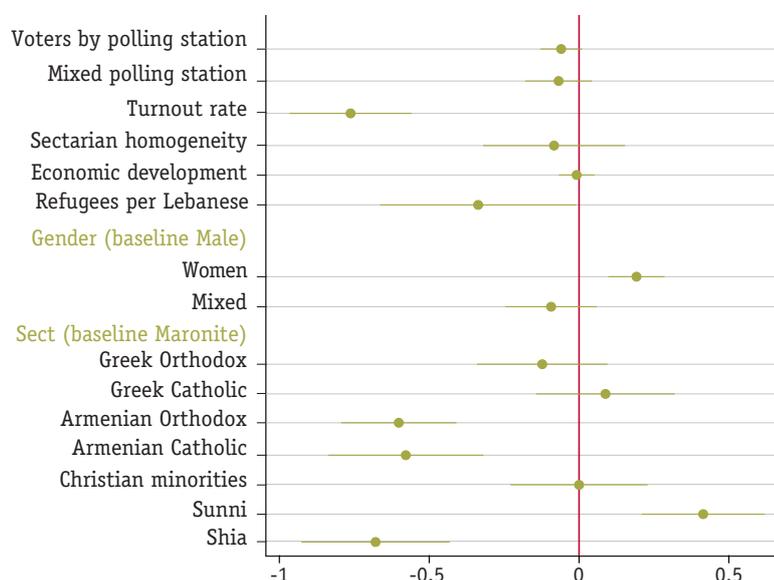


### What are the drivers of votes for Kulluna Watani?

Across polling stations, higher turnouts tended to damage Kulluna Watani's results. This could suggest that the list failed to mobilize voters compared to other party-led lists. The list's share of votes also tended to be slightly higher in smaller polling stations.

Regarding voters' individual characteristics, even after controlling for geographical and polling station characteristics, women voters were significantly more likely to vote for Kulluna Watani, compared to men voters. Across confessional groups, Sunnis were the most likely to vote for the list while Shias, followed by Armenian Orthodox and Armenian Catholics, were the least likely to do so. In between were Greek Catholics, Maronites, Christian minorities, and Greek Orthodox voters.

Figure 17 Drivers of votes for Kulluna Watani in Metn



## VII Were there any signs of irregularities?

Irregularities can occur prior to and during the election process, through ballot stuffing that either increases the total number of votes or adds votes for one party at the expense of another. Fraud can also occur during the vote aggregation process when there is collusion between certain candidates—usually the more politically connected ones—and election officials. Voter rigging, or pressuring voters to cast ballots in a certain manner, tends to occur more in small polling stations, where it is easier to monitor voters' behavior. Therefore, testing whether turnout was abnormally high in smaller voting centers can help approximate whether there was voter rigging or not. Another method of detecting signs of election fraud is by examining the distribution of turnout and vote numbers and testing whether they have a 'normal' shape. For example, an abnormally high number of voting centers with close to 100% turnout could suggest either voter or vote rigging at any stage of the election process. Other lines of research focus on statistical tests that examine the random nature of numbers to test whether numbers were manipulated in a non-random manner.

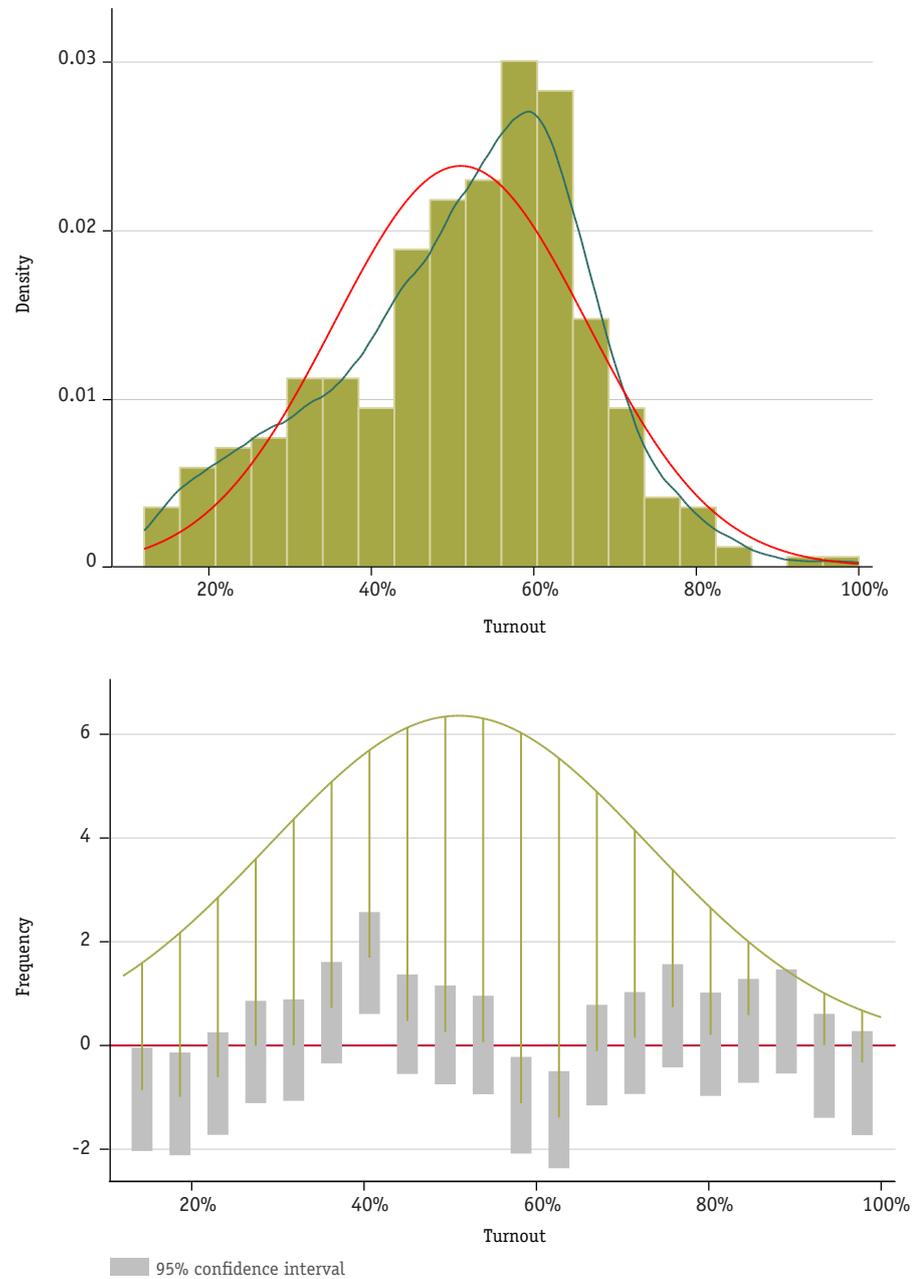
### There are some irregular patterns in the distribution of turnouts

Turnout usually has a 'normal' shape, with the majority of electoral centers having turnouts close to the average and a small number of centers having very high or very low turnout rates. The average turnout rates across the 359 polling stations in Metn was 50%, ranging from 12% to 85%, with one station seeing a 100% turnout.<sup>20</sup> Compared to a normal distribution, there was a higher number than

<sup>20</sup> Here we exclude polling stations that had public employees registered to vote, as well as those abroad.

expected of low turnout centers (below 30%), and a higher number than expected of mid-high turnout centers (50%-70%). There was also a lower number than expected of mid-low turnout centers (30%-50%). When comparing the actual distribution with the normal distribution, the differences are statistically significant. Behind this pattern, potential irregularities could have taken place, such as voter or vote rigging.

**Figure 18** Distribution of turnout rates by polling stations in Metn



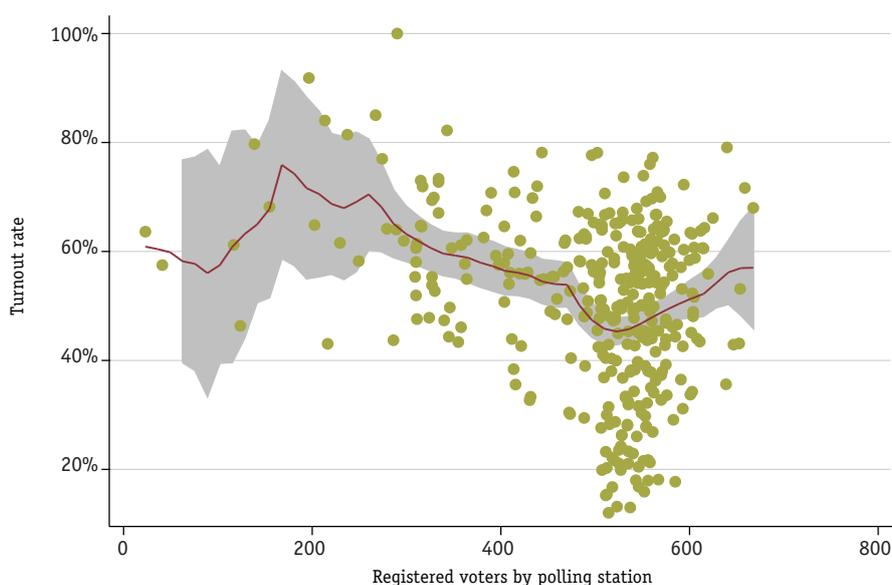
### There are signs of voter rigging in Metn

Voter rigging entails political parties pressuring or coercing voters with the intended aim of affecting turnout. The literature on election irregularities distinguishes vote from voter rigging, as coercion is not apparent in the latter case. However, there are some ways to detect potential instances of voter rigging through statistical tests. One way to test for voter rigging is by examining the correlation between turnouts and the size of a polling station. Previous evidence shows that polling stations with fewer voters are more attractive among politicians buying votes or exerting some kind of pressure on voters, because smaller groups of voters facilitate aggregate monitoring of whether voters cast their ballots, and for whom.<sup>21</sup>

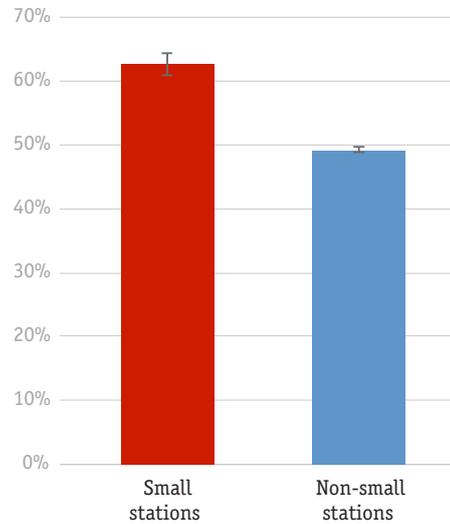
In Metn, the few centers with lower numbers of registered voters had much higher turnout rates, suggesting that politicians may have exerted pressure on voters to vote. On average, turnouts by polling station tended to decrease as the size of the polling station increased. While average turnout rates by polling station reached above 70% in the smallest stations, these tended to decrease until reaching less than 50% in the largest polling stations. Moreover, comparing small polling stations—those that had a number of voters lower than one standard deviation below the mean polling station size—to non-small ones shows that, on average, turnout in small polling stations was 14% higher than that in non-small ones (63% compared to 49%). These results might suggest voter mobilization through pressure to vote, such as vote buying.

21  
Rueda, M. R. 2016. 'Small Aggregates, Big Manipulation: Vote Buying Enforcement and Collective Monitoring.' *American Journal of Political Science*, 61(1): 163-177.

Figure 19 Polling station size and turnout rate in Metn



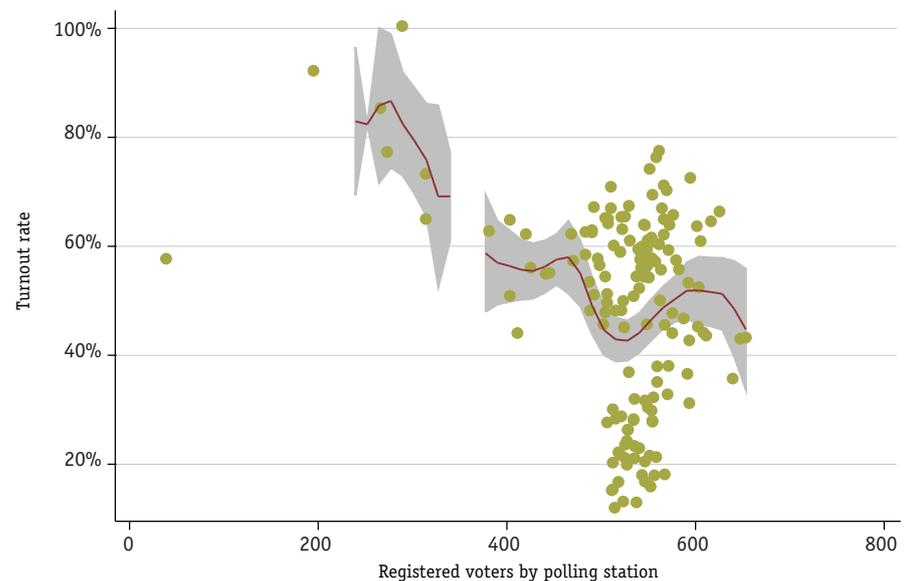
**Figure 20** Turnout in small polling stations compared to non-small ones in Metn



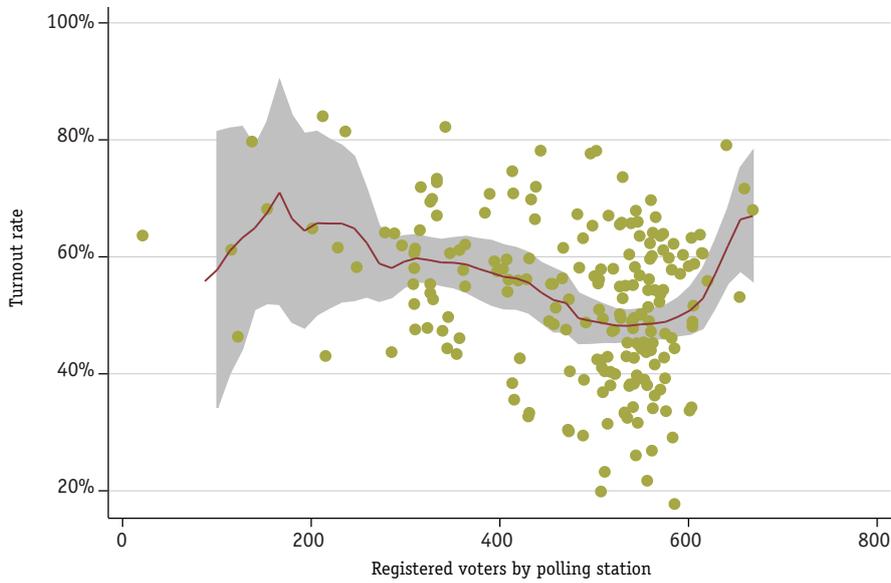
Given that registered voters were segregated by confession and gender, traditional political parties may have had a higher interest and ability to influence the choices of voters in polling stations that are small and those where voters are clustered by readily identifiable characteristics. In these centers, political parties had more incentives to buy votes, as voters in these stations would be easier to monitor. Comparing the relationship between the size of the polling station and turnouts across homogeneous and mixed stations shows a much stronger negative relationship in homogeneous stations.

**Figure 21** Polling station size and turnout rate by type of polling stations

**a Homogeneous stations**

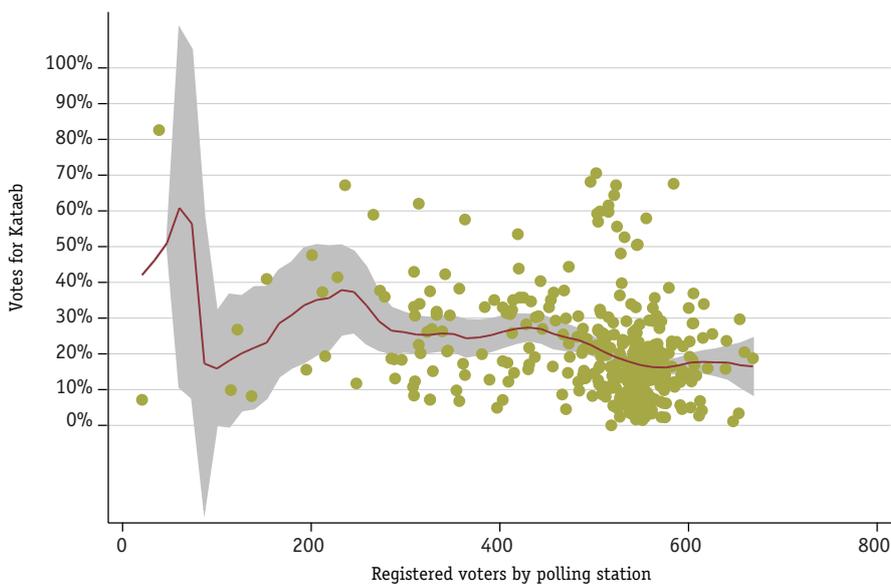


**b Mixed stations**



As there is a clear correlation between the size of the polling stations and turnouts, we can look at whether one specific list benefited from both smaller stations and higher turnouts. The Kataeb list seems to have benefited from smaller stations the most, with its average share of votes decreasing from nearly 40% in the smallest stations to less than 20% in the largest ones. No other list seems to have benefited from smaller stations. This provides initial evidence of voter rigging on the part of Kataeb.

**Figure 22** Polling station size and percentage of votes for the Kataeb list in Metn



22

Myagkov, M., P.C. Ordeshook, and D. Shakin. 2009. *The Forensics of Election Fraud*. Cambridge University Press.

### There are signs of fraud that benefited the Kataeb and Murr's list

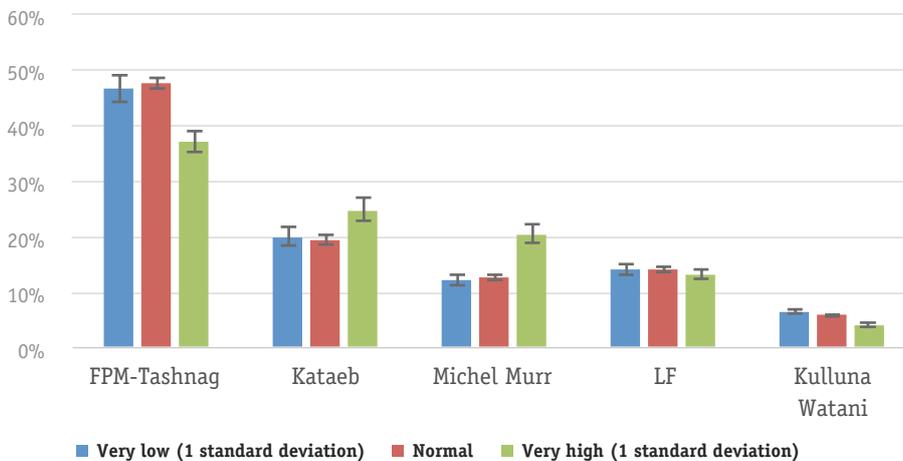
Normally, if there was a lack of pressure on voters to cast their ballots in a certain way, votes for each list should be more or less the similar regardless of turnouts across polling stations.<sup>22</sup> A higher share of votes for a list in stations with significantly high turnouts could be due to the list's higher capacity to mobilize its supporters, but could also suggest pressure to vote, or even ballot stuffing, as adding ballots for a list would increase both the votes for this list and turnouts in a polling station.

In order to take into consideration the differences in turnouts and votes for lists across sects, we created standardized variables of turnout rates and percentage of votes for each list. For any polling station, the standardized turnout rate would be the turnout rate in the specific polling station minus the average turnout rate of all polling stations with registered voters from the same confession, all divided by the variability (standard deviation) of the turnout rates in those stations. This measures how abnormally low or high the turnout in a polling station is compared to all other centers within the same sect. The standardized measures of share of votes for lists and parties follow the same procedure. In 'clean' elections, no clear relation should be observed between turnouts and votes for a list or party.

However, in Metn, both the Kataeb and Murr's lists obtained significantly better results in polling stations with abnormally high turnouts. The Kataeb list's share of votes was 6% higher in polling stations that had abnormally high turnouts, compared to those that had normal turnouts (25% compared to 19%); while Murr's list's share of votes in abnormally high turnout centers was 7% higher than it was in normal turnout centers (20% compared to 13%). Conversely, the FPM-Tashnag list and Kulluna Watani performed worse in very high turnout stations, with the FPM-Tashnag list's votes being 11% lower (48% compared to 37%) and Kulluna Watani's votes being 2% lower (6% compared to 4%) in very high turnout centers compared to centers with normal turnouts.

This suggests that there might have been some pressure or mobilization of voters through vote buying from the two most prominent candidates, Samy Gemayel and Michel Murr.

Figure 23 Percentage of votes for each list and standardized turnout rates in Metn



A list benefiting from very high turnouts could also suggest ballot stuffing, as adding ballots would increase both turnouts and votes for this list.

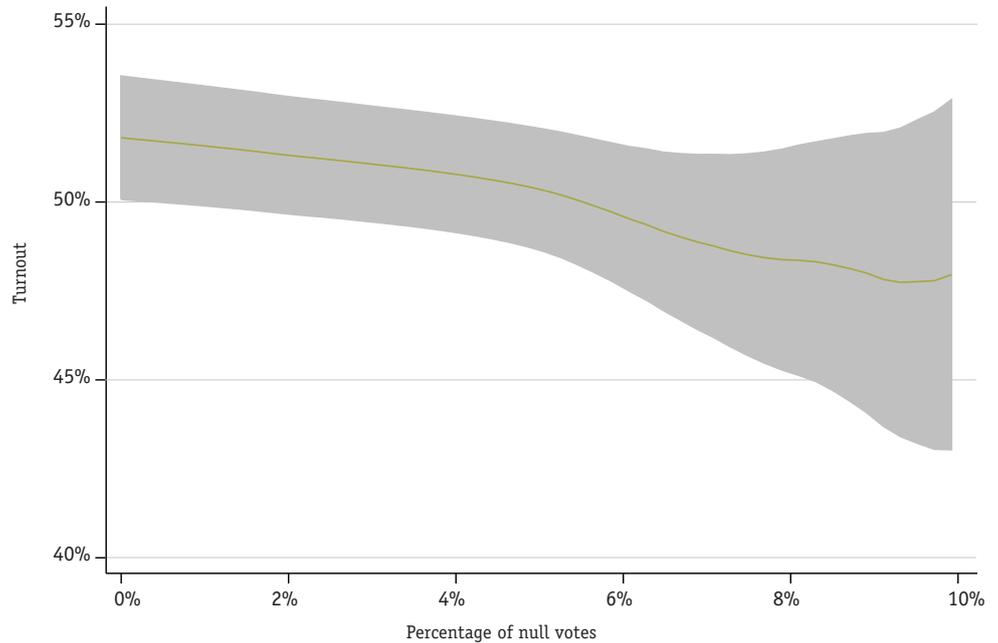
### There is no evidence of ballot stuffing in Metn

One method of detecting signs of ballot stuffing is to examine the correlation between the percentage of null votes and turnouts, as well as votes for a specific list, in a polling station. Previous evidence shows that when political parties add ballots, they tend to forget to include a similar proportion of invalid votes.<sup>23</sup> A lower percentage of invalid votes in a polling station, associated with a higher turnout and a higher percentage of votes for a list or party would suggest that ballots were added. However, a negative correlation is not enough to suggest ballot stuffing—as null votes could be ‘protest’ votes. Stronger evidence of ballot stuffing would be apparent in cases where the increase in the share of null votes is smaller than the decrease in the percentage of votes for a list or party.

In Metn, there was a minor negative relationship between the percentage of null votes and turnouts by polling station, with turnouts decreasing from 52% to 47% as the share of null votes per polling station increased from 0% to 10%. While this correlation was present, it is not significant enough to provide evidence of ballot stuffing.

23  
Friesen, P. 2019. ‘Strategic Ballot Removal: An Unexplored Form of Electoral Manipulation in Hybrid Regimes.’ *Democratization*, 26(4): 709-729.

Figure 24 Turnout and percentage of null votes by polling station in Metn



Even when looking at the relationship between the share of null votes by polling station and the percentage of votes received by each list, there are no signs of ballot stuffing.

### There are some minor signs of vote counting manipulations that benefited Murr's list

Another form of vote rigging would entail parties 'cooking' the numbers, i.e. parties manipulating the vote count either by adding or subtracting votes for a list, or 're-shuffling' votes within their list from one candidate to another. One way of detecting manipulations in the vote counting process is to look at the distribution of the last digits in votes for a party.<sup>24</sup> The last-digit test is based on the hypothesis that humans tend to be poor at making up numbers, which would result in an abnormal distribution of numbers at the aggregate level. In 'clean' elections, last digits in votes for a party should be uniformly distributed, with an equal chance of every number (from 0 to 9) to appear (10% chance).

Looking at the distribution of the last digits in the votes for each list<sup>25</sup> shows irregularities in the last digits of votes for Murr's list, while there were no irregularities in the votes for other lists. There was an over-counting of votes ending in two and four, and an under-counting of votes ending in eight and nine. These deviations from the uniform distribution may suggest manipulations in the vote count.

24

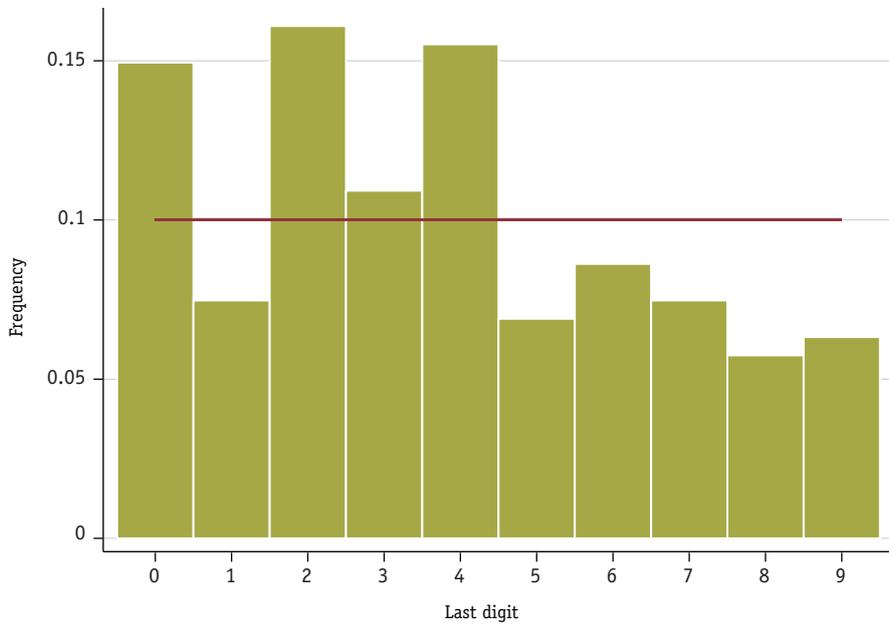
Beber, B. and A. Scacco. 2012. 'What the Numbers Say: A Digit-Based Test for Election Fraud.' *Political Analysis*, 20(2): 211-234.

25

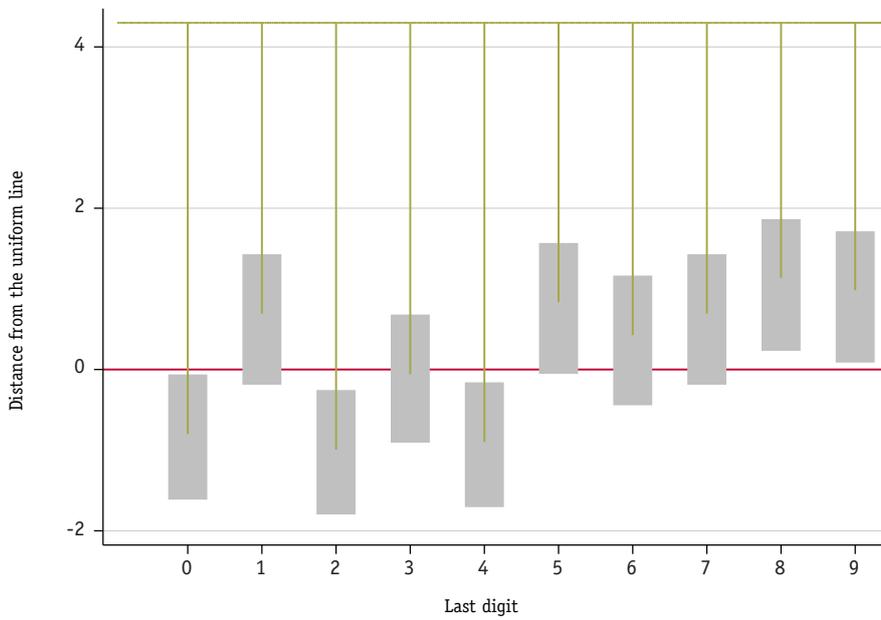
Here we restrict the sample of polling stations in which each list obtained at least 30 votes in order to avoid an over-counting of ones or zeros.

Figure 25 Distribution of last digits in the number of votes for Michel Murr's list

**a** Frequency of last digits in the number of votes for Michel Murr's list



**b** Distribution of last digits in the number of votes for Michel Murr's list compared to the uniform distribution



Overall, there are signs of irregularities in Metn on the part of Kataeb and Michel Murr

Turnout by polling station significantly decreased as the size of a polling station increased. Previous evidence shows that polling stations with fewer voters are more attractive for politicians buying votes as the smaller number of registered voters facilitates aggregate monitoring of their behavior—i.e. whether they turned out to vote, and for whom. In Metn, the Kataeb list performed much better in smaller stations, with its share of votes tending to decrease as the size of the polling station increased, which could suggest pressure to vote for the list.

Moreover, if there was a lack of pressure on voters, votes for each list should not significantly vary across turnouts by polling station. However, both the Kataeb and Michel Murr's lists obtained significantly better results in stations that had abnormally high turnouts.

Higher turnouts benefiting a list could also suggest ballot stuffing, as a party or list adding ballots would increase both turnouts and votes for the list in a given polling station. Signs of ballot stuffing can be detected when observing a negative relationship between the share of null votes and votes for a list in a polling station. There was no such relationship in Metn. Another way to test for ballot stuffing, and vote rigging more generally, is to look at the distribution in the last digits of votes for a list. Normally, if there was a lack of fraud, this distribution should be uniform, with each last digit having an equal chance of appearing. There is evidence that the last digits in the number of votes for Michel Murr's list deviated from the uniform distribution, which may suggest manipulations in the vote count.

Overall, there are some signs of voter rigging on the part of the Kataeb list, and signs of vote rigging on the part of Michel Murr's list.