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Editorial

Between Fakhreddine's millions and the Medicis

By Jawad N. Adra

For us, the Lebanese, Tuscany assumes particular significance not only for having ushered the Renaissance era in Europe, but because it was the chosen destination of the exiled Prince Fakhreddine II, from where he borrowed architectural features that remain evident in Lebanon today.

Researchers are still studying the origins of the Etruscans who settled before Christianity between the Arno and Tiber Rivers in an area that was later named after them, Tuscany.

Herodotus suggested that the Etruscans came from our homeland, north of Syria- modern day Turkey- a claim that was substantiated by the DNA results of 2007. This account becomes increasingly convincing when one checks the Etruscan carvings and artworks, which date back to that epoch. However, there is also a possibility that the Etruscans did not emigrate from any region but were actually a population indigenous to Tuscany, which adopted Florence as its capital city.

Like some of his modern day counterparts, Fakhreddine wanted to win foreign forces round to his cause. To that end, he attempted to persuade the Grand Duchy of Tuscany into "liberating" the lands from Ottoman domination, so he spent five years in exile in Tuscany and deposited in Monte Di Pietà bank an amount worth billions of dollars by today's market rates. Fakhreddine thought his money would eternalize him so he sent it off to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, which somehow managed to confiscate the funds.

The Medicis who ruled Florence from 1434 till 1737 were neither known for their justice nor for their democratic rule or empathy towards the poor. Nevertheless, they left both a cultural and artistic legacy that has afforded them and Tuscany an everlasting reputation.

Notwithstanding their importance, the credit does not go entirely to the Medicis, for Tuscany was also home to Dante (1265-1321) who laid the cornerstone for the Italian language and standardized it as a language for all; prior to which Latin had been considered a language reserved for the elite. Part of the credit goes equally to Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374) who rediscovered Cicero's letters, left the monkhood, fell in love with Laura and wrote her letters

that were all the rage across Europe. Before becoming the miserable spot it is today, our homeland had once exported through the Franks (Crusaders) art and science to the outer world, which contributed to the birth of humanism. In that land, modern-day Italy, the people witnessed the glory and power of Rome, its democracy and the republics that arose under the city-states.

Humanism, a movement of which Petrarca was a founding father and which resurrected the non-theistic, non-totalitarian traditions that the Church had tried to erase, planted the seeds of Renaissance in Florence. Following the Black Death epidemic, there arose several demographic changes and trade opportunities that opened conducive economic, social and humanist horizons that granted the Medici's the nurturing environment they needed.

Apparently, the Medicis had something that the Zua'ama and the affluent of Lebanon, starting with Fakhreddine, lacked. Fakhreddine fled to Florence taking the money of his people with him (the Lebanon, Syria and Palestine today) but none of his successors could recover it. Today, the rich of Lebanon seem to be walking down the same road. This man was rendered a symbol. But a symbol of what? What is his legacy? The Medicis embraced art, science and architecture. What did Fakhreddine and the rich of Lebanon embrace?

Despite their alliance with the Pope, the Medicis granted Galileo (1564-1642) refuge when he had angered the Church. It was in Florence that Michelangelo, Botticelli and Leonardo da Vinci made their enduring innovations and the works of Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446) who built the Dome of the Santa Maria del Fiore Cathedral, launching a magnificent style of architecture that brought back the glory of Rome, can be found. What did Fakhreddine and the rich of Lebanon launch?

The Medicis, in their early days, bore resemblance to some of Lebanon's bankers and politicians. They descended from somehow modest families and worked in business and trade. They were originally bankers and then decided to go to politics. They bought consciences and engaged in the game of power; they killed and were killed; they allied with the Church, called on Jesus and Mary to rescue them and

hoarded piles of money. Nevertheless, they helped trigger the Renaissance in Europe and constructed the Laurentian Library, a repository of thousands of manuscripts which was designed by Michelangelo. They invested in science and art- sculpture, painting and music. What did Fakhreddine and the rich of Lebanon invest in?

There are no known heirs of the Medicis today. Yet, the Mona Lisa, the Statue of David, the Alduomo Dome and the Medici gardens attest to their legacy. In 1471, Lorenzo Medici calculated that since 1434 his family had spent some 663,000 florins (about USD 460 million today) on charity, buildings and taxes. He wrote: "I do not regret this for though many would consider it better to have a part of that sum in their purse, I consider it to have been a great honor to our state, and I think the money was well-expended and I am well-pleased."

In 1616, Fakhreddine II deposited in Monte Di Pietà funds worth roughly USD 111 million by today's standards. A century later, when his inheritor, Prince Haidar, claimed the sum amounting at the time to USD 655 million after calculating the interest, the bank declined to release it arguing that Fakhreddine was indebted to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and his heirs should not forget that the Prince had been exiled there for five years.

The Medici family spent USD 450 million to assist in projects and endeavors that propelled the Renaissance. How did the rich of Lebanon and Fakhreddine spend the funds looted from the people?

There, Fakhreddine learned that there were funds assigned to the Sultan and funds to the state. Ahmad al-Khalidi al-Safadi, one of Fakhreddine's contemporaries who recounted the Prince's life, says:

"From grains and flour, they collected the usual for the Sultan and the usual for the state, as the state had a share on its own. Whatever was sold of the crops, such as wine or others, they would tax it. The city's money was kept in separate records and accounts and was spent on fences, roads and bridges."

There, Fakhreddine discovered that the roads and bridges were maintained. ".. As for their roads, they are organized... and every road has people to look after it."

There, Fakhreddine realized that citizens had access to health insurance. "..In Florence, as well as in other cities, there were 'Bimaristans' (hospitals/clinics) for the sick.

Whatever the sick needed, even if they were the most humble of people, physicians were there to help without them paying a penny."

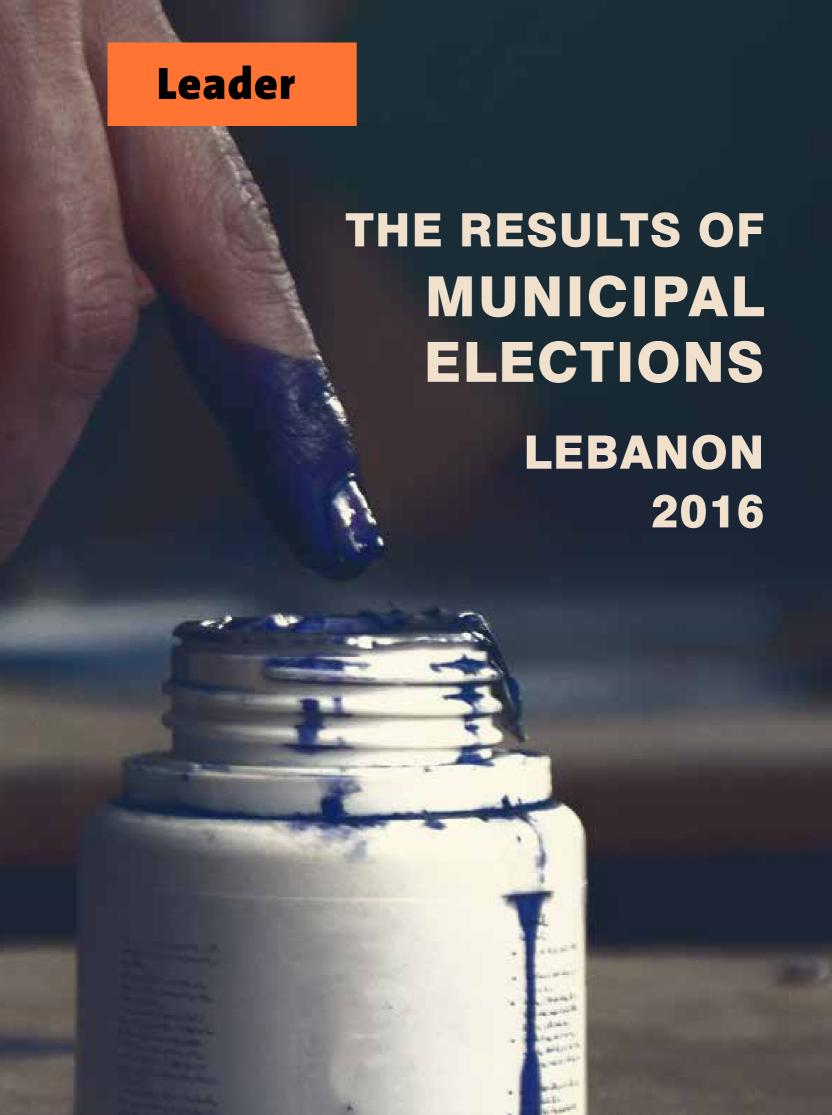
There, Fakhreddine did not mind receiving money from the Duke, although he had plenty of it. "..And they were assigned [i.e. Fakhreddine and his family] ample proceeds."

Here, it is impossible for the researcher not to notice the paradoxical relationship between the educated intelligentsia and the Medici rulers. Those tyrants nurtured the talent of Michelangelo from his tender years onwards. His disobedience, sympathy with those rebelling against the Medicis and the contempt he later developed for them did not prevent them from acknowledging his genius and exploiting his talent in their interest as a ruling power.

The same happened with Machiavelli and other notable figures whom the Medicis jailed yet acknowledged and without whom the Medicis would have been reduced to a bunch of wealthy autocrats, no different from the rich of Lebanon.

Perhaps after his trip to Florence and before the Ottoman Sultan had him executed with his son, Fakhreddine grew attentive to matters that the Zua'ama and the rich of Lebanon still overlook. Fakhreddine constructed a monumental palace that is still standing in Deir El-Qamar today and another in the El-Burj Square that was demolished by the foreigners who spared SOLIDERE the trouble of bringing down yet another architectural landmark. Perhaps he did plant the pine trees of Beirut; perhaps he did understand that public funds did not belong to the Sultan; that roads must be properly maintained; that people deserve access to public properties; that the State must have a budget; that healthcare must be provided for free for those who cannot afford to pay for it. Perhaps the foreigners took the life of Fakhreddine before he could do any of these reforms and perhaps what they should do now (since their instructions are obeyed) is urge the Zua'ama and the rich of Lebanon to live up to such reformative responsibilities before it is, once again, too late.

Had Fakhreddine been able to pass a piece of advice to Lebanon's Zua'ama and wealthiest figures, he would have told them "neither my alliance with the foreign world nor my fortune has done me any good. You have already gone too far! Do all that's in your power to build a state or do us a favor and go home!"



BEIRUT'S MUNICIPAL
Elections
2016
ELECTIONS 2016

It is no surprise that the municipal elections in Beirut have received the greatest share of coverage. Besides being the capital city, Beirut is a sectarian and political mosaic where the Sunni are a majority and the Future Movement is a significant force. The voter turnout and the voting trends by sect have been the main focus of attention given the political and sectarian indications they convey.

Beirut

Registered Voters 2016 **476,021**

Actual Voters 2016 **97,347**

Voter Turnout **20.1%**

Muslim voters 64%

Sunnis 47%

Christian voters 35%

Israeli voters 1%

Voter turnout stood at 20.1% this year compared to 18.1% in 2010 and 24% in 2004. Therefore, the low participation rate was nothing new on the electoral scene of the city. Abstention was attributed to several reasons foremost of which was the absence of real competition, as the Beirutis List (coalition comprising the Future Movement, the Amal Movement, the Free Patriotic Movement, the Lebanese Forces, the Phalanges Party, the Tashnag and the Armenian parties) was not running against a politically-backed rival but against Beirut Madinati, a list representing and supported by the civil society.

\rightarrow	Sunni	225,050
\mapsto	Shia'a	72,721
\mapsto	Druze	5,714
\mapsto	Alawite	242
\mapsto	Armenian	53,004
\mapsto	Maronite	24,109
\mapsto	Greek Orthodox	42,989
\mapsto	Greek Catholic	18,775
\mapsto	Christian minorities	29,220
\mapsto	Israeli	4,197

Beirut 1

90,654 Registered Voters

18,265 Actual Voters

20.1% Voter Turnout

The Beirutis List bagged an average of 6,432 votes equaling 35.2% of the total votes in the district. However, Beirut Madinati surpassed its rival by winning an average of 9,082 votes or approximately 50% of the vote.

The inclination of Christian voters to support Beirut Madinati did not apply to Armenian voters as well, as 77% of those voted for the Beirutis List while only 14% favored Beirut Madinati.

Sect	Beirutis List	Beirut Madinati
Maronite	28%	59%
Greek Orthodox	23%	59%
Greek Catholic	27%	60%

Beirut 2

106,988 Registered Voters

18,373 Actual Voters

17.1% Voter Turnout

The Beirutis List secured 8942 votes or approximately 49% of the total vote while Beirut Madinati amassed 4150 equaling 22%. The Beirutis List received 76% of the Armenian votes and 42% of the Sunni ones. Beirut Madinati's share of Sunni votes was only 16%. Beirut Madinati gained greater support than the Beirutis List among Shia'a voters, gaining 33% of the total vote against 20% for its rival.

Two Complete Lists





Average

The Beirutis List

	43,095 vote	44.3 %
1	Mohammad Fatha	46,740
2	Hoda El-Osta	46,396
3	Yussra Sidani	46,265
4	Jamal Itani	45,756
	Bilal Masri	•
5		45,132
6	Abdullah Darwish	44,543
7	Imad Baydoun	43,999
8	Matilda Khoury	43,882
9	Fadi Chahrour	43,697
10	Khalil Choukair	43,395
11	Rami Ghawi	42,815
12	Aram Malian	42,753
13	Hagop Terzian	42,506
14	Suleiman Jaber	42,476
15	Antoine Siryani	42,467
16	Joseph Rophael	42,328
17	Joseph Trabolsi	42,272
18	Isaac Kishishian	42,264
19	Gabriel Fernainy	42,116
20	Moughir Sinjaba	41,549
21	Adnan Oumeirat	41,333
22	Elie Andrea	40,466
23	Ragheb Haddad	40,235
24	Elie Yahchouchi	38,908

The Beirutis List won amassing an average of 43,095 votes or 44.3% of the total vote.



2

Average

The Beirut Madinati List

29,353 vote	30.2 %	
Ibrahim Mnaimneh	31,822	1
Nadine Labaki	31,723	2
Mona El-Hallak	30,786	3
Amal Sharif	30,136	4
Ahmad Qaabour	30,050	5
May Daouk	29,942	6
Rita Maalouf	29,290	7
Houssam Kamil Hawa	29,260	8
Maria Manok	29,245	9
Serje Yaziji	29,161	10
Walid El-Ali	29,151	11
Nada Dallal	29,134	12
Marwan Tibi	29,106	13
Tarek Ammar	29,096	14
Abdul Halim Jabr	29,048	15
Rana Khoury	28,976	16
Nada Sehnaoui	28,943	17
Carole Shebli	28,873	18
Marc Géara	28,788	19
Farah Koubaissi	28,557	20
Najib Al-Deek	28,546	21
Leon Telvizian	28,340	22
Yorgui Teyrouz	28,318	23
Iman Al-Hassan	28,171	24

Beirut Madinati ranked second with an average of 29,353 votes or 30.2% of the total vote. 8,143 votes separated the lowest vote vote on the winning list and the higher scorer on the losing one.

Beirut 3

268,322 Registered Voters

60,709 Actual Voters

22.6% Voter Turnout

The Beirutis List obtained an average of 27,782 (46%) votes against 16,194 (26.6%) for Beirut Madinati. The Beirutis List attracted 51% of the Sunni vote (an average of 24,684 votes) and 18% of the Shia'a vote (an average of 887 votes) while Beirut Madinati secured 50% of the latter, equaling an average of 2,475 votes. However, Beirut Madinati ranked first among Greek Orthodox voters, amassing 66.5% of their votes (1,777 votes) against 20% (524 votes) for the Beirutis List.

Three Incomplete Lists

3

The Mouwatinoun wa Mouwatinat fi Dawla List

Charbel Nahhas was the top vote gainer with 6,917 votes (7.1%)

Charbel Nahhas	6,917
Ghada Yafi	2,661
George Sfeir	2,517
Yasser Sarout	2,033

The Association of Islamic Charitable Projects' Candidate

The Association of Islamic Charitable Projects nominated Mohammad Mashaqa as their sole candidate for the municipal council in Beirut. Mashaqa obtained **13,654** votes.

Other Candidates

There were another nine candidates running independently, foremost of whom was Nizar Hachem who gained **1,285** votes.

4

The Beirut List

Imad Wazzan was the top vote gainer with 3,895 votes (4%)

Imad Wazzan	3,895
Jamal Hout	3,790
Mohammad Balouza	3,695
Ahmad Bekdash	3,581
Walid Chatila	3,463
Nada Ramadan	3,397
Abdallah Barraj	3,339
Salim Itani	3,233
Hassan Chehab	3,148
Ossama Farroukh	3,133
Abdul Rahman Ghalayini	3,095
Rashed Fakhri	2,554
Seifeddine Saado	2,196
Maher Hammoud	1,612
Mostafa Qaweqji	1,193
Adib Zakhour	935
Maria Demerjian	897
Joey Haddad	760
George Khalaf	726

5

The Al-Beiruti List

Abdul Rahman Oubeidy was the top vote gainer with 1,234 votes (1.3%)

Abdul Rahman Oubeidy	1,234
Hani Fathallah	1,213
Adnan Mostafa Hakim	1,200
Suheil Ghalayini	970
Sami Bleiq	784
Wissam Habbal	737
Walid Bashir Itani	597
Walid Shaar	571
Mohammad Adada	478
Yamen Adel Nakad	315
Wahan Chamassian	283
Jamila Abbani	236

ZAHLE'S MUNICIPAL Elections 2016 ELECTIONS 2016

Owing to the heated competition that marked the municipal elections in Zahle and to the nature of the rival political and partisan forces running for office this year, the 2016 electoral battle in the city was dubbed once again the "mother of all battles", as was the case during the municipal elections in 2009. In addition to the Christians represented by the Lebanese Forces, the Free Patriotic Movement (FPM), the Phalanges, the Popular Bloc and MP Nicolas Fattoush, the local players also included Hezbollah and the Future Movement, especially among the Shia'a and Sunni voters.

The municipal race resulted in a sweeping victory for the coalition of Christian forces, which won all 21 seats. Upon issuance of the polling station results by the Ministry of the Interior and Municipalities, *Information International* examined the findings and mapped out the votes by sect.

Zahle

Registered Voters 2016 **64,623**

Actual Voters 2016 **26,886**

Voter Turnout
41.6%

	Registered Voters	%
Greek Catholic	19,468	30.1
→ Maronite	14,412	22.3
Greek Orthodox	7,687	11.9
→ Shia'a	6,936	10.7
Syrian Orthodox	5,376	8.3
Sunni	4,147	6.4

		Voters	%
\rightarrow	Armenian Orthodox	3,243	5.0
\rightarrow	Syrian Catholic	1,028	1.6
\rightarrow	Armenian Catholic	716	1.1
\rightarrow	Evangelical	713	1.1
\rightarrow	Chaldean Catholic	410	0.6
\rightarrow	Latin, Israeli and Christian minorities	487	0.7

Christian 83%

Muslim **17**%

Results broken down by sect

Sect	# of voters	%	Zahle Development	Zahle Al-Amana	Zahle Deserves
Greek Catholic	7,800	40	3,570	2,200	1,180
Maronite	6,655	46.1	3,740	1,420	1,040
Greek Orthodox	2,512	32.7	1,300	660	500
Syrian Orthodox	2,350	43.7	1,210	510	450
Armenians and Christian minorities	1427	21	296	350	430
Shia'a	3,878	56	250 (without FPM candidates)	1,550	1,850
Sunni	2,264	54.5	220	1,240	555
Total	26,886	41.6	10,586	7,930	6,005

1

Average **Zahle Development**

10,157 votes 37	.8 %
Antoine Joseph Abou Younes	11,768
Robert George Abed Dayem	11,495
George Joseph Doummar	11,480
Tony Wadih Samaha	11,354
Pauline Antoine Balaa Zouki	11,341
Maha Anis Maalouf El-Qassouf	11,208
Jean Rashid Arabi	11,170
Asaad Zoughaib	10,815
Charles Rizkallah Saba	10,446
Antoine Ibrahim El-Ashkar	10,419
Kamil Antoine Amoury	10,417
Georgette Salim Zaatar	10,377
Ghassan Philip El-Murr	10,310
Michel Haikal Abou Abboud	10,266
Joseph Elias Jalkh	10,257
Said Jedaoun	10,220
Khalil Fraiji	10,207
Philip Elie Melhem	10,168
Fadi George Skaff	10,063
Sami Ahmad Maarabouni	9,418

The Zahle Development List swept the elections in Zahle grabbing an average of 10,157 votes or roughly 37.8% of the total number of votes cast. The FPM-backed candidate Antoine Boulos ranked first and the Shia'a candidate Ali Khatib last with 9,115 votes, although his name was not officially on the list. Most noteworthy is that the head of Zahle Development List Asaad Zoughaib came in the eighth place.

9,115

Ali El-Khatib

2

Average **Zahle Al-Amana**

7,930 votes	29.5 %
Youssef Skaff	9,104
Rola Ghantous Abou	Khater 8,892
Elise Estfan Tamer	8,836
Jossan Maalouf	8,793
Edward Zaatar	8,575
Kamil Jraissati	8,543
Joseph Qabalan	8,400
Nader Zeineddine	8,292
Youssef Qeraawni	7,790
Samir Mello	7,758
Hisham Jeha	7,619
Tony Sassine	7,565
Elias Chamoun	7,530
Nadim Abou Dib	7,515
Elias Machaalani	7,515
Sami El-Tineh	7,485
Edward Hatem	7,462
Elie Trad	7,379
Wadih Noumair	7,347
Pierre Rouhana	7,184
Abdo Hassne	6,961

Second in line was the Zahle Al-Amana list, which obtained an average of 7,930 votes, accounting for 29.5% of all the votes cast. The head of the list, Youssef Skaff, was the top vote-gainer in the list, falling short of a tie against the lowest vote-gainer on the winning list by only 11 votes.

3

Average **Zahle Deserves**

6,005 votes	22.3 %
Moussa Fattoush	7,315
Antoine Mrad Maalouf	6,914
Jean Abou Oubaid	6,885
Nassif Khoury Ghanem	6,760
Chantale Shalhoub	6,677
Antoine Choueiry	6,590
Nabil Haddad	6,519
Chadi Afara	6,388
George Saadeh	6,066
Mark Noumair	5,849
Nabil Srour	5,741
Claude Msallem	5,681
Najib Keedi	5,678
Kamal Kharrat	5,651
Antoine Houjaij	5,527
Wissam Karam	5,491
Fadi Maalouli	5,376
Jamil Abd Dayem	5,370
George Abou Habib	5,321
Nayef Melhem	5,242
Louay Chehadeh	5,077

The Zahle Deserves List ranked third with an average of 6,005 votes or roughly 22.3% of the total votes. Moussa Fattoush was the highest vote-gainer with 7,315 votes.

The most significant independent candidates scored as follows:

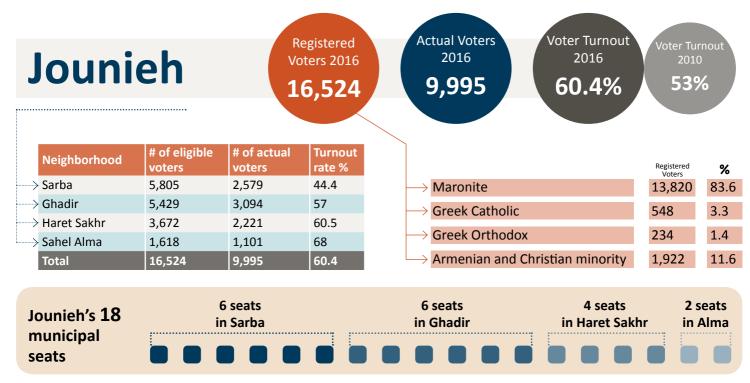
Toufic Al-Hendi: 916 votes Elissar Samaha: 361 votes (Mouwatinoun Wa Mouwatinat)

Tarek Ali Hawa: 133 votes Elias Skaff: 120 votes

Ghassan Hatem: 118 votes

JOUNIEH'S MUNICIPAL Elections 2016 ELECTIONS 2016

The municipal elections in Jounieh gained an importance so great that it transcended the city with its political and familial makeup to assume a wider dimension and became, as dubbed by some, a battle for the presidency of the Republic. Others went even as far as calling it a 'global' battle that thrust the Vatican state into the fray. Jounieh's race was portrayed as a do-or-die battle for the Maronites; the winner shall bolster their Maronite leadership and the loser shall lose their position. These hyperbolic assumptions were ridiculed by those who believed that loss or victory were not tied to an 18-seat local council elected by no more than 18,000 voters, for Maronite and Christian leaderships can only be decided at the national level, not at a local, narrow one.



The parties backing each list were able to secure the majority of votes for their respective list in their neighborhoods and areas of influence according to the following:

Neighborhood	No. of Voters	Average votes for Jounieh al-Tajaddod		Average votes for the Dignity of Jounieh	
		#	%	#	%
Sarba (varied partisan and familial influence)	3,579	1,414	39.5	1,576	44
Ghadir (influence of Mansour El-Bon)	3,094	1,572	50.8	1,293	41.8
Hare Sakhr (influence of the Frem family)	2,221	1,073	48.3	962	43.3
Sahel Alma (influence of Juan Hbeish)	1,101	319	29	704	64
Total	9,995	4,378	43.8	4,535	45.4

Average

The Dignity of **Jounieh**

	4,535 votes	45.5 %
1	Juan Hbeish	4,808
2	Ziad Chahine	4,775
3	Roy El-Hawa	4,685
4	Nayla Raad	4,639
5	Jack Rashed	4,615
6	Roger Oudaimy	4,604
7	Souhad Bou Shabake	4,584
8	Youssef Bassil	4,549
9	Rolland Chehwan	4,496
10	Chadi El-Beaino	4,485
11	Silva Hajj	4,473
12	Dory Abi Safi	4,470
13	Sami El-Bourji	4,464
14	Nicole Risha	4,461
15	Ramzi El-Ashkar	4,447
16	Charbel Qadi	4,379
17	George Mhanna	4,375
18	Tanios Matar	4,327

The Dignity of Jounieh List, headed by the former Head of Municipality Juan Hbeish and backed by the Free Patriotic Movement and the Phalanges Party won 14 seats and lost four. The losing candidates were Ramzi Ashkar, Charbel Qadi, George Mhanna and Tanios Matar.

Average Jounieh al-Tajaddod

4,378 votes	43.8 %	
Silvador El-Kosti	4,647	1
Fouad El-Bouari	4,570	2
Fadi Fayyad	4,469	3
Rodrigue Fenianos	4,465	4
Francis Abi Nakhoul	4,431	5
Charbel Bou Lehdo	4,430	6
Fawzi Baroud	4,393	7
Issam Richa	4,381	8
Rabih Boueiz	4,379	9
Tarek El-Ashkar	4,358	10
Toufic Matar	4,330	11
George Awde	4,317	12
Youssef Elias Bashir	4,314	13
George Beaino	4,302	14
Ziad Shayeb	4,300	15
Nathalie Moubarak	4,293	16
Eddy Njeim	4,242	17
George Abi khalil	4,186	18

The Jounieh al-Tajaddod List, headed by the current deputy Head of Municipality Fouad El-Bouari and backed by the Frem family and the former MPs Haykal El-Khazen and Mansour Ghanem el-Bon won four seats. The winners were Fouad El-Bouari, Fadi Fayyad, Silvador El-Kosti and Rodrigue Fenianos. It was said that the List was also supported by the Lebanese Forces.

The average difference between the two lists was 157 votes and only 30 to 50 votes separated winners from losers, meaning that an additional 15 to 20 votes could have increased the seats of Jounieh al-Tajaddod in the municipal council.

SAIDA'S MUNICIPAL Municipal **Elections ELECTIONS 2016**

A heated electoral competition unfolded in Saida this year. Three lists contested the election, two of which had run for office in 2010- the "Saida's Development" list backed by the Future Movement, the Islamic Gama'a and the former head of municipality Abdul Rahman El-Bizri and the "Voice of People" list backed by the Popular Nasserite Organization. The third list- the list of Islamists headed by Ali Sheikh Ammar, a previous Islamic Gama'a leader- entered the electoral scene for the first time this year and some of its candidates were alleged supporters of Salafist Sheikh Ahmad Al-Assir.

Saida

2016

Registered Voters 2016

60,610

Actual Voters 2016

26,970

29,982

Voter Turnout 2016 44.5%

54.6%

% → Sunni 51.464 85 → Shia'a 5,514 9.1 → Greek Catholic 1,692 2.8 → Maronite 1,243 2.1 **Greek Orthodox** 189 0.3 > Christian minorities 508 0.8

The result of the elections did not change much in the municipal landscape in Saida. However, the striking observation was the notable decline in voter turnout from 54.6% in 2010 to 44.5% in 2016, which considerably lowered the votes obtained by the "Saida's Development" list in particular.

2016 Elections

The "Saida's Development" list

Amassed an average of 14,283 votes, down by 4,410 votes from 2010 or 23.5%

The "Voice of People" list

Gained 7,950 votes down by 825 votes from 2010 or 9.4%.

Mohammad Al-Saoudi, the top vote gainer on the "Saida's Development" list, obtained 15,436 votes against 8,443 for his counterpart on the rival list Fouad Solh, i.e. a difference of around 7,000 votes.

2010 Elections

"The Loyalty and Development" list headed by Mohammad Al-Saoudi

Backed by the Future Movement, the Islamic Gama'a, and the former head of the municipality Abdul Rahman Bizri (16 members on this list were re-elected to the new council this year and their names are marked with the letter (R) in the table below.)

Amassing an average of 18,693 votes or 62% of the total vote

"The Popular Will" list headed by Abdul Rahman Al-Ansari

Backed explicitly by the Popular Nasserite Organization and implicitly by Hezbollah and the Amal Movement

Amassing an average of 8,772 votes or 29.2% for the rival list.

The difference was thus 9,921 votes. Al-Saoudi scooped 19,145 votes and Al-Ansari 9,381, i.e. a difference of 9,764 votes.

Average Saida's Development

Saida Moving Forward

14,283 votes

52.9 %

1	Mohammad Al-Saoudi (R)	15,436
2	Hazem Badih (R)	14,508
3	Kamel Kozbur (R)	14,425
4	Ibrahim Bsat (R)	14,384
5	Mohammad Rafqi Abou Dahr (R)	14,354
6	Hassan Shammas (R)	14,334
7	Mostafa Hijazi (R)	14,326
8	Metaa' Majzoub	14,311
9	Nizar Al-Hallak (R)	14,300
10	Mohammad Hassib Bizry (R)	14,241
11	Mohammad Qobrosli (R)	14,219
12	Ali Dali Balta (R)	14,219
13	Ibrahim Hariri	14,199
14	Abdallah Kanaan (R)	14,194
15	Nasser Hammoud	14,178
16	Mohammad Shraiteh (R)	14,173
17	Mohammad El-Baba (R)	14,156
18	Wafaa Choeib (R)	14,027
19	Ibrahim Ali El-Rai	14,016
20	Michel Tohmeh	13,992
21	Arabiah Raad (R)	13,964

Average The Voice of People

7,947 votes **29.4** %

Fouad Solh	8,443
Bilal Shaaban	8,195
Majid Abdul Jawad	8,134
Hassan Zaatari	8,104
Souhad Aafara	8,015
Mostafa Hassan Saad	8,001
Samer Jaradi	7,993
Maha Hijazi	7,992
Adnan Balouli	7,988
Tareq Bashasha	7,941
Radwan Al-Qotb	7,895
Rania Ramadan	7,878
Khalil Matbouli	7,870
Firas Majzoub	7,864
Abdul Halim Antar	7,862
Zahiya Abboud	7,833
Mariam Dirani	7,819
Ibrahim Haddad	7,805
Muhieddine Maatouk	7,790
Ibrahim Mohammad Ali El-Rai	7,787
Atef Al-Ebrik	7,764

Average Al-Ahrar

2,277 votes 8.4 % Ali Sheikh Ammar 2,748 Mohammad Naamani 2,372 Muhieddine Antar 2,287 Zainab Kiwan 2,260 Youssef Msallamani 2,231 Khaled Dimassi 2,229 Ali Iskandarani 2,197 Houssam Nasser 2,185 Hassan Awkal 1,997

By not summoning the people of Saida who live outside the city to return home to vote was, according to MP Bahiya Hariri, the main reason behind the significant decrease in the votes favoring the "Loyalty and Development" list. The third list secured an average of 2,277 votes.

It is noteworthy that in the predominantly Shia'a neighborhood of Rijal Al-Arbaeen, the "Saida's Development" list could only muster an average of 990 votes whereas its rival amassed 1,730.

TRIPOLI'S MUNICIPAL Elections 2016 ELECTIONS 2016

The fourth and final round of the municipal and *ikhtiyariah* elections held on Sunday, May 29, 2016 in Tripoli yielded an entirely unforeseen and resounding result that took everyone by surprise. The Tripoli's Choice List backed by former Justice Minister Ashraf Rifi scooped up 16 seats of Tripoli's 24-member municipal council, leaving only six seats to the For Tripoli List backed by a broad coalition of major political players including the Future Movement, former Premier Najib Mikati, former ministers Mohammad Safadi and Faisal Karami as well as the Islamic Jama'a and the Association of Islamic Charitable Projects.

Rifi's stunning win triggered an outpouring of analysis and debate on the new political weights in the city and their implications on Tripoli's political landscape as well as on the upcoming parliamentary elections and subsequently the premiership.

Tripoli

Registered Voters 2016 **176,000**

Registered Voters 2016

156,098

Actual Voters 2016 **45,380**

Actual Voters 2016 **38,510**

Voter Turnout 2016 **25.8%**

Voter Turnout 2010 **24.6%**

						1
Neighborhood	# of voters	Sunni	Alawite	Greek Orthodox	Maronite	Others
reignbornood	" or voters	82%	11.3%	3.5%	2%	1.2%
→ Tebbaneh	53,062	36,687	15,946	258	98	73
→ Haddadine	33,076	32,282	356	267	140	31
→ Qebbeh	22,379	15,218	3,350	1,711	1,764	336
→ Sweiqa	19,596	19,506	-	-	-	90
→ Hadid	11,964	11,930	6	21	-	7
→ Nouri	11,880	11,356	47	209	168	100
→ Zahriyeh	7,466	2,997	59	2,569	692	1,149
→ El-Tall	6,792	4,756	143	820	575	498
→ Remmaneh	5,015	4,547	48	266	54	100
→ Mhetra	4,534	4,504	-	6	24	-
Total	175,764	143,783	19,955	6,127	3,515	2,384

2010 elections

Registered voters totaled 156,098 in 2010 with an approximate 24.6% - 38,510 voters- casting their ballots. The percentage stood at 46.3% in the 2009 municipal elections.

The Tripoli Consensus List including the Future Movement, Premier Omar Karami, Premier Najib Mikati, minister Mohammad Safadi and the city's deputies emerged victorious in the municipal elections of 2010. It obtained an average of 14,738 votes accounting for 38.3% of all the votes. The rival list backed by former MP Omar Majid El-Rafei garnered 10% while the remaining votes, totaling roughly 20,000, were distributed among 25 independent candidates.

Average

The Tripoli's Choice List

(Backed by Ashraf Rifi)

1	6,4	/5	VO.	tes

36.3 %

1	Khaled Tadmouri	19,144
2	Riadh Yamak	18,360
3	Ahmad El-Marj	17,952
4	Khaled El-Wali	17,907
5	Ahmad Qamareddine	17,755
6	Zaher Sultan	17,719
7	Jamil Jeblawi	17,212
8	Samih Halawani	17,177
9	Ahmad Badawi	16,871
10	Toufic El-Etr	16,718
11	Mohammad Ayyoubi	16,676
12	Bassel El-Haj	16,623
13	Mohammad Tamer	16,603
14	Yehia Fattal	16,411
15	Louay Mouqaddam	16,010
16	Ahmad El-Qassir	15,982
17	Ahmad Abdallah	15,889
18	Ibrahim Dardari	15,774
19	Farah Issa	15,763
20	Ahmad Fakhoury	15,732
21	Rabih Abboud	15,074
22	El-Mereebi	15,054
23	Nicolas Suleiman	13,903
24	Rabih Jehjah	13,102

Average

The For Tripoli List

(Coalition including Mikati, the Future Movement, Karami, Safadi and Islamic Jama'a)

15,427 votes

34 %

Ahmad Hamzi	17,162
Azzam Ouwaida	16,957
Chadi Nashabe	16,901
Rasha Sankari	16,779
Saffouh Yakan	16,732
Muhieddine Baqar	16,494
Abdul Hamid Kraimy	15,941
Bassem Bakhash	15,914
Omar Hallab	15,710
Zein Wahibeddine	15,532
Ghina Mawas	15,491
Rabih Kabbara	15,243
Wahib Debliz	15,243
Abdul Karim Baroud	15,198
Najib Manla	15,130
Walid Mobayyed	15,105
Zaher Kabbara	14,916
George Zeblit	14,700
Chawkat Haddad	14,655
Rami Abdul Hay	14,510
Elias Khalat	14,489
Arin El-Hassan	13,980
Bassam Trabolsi	13,744
Ziad Hmouda	13,725

Average

The Tripoli Capital List

(Backed by Mesbah Ahdab)

1,975 votes

4.3 %

1 2

3

4

5 6

8

10

11

12

13 14

Mesbhah El-Ahdab	4,976
Abdul Khaleq Abdul Khaleq	3,700
Ahmad Ferdaous	1,949
Ibrahim el-Ghazal	1,918
Rabih Nadiri	1,824
Amer Kamali	1,655
Taleb Kabbara	1,623
Ziad El-Qari	1,537
Imad Mousallem	1,534
Wouroud Sharif	1,527
Mostafa Moussa	1,449
Nasr Shamma	1,448
Ziad Trad	1,443
Youssef Malak	1,069

Independent candidates

Free Patriotic Movement **Mohammad Said Baroudi** (429 votes)

The Mouwatinoun wa Mouwatinat fi Dawla movement (Citizens within a State)

Rami Assoum (945 votes)

Arabi Khalil Akkawi (4,411 votes)

down from 20,711 votes in 2010 when he outshone the head of the list Nader El-Ghazal who received 17,354 votes.

2016 elections

88 candidates ran for office in Tripoli's municipal elections in 2016. The candidates were mainly divided among two complete lists (For Tripoli and Tripoli's Choice lists) and two incomplete ones (the Tripoli Capital List comprising 14 candidates and the 2022 List comprising four candidates who cooperated with the Tripoli Capital list.)

The voters who turned out for the elections totaled 45,380 or roughly 25.8% compared to 24.6% in 2010. This slight increase reflects apathy among Tripoli's voters vis-à-vis the contesting lists, for 60% of those voters live in Tripoli, contrary to the case in Beirut.

The Tripoli's Choice List amassed an average of 16,475 votes- roughly 36.3% of all the votes- dominating 16 seats in the municipal council. On the other hand, an average of 15,427 votes equaling 34% was gained by the For Tripoli list, which thus secured eight seats. The difference between the two lists amounted to 1,048 votes, a number that indicates an intense competition.

Compared to the 2010 electoral results, one can observe a decline in the popularity of the Tripoli Consensus List (named For Tripoli this year) by roughly 4% (it obtained at the time 14,738 votes or roughly 38.3%), which is the reason behind its loss. Conversely, the Tripoli's Choice List was able to assemble all the votes that were scattered in 2010, thus achieving victory.

By sects and neighborhoods, the results broke down as follows:

9,245 voters cast their ballots in Haddadine where Tripoli's Choice surpassed For Tripoli by 71 votes by garnering 3,277 votes against 3,206.

Voter turnout among the Alawite voters in Tebbaneh (Jabal Mohsen) was somewhat low, with only 3,087 voters (20%) heading to polling stations.

In Qebbeh where the percentage of Christian voters (Greek Orthodox and Maronite) is fairly high, only 950 voters (25%) out of 3,820 participated in the electoral process. For Tripoli was slightly ahead of its rival in the Qebbeh's polling stations.

Results broken down by neighborhood

For Tripoli proved superior in Zahriyeh, Mhetra and El-Tall while Tripoli's Choiced advanced in Sweiqa, Hadid and Qebbeh. Scores were pretty close in Haddadine, Nouri, Remmaneh and Tebbaneh.

Neighborhood	For Tripoli		Tripoli's Decision	
	Average of votes	%	Average of votes	%
Haddadine	3,206	33.9	3,277	34.6
Nouri	1,177	31.9	1,178	32
Remmaneh	466	34.6	451	33.5
Tebbaneh	4157	30.6	4,225	31
Hadid	1,073	31.3	1,322	38.4
Sweiqa	1,759	33.8	2,419	46.5
Zahriyeh	641	40	325	20.2
El-Tall	634	36.6	517	29.9
Mhetra	492	35.3	442	31.6
Qebbeh	1,819	29.7	2,335	38.2

Results broken down by sect

Trpoli's Choice advanced by 68% among Sunni voters. For Tripoli advanced by 11.1% among Christian voters. For Tripoli advanced by 32.6% among Alawite voters.

Sect	For Tripoli		Tripoli's Decision	
	Average of votes	%	Average of votes	%
Sunni	12,660	31.5	15,389	38.3
Christian	1,294	36.7	902	25.6
Alawite	1,472	3.77	200	5.1

2016

Municipal Elections

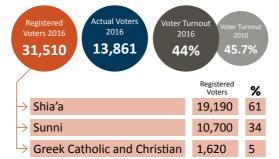
BAALBECK'S MUNICIPAL **ELECTIONS 2016**

In Baalbeck, a few hours after the ballot boxes were closed and the process of counting votes began on Sunday, May 8, figures started to surface suggesting that the Development and Loyalty List backed by the Amal Movement, Hezbollah and the Association of Islamic Charitable Projects had won all 21 seats in the city's municipal council, thus out-voting Baalback Madinati- the rival list supported by the Future Movement, the Islamic Jama'a and a number of families- by a narrow margin of 150 votes. The results triggered several comments and analyses that underlined the decline in Hezbollah's popularity in the city of the sun and the local dissent held to undermine the dominance it exercises over its decisions. However, the assiduous examination of the official results proved otherwise as it turned out that the Development and Loyalty List had captured 55.2% of the total vote against 35.2% for Baalbeck Madinati.

Average **Development and**

	Loyalty			
	7,404 votes 55.	2 %		
1	Suheil Zakaria Raad	7,809		
2	Younes Zakaria Rifai	7,671		
3	Nassri Said Othman	7,627		
4	Sami Hussein Ramadan	7,565		
5	Mostafa Avdullah El-Shel	7,561		
6	Mohammad Faisal Makieh	7,535		
7	Antoine Assaf Alouf	7,523		
8	Hamad Ali Hassan	7,485		
9	Khaled Mohammad Shmali	7,471		
10	Hussein Ali Sharafeddine	7,449		
11	Nayef Hamoud Toufaily	7,447		
12	Firas Fadlallah El-Jammal	7,432		
13	Mostafa Mohammad Ali Saleh	7,432		
14	Fadl Ahmad Mortada	7,393		
15	Mohammad Ahmad Awada	7,393		
16	Bilal Samir Hlaihel	7,387		
17	Mohammad Saleh Taha	7,352		
18	Hussein Ali Laqqis	7,206		
19	Ali Fayyad Yaghi	7,149		
20	Mohamad Nayef Al-Outa	7,055		
21	Fouad Mohammad Baloug	6.544		

Baalbeck



	Average Mouwatinoun wa Mouwatinat fi Dawla		
	320 votes 2.3 %		
1	Hadil Rifai	623	
2	Mirvat Wehbi	182	
3	Yumna Toufaily	153	

There were also three independent candidates running in Baalbeck. The first, Suleiman Ramadan, obtained 1,069 votes while Zakariya Solh and Abbas Othman gained 377 and 102 votes respectively.

Average Baalbeck Madinati		
5,058 votes 35.	2 %	
Hekmat Awada	5,537	1
Asaad Qaraa	5,252	2
Ghaleb Yaghi	5,226	3
Khawla Toufaily	5,170	4
Mostafa Rifai	5,165	5
Maya el-Shel	5,123	6
Mohammad Hamad Balouq	5,103	7
Mazen Mortada	5,050	8
Taleb El-Jammal	5,037	9
Abdo Othman	5,005	1
Hassan Raad	4,983	1
Khaled Soleh	4,950	1
Abdul Karim El-Shel	4,950	1
Nayef Debs	4,905	1
Mohammad Jamil Abbas	4,852	1
Ghazi Shalha	4,850	1
Shawki Hlaihel	4,836	1
Mohammad Dib Bayan	4,801	1
Mahmoud Wehbe	4,761	1
Ali Assaf	4,656	2

In 2010, the Development and Loyalty List won in its entirety, amassing an average of 6,988 votes that constituted 55.2% of the electorate. Baalbeck Madinati scored an average of 4,464 votes (35.2%), which put the difference at 2,524 votes. The least vote gainer on the winning list (6,499 votes) defeated the top scorer (4,968 votes) on the losing list by 1,531 votes.

in 2016, the difference between the two major two lists contesting the elections was 2,346 votes while 1,007 votes separated between the top vote gainer on Baalback Madinati list and the lowest scorer on the Development and Loyalty List

Although the variance between the two major rivals decreased by roughly 178 votes compared to that in 2010, it nevertheless remained fairly high (2,346 votes) thus refuting all preliminary predictions about a narrow win.

Qoubayyat's Municipal Elections

Battle over Maronite Leadership

18 members

The electoral battle in Qoubayyat went well beyond being a mere municipal competition and was instead portrayed as a juncture that would establish and consolidate the Maronite leadership in the town, especially since the Free Patriotic Movement and the Lebanese Forces engaged in fierce battle against the former MP Mikhael Daher and MP Hadi Houbeish, who allied with each other after decades of hostilities. However, an electorate of only 9,500 voters can by no means establish or put an end to Maronite leadership.







Voter Turnout 2010 **57.5%**

A relatively high percentage

2010 Elections -

Two lists ran for the municipal council's 18 seats in 2010:

- The "Towards a Better Qoubayyat" List, headed by Abdou Abdou and backed by the Lebanese Forces, MP Hadi Houbeish, the Phalanges and part of the Abdou family. It won fifteen seats.
- The "Decision of Qoubayyat" List, headed by the former Director General of Education George Neemeh and endorsed by the Free Patriotic Movement, former MP Mikhael Daher, former candidate Joseph Mikhael and part of the Abdou family. It won three seats.

However, the elected council proved to be short-lived. In 2013, halfway through its term, the council, headed at the time by Abdou Abdou, dissolved following the resignation of over half of its members. However, Abdou Abdou and his list won again in the elections that followed, backed this time by the Free Patriotic Movement and MP Daher in the face of his former allies.

2016 Elections -

The previous alliances changed drastically in 2016, reconciling between historical rivals. The lists running for municipal office were the following:

- The "Qoubayyat Decides" List, headed by the head of the municipality Abdou Abdou and backed by MP Hadi Houbeish and his former rival MP Mikhael Daher as well as the Phalanges Party.
- The "People of Qoubayyat" List, supported by the Lebanese Forces and the Free Patriotic Movement.

The race was highly competitive resulting in close electoral results. The first list won an average of 2,714 votes (49% of the total votes) securing 16 seats in the council against two seats for the second lists which amassed an average of 2,616 votes (47.2% of the total vote), meaning a win by only 98 votes.

The Qoubayyat Decides List

Abdou Abdou	2,718
Joseph Khattar	2,773
Marwan Hamwi	2,670
Mounir Jabbour	2,726
Laurette Daher	2,797
Jean Hakmeh	2,689
Tony Bayssari	2,720
Joceline Demian	2,734
Charbel Ghosn	2,681
Jamile Gemayel	2,647
Elie Zaribe	2,713
Jean Maarbas	2,636
Michel Fahed	2,711
Rola Fazah	2,728
Dany Moussa	2,745
Michel Abdou	2,745
George Abboud	2,705
Salim Shallita	2,739

The People of Qoubayyat List

Tony Mikhael	2,666
Jean Chidiac	2,666
George Hakmeh	2,569
Tony Daher	2,708
George Smaha	2,592
George Elias	2,674
Najla Iskandar	2,552
Fadi Abdou	2,588
Fadi Breidy	2,605
Atallah Tohmeh	2,645
Aziz Abdou	2,608
Charbel Ghouzairy	2,659
Daniel Khoury	2,625
George Habqa	2,626
Jihad Semaan	2,623
Boutros El-Raii	2,511
Elie Kanaan	2,545
Ziad Bechara	2,612

Tannourin's Municipal Elections

No Acclamation and Harb Triumphs

18 members

Unlike in 2010, the municipal council in Tannourin was not elected by acclamation this year. Instead, there was a cutthroat competition between the Tannourin-born MP Boutros Harb and a coalition consisting of the Lebanese Forces and the Free Patriotic Movement.

The Tannourin municipality consisted of four neighborhoods and eighteen members:

Tannourin Al-Fawqa11-member6,100 votersTannourin Al-Tahta3-member1,850 votersWata Houb2-member1,020 votersShatin1-member1,320 voters

Predominantly Maronite

Greek Orthodoxes and Syriac minorities

Registered Voters 2016 **8,943**

Actual Voters 2016 **4,431**

Voter Turnout 2016 **49.5%**

In 2012, the Free Patriotic Movement separated Shatin, where it has great popularity, from Tannourin. An independent 12-member municipality was introduced in Shatin pursuant to Decision no. 282 dated February 24, 2012 whereas the Tannourin municipality maintained its eighteen seats.

-2010 Elections

All sixteen members in Tannourin Al-Fawqa (11 candidates), Tannourin Al-Tahta (three candidates) and Shatin (two candidates) won uncontested in 2010 and competition was limited over the two seats earmarked for Wata Houb. The list that won at that time was supported by MP Boutros Harb and the Lebanese Forces.

-2016 Elections

Following the alliance of the Lebanese Forces and the Free Patriotic Movement, the electoral scene shifted from acclamation into a battle fought by the contestersminister Boutros Harb, the Lebanese Forces and the Free Patriotic Movement- to validate their weight in the area.

The lists running for municipal office were the following:

- **Decision of Tannourin:** a list backed by Minister Boutros Harb and the Phalanges and headed by Bahaa Harb and his deputy Sami Mrad. The presidency was to be rotated between the two.
- Tannourin Brings Us Together: a list headed by the retired Brigadier general Ayoub Harb and endorsed by the Free Patriotic Movement and the Lebanese Forces.

With an average of 2,509 votes (56.6% of the total vote), the Decision of Tannourin list won the elections by a margin of 885 votes against its rival which obtained 1,624 votes or roughly 36.7%.

The lowest vote gainer on the winning list surpassed the top vote gainer on the losing one by 660 votes, a number indicating the fervor of competition and the voters' commitment to their lists.

Tannourin Brings Us Together

Rita Malhame	1,773
Ayoub Harb	1,699
Gracy Faddoul	1,674
Milia Ghazal	1,665
Lisa Khoury	1,650
Jihan Tarabay	1,643
Rania Bou Lattouf	1,635
Rafic Rouaidy	1,627
Nathem Tarabay	1,617
Pierre Karam	1,611
Antanios Qoumair	1,608
Elie Youness	1,605
Dani Rouaidy	1,588
George Youness	1,585
Dory Saab	1,570
Wajdi Khalil	1,564
Joseph Boutros	1,555
Charbel Yaacoub	1,552

Decision of Tannourin

Bahaa Harb	2,652
Sami Youssef	2,618
Charbel Nohra	2,549
Michel Eid	2,539
Ziad Yazbek	2,537
Ziad Tarabay	2,524
Adel Shalhoub	2,513
Rawad Ibn Raad	2,511
Walid Matar	2,498
Antoine Harb	2,495
Jawad Dagher	2,493
Joseph Youness	2,481
Tony Faddoul	2,475
Joseph Harb	2,471
Charbel Qoumair	2,465
Diaa Karam	2,464
Massoud Rizk	2,453
Boutros Antonios	2,433

Rashaya's Municipal Elections

Jumblatt defeats his contenders

15 members

The municipal elections in Rashaya were characterized by competition between MP Walid Jumblatt and his rivals in the town, especially the former head of the municipality Ziad Al-Aryan, former MP Faisal Daoud and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party. The elections resulted in victory for the list backed by Jumblatt.







Voter Turnout 2010 44%

Druze: 55%

Greek Orthodox: 38%

Greek and Syriac Catholic: 7%

2010 Elections

Two lists contested over the 15-seat municipal council of Rashaya in 2010.

- The "Youth and Change" List backed by the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP).
- The "Development of Rashaya" List headed by Ziad Al-Aryan and backed by former MP Faisal Daoud, the Syrian Social Nationalist Party and the Free Patriotic Movement.

The first list won the elections scooping an average of 1,389 votes (52.2%) against 1,156 (43%) for the rival list, that is a win by an average of 233 votes. The votes separating the lowest vote-gainer among winners and the top vote-gainer among losers was 58.

- 2016 Elections

The same scenario recurred in 2016 between the two following lists:

- "Youth for the Development of Rashaya", a PSP-backed list headed by Bassam Dalal
- "The People of Rashaya", a list headed by Ziad Al-Aryan and backed by former MP Faisal Daoud and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party.

The PSP-backed list emerged victorious bagging an average of 1,709 votes (57.9% of the total vote) compared to an average of 1,055 votes (35.8%) for the rival list, i.e. a margin of 654 votes, up from 233 in 2010. The top vote-gainer on the losing list obtained 398 votes less than the lowest scorer on the winning one.

The results demonstrated the growing electoral force of both MP Walid Jumblatt and minister and MP Wael Bou Faour in Rashaya. The results dissected by polling stations and sects revealed that the Youth for the Development of Rashaya list proved superior among the Druze voters while the People of Rashaya predominated among the Orthodox and Catholic ones.

Youth for the Development of Rashaya

Bassam Dalal	1,819
Saleh Abou Mansour	1,799
Ihab Mhanna	1,753
Fawzi Tannouri	1,748
Talal Ghosn	1,737
Joey Saad	1,728
Imad Zaki	1,699
Bahaa Abou Hjeily	1,698
Reshrash Naji	1,694
Adel Elbi	1,693
Fadi Talayeh	1,676
Dany Zoughaib	1,668
Antoine Maalouli	1,666
Feryal Saab	1,655
Joseph Hajali	1,601

The People of Rashaya

Ziad Shebli Al-Aryan	1,203
Souhail Al-Qadamani	1,185
Hamza Abou Ibrahim	1,181
George Nemr	1,102
Youssef Houjeily	1,059
Elie Maalouli	1,059
Hayel Bitar	1,042
Farid Zaki	1,039
Abdallah Lahham	1,020
Makram Barakat	1,013
Ahmad Syour	1,002
Atef Mhanna	991
Fadi Ghosn	989
Tarel Elbi	973
Marwan Naji	971

Kousba's Municipal Elections

Fierce competition won by the Lebanese Forces

15 members

Despite its sectarian homogeneity (roughly 87% of the electorate are Greek Orthodox), the town of Kousba has a heterogeneous political and partisan mixture including the Lebanese Forces, the Marada Movement, the Free Patriotic Movement, the Syrian Social Nationalist Party and the Ghosn family. This amalgamation turned the municipal election in Kousba into a political battle par excellence.







Greek Orthodox: 87%

Maronite: 11%

Sunni and other sects: 2%

2010 Elections

Two lists contested the municipal elections in Kousba in 2010:

- The "Kousba Development" List headed by Akl Jreij and backed by the Lebanese Forces and MPs Nicolas Ghosn and Farid Habib.
- The "Loyalty to Kousba" List supported by former MP Fayez Ghosn, the Free Patriotic Movement, the Syrian Social Nationalist Party and the Marada Movement.

The Kousba Development List won in its entirety, gaining 935 votes or roughly 52.5% of the total vote, whereas the rival list amassed an average of 781 votes, equivalent to 43.7%. The difference between the lowest vote-gainer on the winning list and the top vote-gainer on the losing one was 58 votes.

- 2016 Elections -

The same scene played itself out in 2016 with one difference, which was the transition of the Free Patriotic Movement from the list of Fayez Ghosn into the rival list.

- The "Kousba Al-Ghad" list headed by the Head of the Municipality Akl Jreij and backed by the Lebanese Forces, the Free Patriotic Movement and MP Nicolas Ghosn.
- The "Kousba for All" list backed by former MP Fayez Ghosn, the Syrian Social Nationalist Party and the Marada Movement.

Kousba Al-Ghad won all seats in the municipal council, amassing an average of 954 or 51.9% of the total vote. The rival list obtained 751 votes, i.e. 40.8% of the final vote, a result slightly lower than that of 2010. Nineteen votes separated between the lowest vote-gainer on the winning list and the top vote-gainer on the losing one.

The Kousba Al-Ghad list

George Metri	1,033
Akl Jreij	1,009
Ziad Farah	1,003
Lydia Farah	999
Salim Mansour	998
Michel Khoury	973
Farid Jreij	955
George Abdullah	954
Bassam Abdullah	952
Najwa Wakim	951
Victor Antoine	934
Elias Zaidan	926
Christel Habib	894
Habib Ibrahim	879
Fayez Youssef	859

The Kousba for All list

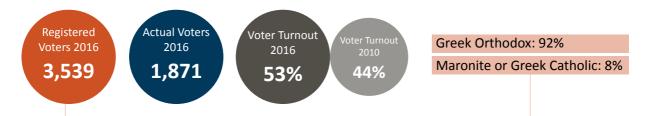
Mario Isaac	840
Tarek Habib	808
George Khoury	782
Anthony Khoury	774
George Toum	773
Aref Rostum	771
Malaki Hakim	763
Salim Habib	753
Elie Farah Kebbeh	751
Elie Moussa	740
Elie Fadel	736
Mariam Nassar	706
Youssef Yaacoub	699
Jacque Shiri	692
Christel Akkari	674

Kfaraaqa's Municipal Elections

A presidential or familial wrestle?

15 members

The municipal election in Kfaraaqa took on a significant political dimension. While some emphasized the local and familial aspect of the battle, others viewed it as a "presidential wrestle" between the Free Patriotic Movement and the Marada Movement. The list backed by the Free Patriotic Movement and the Lebanese Forces won a majority of ten seats in the local council while the rival list secured five in what was described as a heated electoral battle.



2010 Elections

Two lists competed for municipal office in 2010:

- Kfaraaqa, Solidarity and Development: the list was backed by the head of the municipality Fares Boulos, the Lebanese Forces and MP Farid Mkari.
- Kfaraaqa for All: the list was backed by the Free Patriotic Movement, the Marada Movement and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party.

The first list won the elections by securing 53% of the vote (an average of 809 votes) while its rival gained an average of 617 votes or 40.5% of the vote. The margin between the lowest vote-gainer among winners and the highest vote-gainer among losers was 44 votes.

2016 Elections

The alliances formed in 2010 changed in 2016 and the two lists that contested the elections were the following:

- "Kfaraaqa Brings us Together", a list headed by Elias Sassine and endorsed by the Free Patriotic Movement, the Lebanese Forces and the Phalanges.
- "Kfaraaqa, My Town and Belonging", a list headed by Philip Boulos and backed by the Marada Movement, Deputy Speaker Farid Mkari and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party.

"Kfaraaqa Brings us Together" gained an average of 899 votes (48% of the total vote), thus securing ten seats in the municipal council against five for the rival list, which garnered 44.8% of the vote, i.e. an average of 839 votes.

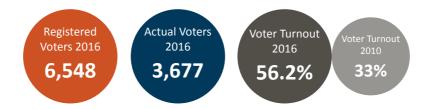
Elias Sassine 1,025 Philip Boulos 994 Nadim Metri 979 Yaacoub Nassif 893 Elie Atallah 972 Rodolph Matar 891 George Saad 954 Edward Jreij 872 Sayed Horkous 939 Bassam Saad 871 George Matar 933 Jamil Khoury 844 George Neemeh 932 Emile Fayad 835 Elie Farah 899 Rafiq Semaan 822 Jihan Ibrahim 874 George Makdissi 820 Emile Jreij 870 Khalil Jbour 810 Mike Matar 854 Fernando Mkhayel 809 Michel Chehade 821 Mounir Mkhayel 801 George Farah 816 Yaacoub Matar 780 Dany Makdissi 810 Michel Farah 772	Kfaraaqa Brings us Together		Kfaraaqa, My Town and Belonging	
Dany Makdissi 810 Michel Farah 772	Elias Sassine Nadim Metri Elie Atallah George Saad Sayed Horkous George Matar George Neemeh Elie Farah Jihan Ibrahim Emile Jreij Mike Matar Michel Chehade	1,025 979 972 954 939 933 932 899 874 870 854 821	Philip Boulos Yaacoub Nassif Rodolph Matar Edward Jreij Bassam Saad Jamil Khoury Emile Fayad Rafiq Semaan George Makdissi Khalil Jbour Fernando Mkhayel Mounir Mkhayel	994 893 891 872 871 844 835 822 820 810 809
Michel Bou Antoun 807 Lara Khoury 759	· ·			

Rahbeh's Municipal Elections

Capitalist Contest and the CP Triumphs

15 members

Rahbeh is one of the largest Orthodox-majority towns in the Akkar Mohafaza. Two main lists ran for municipal office in the town, each headed by a notable figure with political and financial clout. The Lebanese Communist Party headed by Hanna Gharib, Rahbeh's townsman and the LCP new Secretary General, proved to be the strongest player in the electoral contest.



2010 Elections

There was no real competition in Rahbeh in 2010. In fact, the race for the town's 15-seat council was won by quasi-acclamation as the list sponsored by former deputy Prime Minister Issam Fares and headed by his business manager Sajeeh Atieh included representatives of all political forces- the Free Patriotic Movement, the Phalanges, the Communist Party and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party- against a number of independent candidates that chose to run on familial grounds. The first list achieved a sweeping victory gaining an average of 1,250 votes or 62% of the total vote.

2016 Elections

Quasi-acclamation morphed into a fierce electoral battle owing to the changing position and choices of the Communist Party which decided to confront Sajeeh Atieh's list and the forces backing it. Thus, two lists were formed:

- The List of Rahbeh: a list headed by the Head of the Municipality and businessman Sajeeh Atieh and backed by the Free Patriotic Movement, the Phalanges, the Syrian Social Nationalist Party and former Deputy Prime Minister Issam Fares.
- Reconciliation and Development List: a list headed by businessman Fadi Barbar and endorsed by the Lebanese Communist Party, supporters of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party and former MP Abdallah Hanna. This list won in its entirety.

Reconciliation and Development

Fadi Barbar	1,745
Wissam Mansour	1,683
Allam Khoury	1,678
Salvador matar	1,675
Jamil Hanna	1,663
Eli Gharib	1,649
Kamal Harb	1,645
Samar Saad	1,644
Bassam Khoury	1,642
Kamil Hayek	1,635
Elia Nehmeh	1,632
Walid Matar	1,632
Adelle Hannah	1,603
Joseph Bayeh	1,586
Saadallah Saba	1,573

The List of Rahbeh

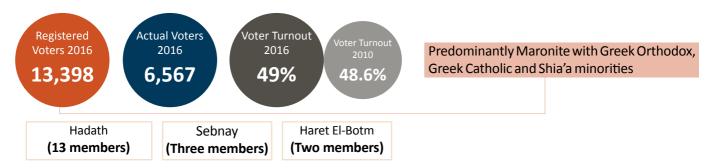
Sajeeh Atieh	1,265
Jean Fayyad	1,287
Bassam Skaff	1,274
Riadh Nasim	1,249
Samir Rizk	1,241
Kamil Ghazoul	1,229
George Harb	1,214
Jerjes Mansour	1,195
Husni Khoury	1,188
Saad Isaac	1,187
Jean Saba	1,186
Ghassan Qeraawi	1,174
Rizkalla Salloum	1,127
Mahmoud Rifai	1,106
Amer Matar	1,065

Hadath's Municipal Elections

An FPM vs. LF showdown and the former triumphs

18 members

Contrary to what happened in several Christian towns and villages, the Lebanese Forces and the Free Patriotic movement failed to ally together in Hadath. Instead, the two headed for a faceoff that resulted in a landslide victory for the list backed by the Free Patriotic Movement.



2010 Elections

The 2010 electoral battle in Hadath was a cutthroat competition. It was considered an opportunity to settle scores between the Free Patriotic Movement and the March 14 Forces, particularly the Lebanese Forces and the National Liberal Party. The contesting lists were the following:

- The "Solidarity of Hadath" list headed by George Aoun and backed by the Free Patriotic Movement.
- The "So that Hadath Lives On" list headed by the head of the municipality Antoine Karam and backed by the Lebanese Forces.

The first list won all seats gaining an average of 3,310 votes or 53% of the total vote compared to 43.6% (2,698 votes) for the rival list. The margin between the last among winners and the first among losers was 404 votes.

2016 Elections -

It was not uncommon to see the Lebanese Forces and the Free Patriotic Movement ally together in several towns this year. However, Hadath was an exception as the two parties ran against each other in two lists:

- The "Solidarity of the Youth of Hadath" list headed by the Head of the Municipality George Aoun and baked by the Free Patriotic Movement and Al-Qaad Party.
- The "Unity of Hadath" list headed by the former Head of the Municipality Antoine Karam and backed by the Lebanese Forces, the Phalanges and the National Liberal Party.

Scooping 63.5% of the total vote or an average of 4,231 votes, the first list achieved a sweeping victory over its rival, which only obtained 2,019 votes accounting for approximately 31.4% of the total votes. 1,863 votes separated the lowest vote-gainer among winners and the highest vote-gainer among losers, which shows the advancement of the Free Patriotic Movement at the expense of the rival Christian forces.

Solidarity of the Youth of Hadath

George Aoun	4,383
Sami Jamous	4,355
Suleiman Abi Rizk	4,313
Qezhayya Bou Khalil	4,292
Roger Shartoun	4,274
Abdou Sherfan	4,268
Antoine Matar	4,262
Pascale Asmar	4,244
Dina Haddad	4,232
Ibrahim Barbari	4,229
Antoine Asmar	4,229
Ziad Souma	4,219
Samir Tarraf	4,208
Said Shebli	4,207
Ziad Choueiry	4,200
Youssef Barbari	4,179
Fadi Dawalibi	4,141
Jerji Haddad	4,019

Unity of Hadath

Patrick Sneifer	2,156
Antoine Karam	2,148
Fadi Khalifeh	2,142
Elias Haddad	2,136
Ziad Matar	2,122
Imad Barbari	2,111
Elie Asmar	2,108
Joseph Abou Khalil	2,098
Najib Barbari	2,098
Joseph Dib	2,093
Wissam Barbari	2,088
Fouad Asmar	2,078
Tony Zeraoui	2,078
Joseph Antoine Wanis	2,078
Elie Jamous	2,055
George Debbas	2,048
Bassam Rahhal	2,046
Janin Sherfan	2,007

Sin El-Fil's Municipal Elections

The LF-FPM alliance flops

18 members

The alliance of the Lebanese Forces and the Free Patriotic Movement failed to achieve victory in the municipal elections of Sin El-Fil. There were many reasons for their defeat foremost of which the parties' non-abidance by the list that the alliance endorsed and the fact that there were some partisan candidates running on the rival list headed by the Head of the Municipality Nabil Kahhaleh. Kahhaleh's list won in its totality by large margin.



2010 Elections

In 2010, two lists competed over the municipal seats in Sin El-Fil:

- Towards a Better Sin El-Fil: a list chaired by Nabil Kahhaleh and backed by the Phalanges, the Lebanese Forces and MP Michel El-Murr.
- An Opportunity for Change: a FPM-backed list

The first list won 2,791 to 1,482 or roughly 50.8% to 32.1% of the total vote.

2016 Elections

This year, the Lebanese Forces joined with the Free Patriotic Movement in confrontation of the Head of the Municipality Nabil Kahhaleh who was backed by the Phalanges, MP Michel El-Murr and some of the LF and FPM supporters. Two lists were formed:

- Sin El-Fil for a Better Tomorrow: a list headed by Nabil Kahhaleh.
- Sin El-Fil Brings Us Together: a list headed by Joseph Shaoul and backed by the LF and the FPM.

The first list won in its totality obtaining an average of 2,794 votes accounting for 61.5% of the total vote against 40.1% for its contender, which gained an average of 1,820 votes, meaning 974 votes less than the winner compared to a difference of 1,309 votes in 2010.

Sin El-Fil for a Better Tomorrow

Nabil Kahhaleh	2,926
Victoria Khoury	2,855
Jean Ghazal	2,822
Kamal Sfeir	2,822
Rafqa Maatouk	2,815
Nadim Tarabay	2,814
Abdou Azzam	2,810
Elie Matar	2,805
Joseph Abi Rashed	2,802
Elias Hakim	2,793
Robert Abi Khalil	2,793
Gabriel Atallah	2,792
Edward Farah	2,783
Michel Sfeir	2,766
Assaad Qassis	2,757
Nicolas Azar	2,754
Odyss Yaramian	2,700
André Abou Zeid	2,688

Sin El-Fil Brings us Together

Joseph Shaoul	1,824
George Houeis	1,823
Dory Azar	1,822
Semaan Abi Nader	1,822
Charbel Mardini	1,814
George Abou Antoin	e 1,811
Christine Ghazal	1,809
Fadi Atwi	1,796
Antoine El-Khazen	1,794
Pascale Khalil	1,791
Raymond Saliba	1,791
Kamil abou Qors	1,782
Mardo Kojokian	1,756
Badih El-Mnayyar	1,749
Joseph Farah	1,749
Dany Attieh	1,747
Elias Massaad	1,741
Ahmad Ahmaz	1,708

Deir El-Kamar's Municipal Elections

No longer a "Chamounian Emirate"

18 members

Deir El-Kamar is one of the largest Maronite towns in Mount Lebanon. It is symbolic for being the hometown of Camille Chamoun, one of the most prominent presidents of the republic and Maronite leaders. In the past, Deir El-Kamar was a pivotal political center from which Mount Lebanon was governed. The municipal battle in the town was therefore highly important in gauging the general Maronite mood in El-Shouf. The results proved very disappointing for MP Dory Chamoun who could only secure one seat against an alliance including the Free Patriotic Movement and the Progressive Socialist Party.

2010 Elections -

Two lists ran for municipal office in 2010:

- The "Deiri Consensus" list backed by the National Liberal Party, the Lebanese Forces and some dignitaries such as Brigadier general Adonis Nehmeh.



- The "Deir El-Kamar" list headed by the head of the municipality Fadi Hnein and endorsed by the Free Patriotic Movement, former Minister Naji Boustany and a number of the town's dignitaries.

The first list obtained 1,329 votes or 45.5% of all the votes cast thus snatching thirteen seats against five seats for the rival list which amassed an average of 1,232 votes constituting 42.2%. The council elected Antoine Boustany as Head of the Municipality and Pierre Jamil Adwan (brother of MP George Adwan) as his deputy. However, the disputes soon erupted in the council resulting in the resignation of over half of its members (11 members known to be supported by the LF and the NLP resigned following disputes with Naji Boustany's supporters) and subsequently the dissolution of the council in May 2014.

2016 Elections -

There was a shift in alliances in 2016 as the Lebanese Forces united with the Free Patriotic Movement in the face of a coalition including former minister Naji Boustany, Dory Chamoun and the former Head of the Municipality Fadi Hnein. The following two lists were formed:

- **Deir El-Kamar Baldati:** a list headed by former ambassador Melhem Mesto and backed by the LF, the FPM, the PSP and a number of families.
- The Decision for Deir El-Kamar: a list headed by the former Head of the Municipality Fadi Hnein and endorsed by Naji Boustany, MP Dory Chamoun, the Phalanges and Tracy Chamoun, who is close to the FPM.

Deir El-Kamar Baldati won an average of 1,556 votes (47.2% of the total votes) securing 12 seats in the council against six seats for the second list, which amassed an average of 1,436 votes (43.6% of the total vote). It was striking that Pierre Adwan ranked among the foremost losers and that the share of MP Dory Chamoun was restricted to only one seat. On the "Deir El-Kamar Baldati" list, two PSP candidates passed through along with three LF candidates, two for the FPM and five independents from different families.

The difference between the lowest vote-gainer on the winning list and the top vote-gainer on the losing one was 404 votes.

The Deir El-Kamar Baldati List

Melhem Mesto	1,741
George Yazbek	1,939
Elias Renno	1,777
Jihad Chalhoub	1,692
Habib Nehmeh	1,653
Antonios Farah (PSP)	1,623
Ghassan Bou Saba	1,539
Antoine Saad (PSP)	1,606
Fadi Sheniara	1,481
Pierro Jurdi	1,577
Semaan Boueiz	1,566
George Hannah	1,532
Boutros Adwan	1,347
Iskandar Trabolsi	1,461
Souheil Tabet	1,405
Abdo Moussa	1,346
Abdo Chaaya	1,410
Najib Elias Ghrayeb	1,315

The Decision for Deir El-Kamar List

Fadi Hnein	1,751
Adel Abou Rjeily	1,632
Walid Boustany	1,600
Nadim Assaf	1,529
Wissam Moussa	1,582
George Jurdi	1,528
Sobhi Boueiz	1,413
Elie George Khoury	1,464
Nada Akl	1,403
Elias Akl	1,424
Charbel Nassif	1,419
George Youness	1,309
Sami Habib	1,304
Carla Chamoun	1,274
Joseph Tabet	1,269
Cyril Chamoun	1,252
Patrick Oudaimy	1,370
Wissam Baddoura	1,329

Kfar Roumman's Municipal Elections

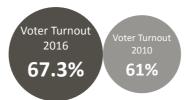
Communist Victory

15 members

Kfar Roumman is amusingly dubbed "Kfar Moscow" in reference to the large number of communists and their supporters in the town. The Zein family used to enjoy the greatest clout in Kfar Roumman in the past but the family's leadership declined as the Amal Movement and Hezbollah emerged onto the political stage. Nevertheless, the Communist Party maintained its active and efficient role in the town, which allowed it to engage in strong confrontation against the list backed by the Amal Movement and Hezbollah in the most recent municipal elections.







A high percentage revealing the heat of the competition

- 2010 Elections

The 2010 contenders were the following:

- The "Loyalty and Development" list backed by the Amal Movement (seven candidates), Hezbollah (five candidates), MP Abdul Latif Zein (two candidates) and the Nasserites (one candidate).
- The "Kfar Roumman for All" list backed by the Communist Party.

The first list won in its entirety amassing an average of 1,800 votes or roughly 59% against 1,075 votes for the rival list accounting for 35% of the total vote.

- 2016 Elections

The competition that unfolded in 2010 recurred in 2016, but proved to be much bigger and fiercer this time, raising turnout levels and resulting in a partial win for the list backed by Hezbollah, Amal and MP Abdul Latif Zein.

- The "Development and Loyalty" list backed by the Amal Movement and Hezbollah. The list amassed an average of 1,584 votes equaling 45.5% of the total vote.
- "Kfar Rouman Al-Ghad" list backed by the Communist Party, the Democratic Left Movement, and Al-Baath Party. It garnered an average of 1,338 votes or 39.7% of the total vote. The results indicate a progress for the Communist Party compared to the 2010 results, as it was able to clinch three seats from the rival Shi'a coalition despite the latter's remarkable electorate.

Development and Loyalty

Yasser Ali Ahmad	1,852
Mohammad Najdi	1,805
Mohammad Mouheidly	1,790
Ali Saad	1,738
Haitham Abou Zeid	1,689
Hassan Hamzeh	1,676
Ali Daher	1,642
Mohammad Salemeh	1,533
Ossama Bilal	1,530
Rim Farhat	1,480
Mohammad Qassem	1,459
Hassan Ghabris	1,453
Afif Hussein	1,402
Youssef Mouallem	1,376
Issam Daher	1,338

Kfar Rouman Al-Ghad

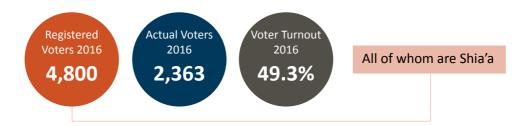
Ahmad Baalbaki	1,228
Majed Mouallem	1,959
Mohammad Ali Shakroun	1,574
Hatem Ghabris	1,441
Hussein Ali Rizk	1,411
Rajaa Fakhreddine	1,407
Waddah Abou Zeid	1,404
Karim Daher	1,344
Hasan Hassan Hamzeh	1,327
Ossama Farhat	1,323
Hussein Daher	1,323
Ali Abou Zeid	1,332
Moussa Ali Ahmad	1,322
Ghaleb Saleh	1,192
Mirna Salemeh	1,179

Bazouriyeh's Municipal Elections

The Communist Party challenges Amal and Hezbollah in Nasrallah's Hometown

15 members

Unlike the uncontested victory in 2010, the Bazouriyeh municipal election was marked this year by intense competition between the Communist Party and the Amal-Hezbollah coalition. Despite being the hometown of Hezbollah's Secretary General Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, Hezbollah's popularity is far lower there than that of the Amal Movement and the Lebanese Communist Party.



-2010 Elections

In 2010, the list backed by the alliance of the Amal Movement (four candidates including the head of the municipality and his deputy), Hezbollah (six candidates) and the Communist, Syrian Social Nationalist and Baath Parties (five candidates) won by acclamation.

-2016 Elections

In 2016, the Communist Party departed from the previous alliance of 2010 and formed instead a list with the families of the town, thus imposing a competition between two major lists:

- The "Development and Loyalty" list backed by the Amal Movement, Hezbollah and the Syrian Social Nationalist and Baath Parties
- "The Bazouriyeh" list backed by the Communist Party and local families.

The first list won 1,342 to 662 votes, or 56.8% to 28.1%.

The Development and Loyalty list

Moussa Nasrallah	1,158
Hussein Ayyash	1,740
Khalil Watfa	1,645
Rida Nasrallah	1,613
Mohammad Hassan Srour	1,602
Mohammad Hadraj	1,547
Hussein Jaffal	1,456
Fadl Hadraj	1,364
Bahij Husseiny	1,356
Hassan Srour	1,339
Ali Awada	1,255
Mahmoud Damerji	1,237
Hussein Nisr	1,191
Yehia Diab	1,134
Adnan Deeb	1,122

The Bazouriyeh list

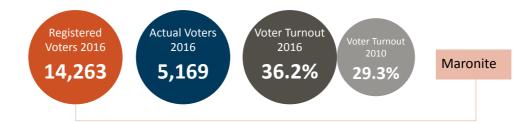
Ali Diab	602
Bassem Srour	876
Ibrahim Faraj	814
Abdullah Nisr	750
Jaafar Watfa	745
Ali Jaffal	720
Mohammad Ahmad Damerji	614
Mohammad Qarouni	591
Ali Deeb	589
Hussein Delbani	504
Samir Husseiny	502
Fraiha Hadraj	487
Mohsen Jaffal	437
Mariam Ayyash	426

Bsharri's Municipal Elections

Non-political faceoff with the Lebanese Forces

18 members

The Lebanese Forces Party enjoys great popularity in Bsharri, as the city is the birthplace of both its leader Samir Geagea and his wife Strida. Although the city's notable families do not fare worse in terms of popular recognition, they have often refrained from running head-to-head against the LF and the municipal elections were frequently won by quasi-acclamation. The equation changed in 2016 as some of the families decided to contest the elections and confront the LF-backed list.



- 2010 Elections

In 2010, the LF supported the "Bsharri Progresses" list chaired by Antoine Khoury Tawq against eight candidates who were backed by some of the Bsharri families. The LF-backed list achieved a sweeping win scooping 60.4% (an average of 2,439 votes) of the total vote. The last winner on the LF list defeated the top losing candidate by a margin of 528 votes. The difference between the average votes of the winning list and those of the rival candidates amounted to roughly 1,450 votes.

2016 Elections

This year, two lists contested the municipal elections:

- The LF-backed "Development and Loyalty for Bsharri" list headed by Freddy Kairouz.
- The "Bsharri Mawten Qalbi" list headed by Joe Khalifeh Rahmeh and backed by Bsharri's families and a number of LF supporters who challenged the LF list.

The "Development and Loyalty for Bsharri" list won all seats in the municipal council, amassing an average of 3,016 votes or 58.3% of the total vote. The rival list obtained 2,010 votes, i.e. 38.9% of the final vote. 931 votes separated the lowest votegainer on the winning list and the top vote-gainer on the losing one and 1,006 between the two lists.

Development and Loyalty for Bsharri

Assaad Kairouz	3,198
Ziad Tawq	3,127
Peter Khoury	3,117
Kamil Rahmeh	3,115
Antoine Rahmeh	3,111
Gaby Tawq	3,102
Boutros Geagea	3,085
Marianne Saad	3,077
Freddy Kairouz	3,072
Elie Fakhri	3,070
Charles Chidiac	3,063
Rola Nahhas	3,055
Pascale Rahmeh	3,046
Mansour Lawn	3,045
Tony Imad Tawq	3,045
Charbel Soukkar	3,044
Tony Torry Tawk	3,040
Youssef Fakhri	3,017

Bsharri Mawten Qalbi

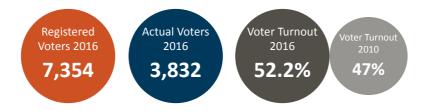
Joseph Khalifeh	2,086
Fadi daher	2,053
Tony Tarabay	2,003
Hany Kairouz	1,999
Jean Claude Lotm	1,990
Antoine Tawq	1,981
Rana Fakhri	1,966
Micheline Sukkar	1,951
Elie Fakhri	1,933
Charbel Tawq	1,922
Eliane Fenianos	1,914
Gaby Soukkar	1,911
Elias Tannous	1,907
Haitham Tawq	1,902
Rima Tawq	1,891
Fatek Chidiac	1,886
Elie Hanna Geagea	1,867
Richard Geagea	1,867

Halba's Municipal Elections

Familial Contest Tinged with Politics

18 members

Halba is the capital of the Akkar Mohafaza. Over 65% of its residents are Sunni, thus making them a majority while the Greek Orthodox and Maronite account for 35% of the population. Politically speaking, Halba is home to a mixture of political parties including the Future Movement, the Islamic Jama'a, the Communist Party and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party. In addition to its political diversity, the families of Halba play an active and efficient role. The importance of the municipal elections in the town lies in that they served as an indicator to the power dynamics in the Mohafaza of Akkar.



2010 Elections

In 2010, the "Decision of the People of Halba" list- a list backed by the SSNP and the Communist Party and headed by the Head of the Municipality Said Halabi competed against the "Future of Halba" list headed by Abdul Hamid Halabi and backed by the Future Movement.

The first list won the elections with an average of 1,594 votes (52%) compared to 1,314 votes (42.7%) for its rival.

The difference between the lowest vote-gainer on the winning list and the top vote-gainer on the losing one was 124 votes.

2016 Elections -

Three lists contested the municipal elections in Halba this year. Although the contest appeared to be among families at face value, it was in fact tinged with politics:

- The "Halba's Decision" list headed by the Head of the Municipality Said Halabi.
- The "Halba's Development" list headed by the previous Head of the Municipality Abdul Hamid Halabi.
- The "Halba Al-Ghad" list headed by businessman Mohammad Zoghbi.

The "Halba's Development" list won 17 seats in the council thanks to an average of 1,588 votes or 41.4% of the total vote. Halba's Decision amassed an average of 1,359 votes (35.5%) and managed to snatch one seat. The share of the final list was limited to 568 votes or roughly 14.8%.

Halba's Development

Abdul Hamid Halabi	1,763
Mohammad Abdallah	1,666
Othman Qaddour	1,644
mad Yaacoub	1,642
Khaled Ibrahim	1,618
Bassam Hallak	1,599
Carlosk Achkar	1,595
Yassine Metlej	1,587
Khaldoun Halabi	1,579
George El-Sheikh	1,577
mad Oubaid	1,563
Mourad Hammoud	1,558
Amer Makhoul	1,551
ahd Tarraf	1,548
Mouhammad Ayyash	1,546
lerjes Chami	1,532
George Tadros	1,530
Mostafa Ali	1,481

Halba's Decision

Said Halabi	1,508
Siham Halabi	1,409
Ahmad El-Hassan	1,406
Bassam Mansour	1,406
Mariam Hammoud	1,391
Abdul Salam Melej	1,383
Mounir Yaacoub	1,378
Said Naim	1,366
Barakat Makhoul	1,364
Joseph Oubaid	1,361
Abdou Baghdadi	1,350
Walid Qaddour	1,345
Mohammad Rajab	1,337
Salem Sheikh	1,327
Joud Achkar	1,302
Sarkis Bou Daher	1,297
Talal Ali	1,288
Robert Chami	1,259

Halba Al-Ghad

Mohammad Zoobi	755
Dany Oubaid	694
Salaheddine Hammoud	672
Tamam Hammoud	665
Ibrahim Ayyash	651
Alaa Ibrahim	641
Mohammad Hammoud	636
Nour El-Hoda Rajab	607
Imad Hallaq	580
Mazen Abdallah	571
Ali Tarfi	570
Khalil Achkar	561
Ghassan Suleiman	547
Moussa Yaacoub	545
Abdul Karim Qaddour	533
Samar Tarraf	517
Nabil Rachkidi	481

Sheba'a Municipal Elections

The Future Movement allies with its rivals under one list

18 members

Sheba'a, the largest among the Arkoub towns, assumes considerable importance due to its location on the Lebanese-Israeli borders and its role in the Arab-Israeli conflict over the past few decades. The municipal elections in the town acquired a familial character. Nevertheless, the political background did not vanish from the picture, especially amidst the political divisions clouding the country.

The Future Movement announced that it would be sitting on the fence, affording its supporters ample freedom to make their own voting choice. However, scratching beneath the surface shows that the Future Movement was covertly backing the Loyalty and Dignity list, which was equally supported by the rivals of the FM- against the Islamic Jama'a endorsing the Sheba'a for All list.







Voter Turnout 2010 **43.3%**

2010 Elections

Three lists engaged in the 2010 electoral rivalry:

The Free Decision list headed by Mohammad Saab and backed by the Future Movement, the Islamic Jama'a and a number of families.

The Sheba'a for All list headed by the outgoing head of the municipality Omar Zouhairy and partially backed by the Future Movement and a number of families. The list was incomplete consisting of only 15 candidates.

The Decision of Sheba'a list headed by William Saab and supported by the Arkoub Inhabitants Commission (close to Kamal Shatila). The list was incomplete consisting of 12 candidates.

The first list won obtaining an average of 2,455 votes or roughly 51% of the total vote compared to an average of 1,178 and 980 votes for the second and third lists respectively.

2016 Flections

In 2016, the competition was limited to two lists:

- The "Sheba'a for All" list gaining the support of the Islamic Jama'a and a number of families.
- "The Loyalty and Dignity" list headed by the Head of the Municipality Mohammad Saab and gaining indirect support from by the Future Movement and directly from March 8 parties.
- The Loyalty and Dignity list dominated 16 seats in the council obtaining an average of 2,680 votes equaling 47.6% of the total vote whereas its rival managed to snatch two seats with an average of 2,230 votes or 39.6%. Only 450 votes decided the balance, suggesting a tight competition in which financing parties had allegedly brought the expatriates back home to participate in the polls.

The Loyalty and Dignity

Mohammad Saab	3,084
Mohammad Asaad Hachem	3,076
Mohammad Qassem Awwad	3,072
Issam Qassem Ghader	2,857
Bassem Mohammad Hachem	2,837
Khalil Zoghbi	2,820
Hassan Zahra	2,722
Qassem Fares	2,637
Mohammad Nabaa	2,620
Mohammad Qassem Hamdan	2,594
Akram Kanaan	2,591
Mohammad Zein Daher	2,581
Radwan Hamad	2,571
Omar Saadi	2,569
Omar Serhan	2,494
Mohammad Fouad Markiz	2,467
Moussa Ghader	2,374
Mohammad Shariha	2,272

Sheba'a for All

Adnan Khatib	2,685
Chehab Daakour	2,672
Safi Nassif	2,387
Ibrahim Serhan	2,371
Mohammad Asaad Farhat	2,348
Abdullah Saadi	2,316
Mohammad Ali Daher	2,303
Salim Ghader	2,254
Ali Qaadan	2,249
Khaled Khaled	2,238
Mostafa Markiz	2,225
Mohammad Hamad	2,166
Ismail Youssef	2,103
Samer Chantaf	2,051
Hussein Hachem	2,003
Asaan Mohammad Hamdan	1,994
Bassem Ghader	1,946
Qassem Nabaa	1,831

Srifa's Muncipal Elections

The Communist and Syrian Social Nationalist Parties vs. Amal and Hezbollah

15 members

The Amal Movement and Hezbollah formed electoral lists in the majority of towns in South Lebanon and Beqa'a where they have a large sphere of influence. Although their alliance swept the election in most towns, they were occasionally opposed by active rivals who were able to gain traction and to achieve partial wins against Amal and Hezbollah in several towns, such as Srifa.



2010 Elections

In 2010, two lists ran against each other in Srifa:

- The "Loyalty and Development' list including nine candidates for the Amal Movement and six for Hezbollah.
- The list consisting of the Communist Party and SSNP alliance.

The first list secured 13 seats in the council whereas the second won two, therby defeating two Amal Movement candidates. The first scored an average of 1,051 votes accounting for 45.8% of the vote and the second 701 votes or 30.6%.

2016 Elections –

The same scenario played out in 2016 with two lists contesting the election:

- The "Development and Loyalty" list backed by the Amal Movement and Hezbollah.
- An incomplete 12-member list backed by the Lebanese Communist Party and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party.

The first list won nine seats to six. It amassed an average of 1,186 votes or roughly 39.7% against 875 votes or 23.4% for the second list, a score that implies a decline in support for Hezbollah and Amal compared to 2010.

Development and Loyalty

Wadih Najdi	1,212
Samir Alaeddine	1,103
Ali Eid	728
Qayssar Fakih	910
Mahmoud Moussa Nazal	909
Mohammad Karim Nazal	1,053
Mahmoud Kamaleddine	839
Talal Najdi	982
Mohammad Jaber	969
Kamal Hamoudy	1,613
Ali Haidar	1,385
Ahmad Ramadan	1,491
Fouad Anbar	1,272
Abbas Nazal	1,789
Ahmad Najdi	1,530

CP and SSNP

Ali Said	521
Mahmoud Abdul Hussein Nazal	815
Hassan Badih Najdi	1,243
Samih Hamoudi	1,167
Hassan Abdul Hussein Najdi	1,310
Abdul Meneem Said	760
Ali Ahmad Arzouni	1267
Khalil Jaber	642
Ali Hawi	1,035
Jaafar Najdi	1,119
Mohammad Ramez Kamaleddine	125
Mohammad Kamel Najdi	500

Municipal

Elections 2016

JEZZINE'S PARLIAMENTARY BY-ELECTION 2016

After a 21-month delay, the Lebanese government finally conducted the parliamentary by-election in Jezzine on May 22, 2016 to fill out the Maronite seat which had become vacant on June 27, 2014 following the death of MP Michel Helo. According to Article 41 of the Lebanese Constitution, the election of a successor has to begin within two months from the date of the vacancy.

Although the term of the new MP is going to be a short one, not exceeding 13 months, the by-election was marked by real competition between four candidates, particularly between Amal Abou Zaid and Ibrahim Azar. Jezzine's by-election was considered a prelude to the general parliamentary elections expected before June 20, 2017 and a sequel to the electoral battle that characterized the Qada'a in 2009 particularly between the Free Patriotic Movement and Speaker Nabih Berri.

Jezzine



2009 Parliamentary Election

In 2009, the major rivalry was between the list backed by the Free Patriotic Movement and MP Samir Azar, the candidate backed by Speaker Nabih Berri. Voter turnout amounted to 53.6% and the FPM emerged victorious. The 2009 electoral results broke down as follows:

- Ziad Aswad (Maronite): 15,648 votes

- Issam Sawaya (Greek Catholic): 14,914 votes

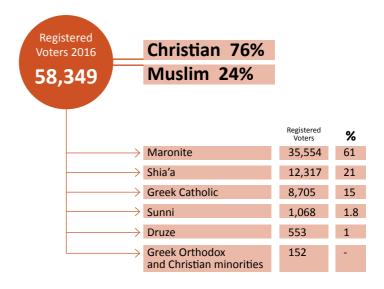
- Michel Helo (Maronite): 13,291 votes - Samir Azar (Maronite): 10,792 votes

- Antoine Khoury (Greek Catholic): 5,220 votes

- Kamil Serhal (Maronite): 5,403 votes - Edmond Rizk (Maronite): 7,399 votes - Ajaj Haddad (Greek Catholic): 6,498 votes

- Fawzi El-Asmar (Maronite): 4,338 votes

The large number of votes obtained by Samir Azar was credited to the Shia'a vote. The Shia'a electorate totaled 10,467 in 2009 with 5960 casting their votes. Of those, 4990 voters or 83.7% voted for Azar. The Maronite and Greek Catholic candidates on the FPM list received 52.2% which decreased the votes for Michel Helo.



2016 Parliamentary By-Election

Four candidates contested the by-election in 2016. Amal Abou Zeid won convincingly with 14,653 votes or 53.5% of the total vote. Second in line was Ibrahim Azar who amassed 7,759 votes equaling 28%.

The results are remarkable because the votes received by Amal Abou Zeid were fairly close to those received by the winners in 2009 while Ibrahim Azar's votes were lower than his father's in 2009 by 3,000 votes.

The distribution of votes by area is illustrated in Table 1 and shows the supremacy of Azar over Abou Zeid by roughly 400 votes in the city of Jezzine (Azar's hometown).

Table 1: Distribution of votes by area

Distribution of	# of eligible	# of actual	Amal Hekmat Aou Zeid		Salah Nqoula Jobran		Patrick Elias Rizkalla		Ibrahim Samir Azar	
voters by area voters	voters	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%	
City of Jezzine	8,007	3,820	1,509	39.5	183	4.8	36	0.9	1,941	50.8
Towns of Jezzine	48,603	23,580	13,144	55.7	2,959	12.5	364	1.5	5,818	24.7
Qada'a of Jezzine	56,610	27,400	14,653	53.5	3,142	11.5	400	1.5	7,759	28.3

By sect, Abou Zeid surpassed his rival among Christian and Shia'a voters while Azar fared better among Sunni voters as illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2: Distribution of votes by sect

Distribution of	# of eligible	of eligible # of actual		Amal Hekmat Bou Zeid		Salah Nqoula Jobran		Patrick Elias Rizkalla		Ibrahim Samir Azar	
votes by sect	voters	voters	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%	
Maronite	29,623	14,287	7,449	52.1	1,717	12.0	243	1.7	4,152	29.1	
Shia'a	9,663	4,291	2,589	60.3	159	3.7	32	0.7	1,168	27.2	
Greek Catholic	5,392	2,518	1,449	57.5	371	14.7	29	1.2	564	22.4	
Maronite & Greek Catholic	4,292	2,185	1,194	54.6	293	13.4	27	1.2	581	26.6	
Greek Catholic & Maronite	1,300	1,154	516	44.7	363	31.5	19	1.6	216	18.7	
Shia'a & Maronite	1,150	419	226	53.9	13	3.1	3	0.7	134	32.0	
Maronite & Sunni & Shia'a	1,162	494	357	72.3	59	11.9	2	0.4	80	16.2	
Maronite & Shia'a	1,031	559	204	36.5	82	14.7	23	4.1	207	37.0	
Maronite & Sunni	964	576	293	50.9	40	6.9	18	3.1	202	35.1	
Maronite & Druze	898	450	229	50.9	20	4.4	3	0.7	173	38.4	
Sunni	772	301	60	19.9	25	8.3	1	0.3	209	69.4	
Druze	363	166	87	52.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	73	44.0	
Total	56,610	27,400	14,653	53.50%	3,142	11.5%	400	1.5%	7,759	28.3%	

Because the freedom of press in Lebanon is a right embodied in the Constitution and the rules and regulations in force, media outlets- written, audio and visual- operate as platforms addressing the stances and performance of the political class and daring critical coverage. Sometimes, political authorities detect libel and slander in the posted media material and subsequently resort to the Court of Publications to prosecute the outlet or the journalist in question for what they consider to be defamatory statements. The court either refutes the claims and grants acquittal or convicts the defendants sentencing them to prison or imposing fines in favor of the plaintiffs. The fines imposed by the court in recent years have amounted to LBP 505 million as illustrated in Table 1.

It is noteworthy that the highest fine worth LBP 100 million was imposed on *Ad-Diyar* in the lawsuit brought against it by former PM Saad Hariri.









Table 1: Fines imposed by the Court of Publications on media outlets in favor of the politicians.

Source: Court rulings published by Lebanese newspapers

Plaintiff	Defendant	Publication date	Date of ruling	Court ruling
Major General Jamil	Ayman Jezzini, Future Move- ment Website	-	2/11/2011	Case dismissal
Sayyed	Fares Khashan- Youqal Net Website	20/1/2010	25/10/2010	A fine of LBP 10 million and a compensation for damages amounting to LBP 10 million
	Owner of <i>Ash-Sharq</i> newspaper Awni Kaaki and responsible director Yehia Jaber	2/6/2014	9/12/2015	A fine of LBP 3 million and a symbolic compensation of LBP 1000
	An-Nahar newspaper/ Jour- nalist Antoine Khoury Harb and responsible director Habib Shlouq	20/4/2013	24/6/2014	Fining the columnist LBP 2 million
	Maria Maalouf during an interview on LBC	1/3/2012	9/7/2015	Fining Maalouf LBP 36 million including LBP 10 million to be paid to Jamil Sayyed as compensation and publishing the court ruling in Al-Mouttaham talk show on LBC as well as in three local newspapers.
Lebanese Forces leader Samir Geagea	Al-Akhbar newspaper- Ibrahim El-Amin as well as the responsible director, the general manager and the columnist.	6/10/2008	13/2/2013	Fining columnist Antoine Khoury Harb LBP 10 million and Nader Sabbagh LBP 6 million as well as a compensation for dam- ages amounting to LBP 6 million.
	Al-Anbaa's journalist Hamza Al-Khansa, the newspa- per's responsible director Mohammad Akl and the national company for media, owner of Al-Anba'a	7/10/2010	4/1/2014	Fining the columnist and the managing director LBP 6 million each as well as a compensation for damages amounting to LBP 10 million and publishing the court ruling.
	Al-Jadeed TV station and its Chief News editor Mariam al-Bassam	2/2/2013	20/4/2015	Fining the defendant LBP 6 million, imposing a compensation for damages worth LBP 6 million on al-Bassam and Al-Jadeed and broadcasting a brief summary of the court ruling.
	Al-Jadeed TV station, journalist Ghada Eid and Chief News Editor Mariam al-Bassam	2/12/2013	20/5/2015	Fining al-Bassam LBP 5 million and a compensation for damages amounting to LBP 6 million
Lebanese Forces Party and MP Strida Geagea	Al-Akhbar newspaper and columnist Ghassan Saoud	14/12/2012 and 13/8/2012	12/1/2016	Fining Saoud LBP 9 million and a symbolic compensation of LBP 1000
General Michel Aoun	Ash-Sharq newspaper, its owners and columnist Alfred Nawwar.	4/10/2012 And 12/10/2012	2/12/2014	Fining Nawwar LBP 12 million and the newspaper LBP 10 million in each of the two cases against them, i.e. a total of LBP 44 million.
	Al-Mustaqbal Newspaper/ Journalist Carla Khattar	23/10/2012	24/6/2014	Fining the responsible director and the columnist LBP 3 million each and a compensation of LBP 1 million.
	Al-Mustaqbal newspaper	2011 and 2013	2/12/2015	Fining each of the five journalists who wrote the articles object of the trial LBP 3 million

Plaintiff	Defendant	Publication	Date of	Court ruling
Minister of Energy and Water Gebran Bassil	Future TV, the chairman of its board of directors and news directors Hussein Al-Wajeh and Imad Assi	date 4/4/2013	ruling 2014	Fining Hussein Al-Wajeh and Imad Assi LBP 4 million each and a compensation worth LBP 6 million.
MP Sami Gemayyel	Al-Akhbar's newspaper and its digital site as well as the newspaper's directors and the columnist Rola Ibrahim	23/4/2013	9/12/2015	A fine of LBP 1 million, a symbolic compensation of LBP 1000 and acquittal of Akhbar Beirut S.A.L. and its chairman Ibrahim Al-Amine
	Al-Akhbar's digital site and the columnist Rola Al-Amine	30/5/2013	22/4/2015	Fining the columnist and the head of board of directors Ibrahim Al-Amine LBP 1 million each and a symbolic compensation of LBP 1000
Former Minister Ibrahim Najjar	Ash-Sharq newspaper- Di- rector Yehia Jaber and own- ers Awni and Wafiq Kaaki	19/8/2011	-	Fining the managing director LBP 10 million and imposing on the director and the newspaper's owners a compensation for damages amounting to LBP 15 million.
	Al-Akhbar newspaper and the columnist Radwan Mortada	20/8/2013	22/4/2015	Fining the newspaper and Mortada LBP 2 million each
Former Minister Elias Skaff	The Phalanges Party's website managed by Nadim Yazbek	-	5/6/2012	Imposing a fine of LBP 8 million and posting the court ruling on the party's website
Retired Judge Assem Safieddine	Al-Jadeed TV station and journalists Ghada Eid and George Bashir	7/3/2008	2/6/2015	Fining Ghada Eid LBP 6 million, George Bashir LBP 3 million and Al-Jadeed LBP 4 million
Former ISF Chief Ali el- Hajj	Ash-Shiraa magazine, its owner Hassan Sabra and the managing director Ghazi Al-Maqhour	21/3/2011	15/2/2016	Fining Ghazi Al-Maqhour LBP 1 million and acquitting Hassan Sabra
Former minister Tarek Mitri	Al-Akhbar newspaper/ Jour- nalist Asaad Bou Khalil		16/5/2013	Fining the columnist and the newspaper LBP 6 million each and a compensation for damages amounting to LBP 6 million
MP Hassan Yaacoub	An-Nahar newspaper, its responsible director, edi- tor-in-chief and the colum- nist Mohammad Abi Samra and Mahmoud Sadeq Yaghi	28/9/2008	28/6/2011	Imposing an LBP 6 million fine on Yaghi and LBP 3 million on each of Abi Samra and An-Nahar's responsible director Habib Shlouq. A compensation for damages amounting to LBP 6 million is to be paid by the three of them.
Former PM Fouad Se- niora	The Free Patriotic Move- ment's website, the web- site's responsible director Patrick Bassil and Paul Bassil.	31/12/2012	2013	Fining them LBP 6 million each.
MP Oukab Saqr	The Free Patriotic Move- ment's website, the web- site's responsible director Patrick Bassil and media coordinator Qassim Henoud	26/2/2011	2013	Fining Bassil and Henoud LBP 6 million each and a compensation for damages amounting to LBP 12 million
Head of the State's Shura Council Judge Shukri Sader	Al-Jadeed TV station, its Chief News Editor Mariam al-Bassam and journalist Ghada Eid, presenter and editor of Al-Fasad talk show		30/10/2009	Fining al-Bassam and Eid LBP 20 million each as well as a compensation worth LBP 30 million, i.e. a total of LBP 70 million.
Former PM Saad Hariri	Ad-Diyar newspaper, its owner Charles Ayoub and the responsible director Youssef Houwayek		20/10/2009	Fining the newspaper's owner and the responsible director LBP 50 million each, that is a total of LBP 100 million

The judge head of court who issued the ruling is : Rukoz Rizk $\,$

N.B: This list does not include lawsuits brought against politicians by other politicians, nor lawsuits brought against normal people.



THE FOREIGN WORKFORCE IN LEBANON:

210,000 WITH WORK PERMITS INCLUDING 155,000 DOMESTIC WORKERS

Unemployment rates have risen to 25% in Lebanon. At least 300,000 Lebanese out of a total labor force of 1.3 million are currently unemployed. In contrast, the foreign workforce- excluding Syrians and Palestinians- has recorded a clear increase in employment numbers.

Foreign Labor

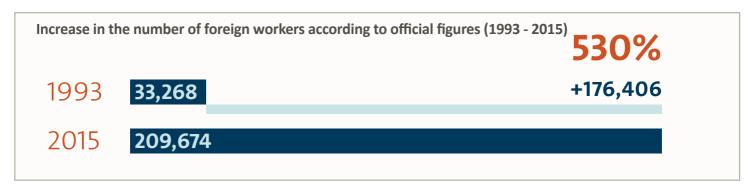
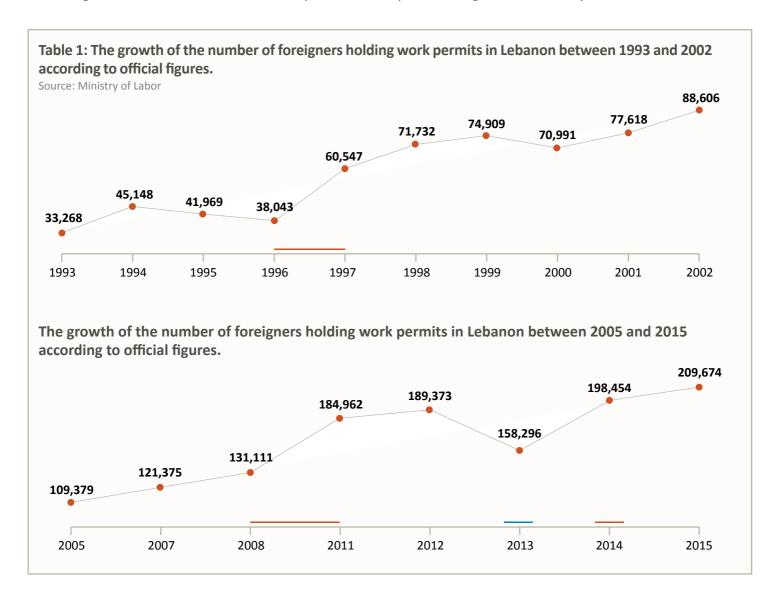


Table 1 illustrates the growth of the number of foreigners holding work permits in Lebanon between 1993 and 2015 according to official figures. It is noteworthy that the years 1996-1997 saw the highest increase at 60%. A fairly high increase was also registered between 2008 and 2011 with foreign labor growing by 53,851 workers or 41%. Compared to 2012, foreign labor decreased in 2013 by 16.4%, only to rise again in 2014 by 25%.



Some estimates suggest that there are 50,000 to 60,000 foreign nationals residing and working illegally in Lebanon, which increases the total foreign labor to 270,000.

Ethiopians on top

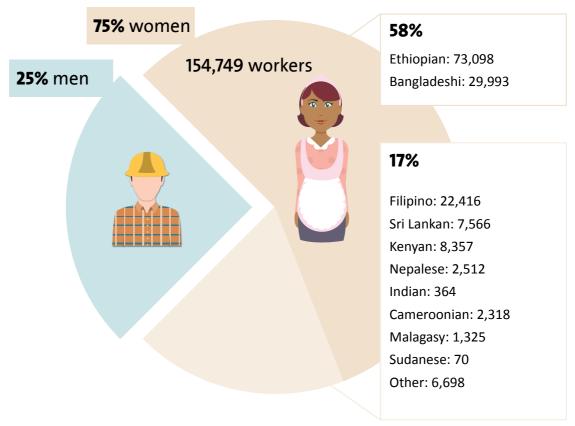


Table 2: Evolution of the number of foreign workers by nationality

Source: Ministry of Labor

Nationality/Year	2005	2007	2011	2014	2015
Ethiopian	-	36,859	44,987	66,411	73,419
Bangladeshi	-	7,063	40,380	44,677	49,136
Filipino	27,675	22,997	29,141	23,462	23,606
Sri Lankan	37,578	21,297	14,053	9,818	8,867
Egyptian	10,632	17,055	23,167	17,130	18,457
Indian	5,104	5,294	7,367	7,372	7,414
Sudanese	559	1,496	1,870	1,736	1,689
Nepalese	-	2,468	9,542	3,368	2,668
Kenyan	-	-	1,000	7,395	8,372
Malagasy	-	-	2,864	453	1,330
Others	27,831	6,846	10,591	16,632	14,716
Total	109,379	121,375	184,962	198,454	209,674

COST OF RETIREES

10% OF BUDGET EXPENDITURE

The number of state employees has seen a huge increase, particularly in security apparatuses where over 100,000 people are employed, and consequently the number of retirees has risen in parallel. In the 2015 draft budget law the retirees cost the Lebanese state roughly LBP 2200 billion, accounting for 9.4% of the total public expenditure. This figure compares to LBP 200 billion in 1994 when their cost accounted for 4.8% of the total expenditure. If the figures are to continue at the same rate, spending on pensions is likely to reach roughly 20% by 2035. This by no means implies that the cost of the retirees must be reduced or their rights undermined, it simply underlines the need to come up with a well-thought-out plan to reduce the current number of employees and subsequently the number and cost of pensioners.



Cost of military retirees

Table 1 illustrates the cost of pensions and end-of-service indemnities between 1994 and 2015. Military pensions and indemnities accounted for 70% to 83% of the total cost of retirees.

Table 1: Pensions and end-of-service indemnities (LBP billion)

Source: Draft public budgets in the respective years

Year		1994	2000	2004	2010	2012	2015
Public budget expenditures		4,106	8,590	9,400	19,537	21,063	23,362
Pensions & end-of-service indemnities		200	875	1,000	1,400	1,830	2,200
+							
Percentage of Public Expenditure		4.8%	10%	10.6%	7.2%	8.7%	9.4%
Military	Pensions	-	-	489	941	1,080	-
	End-of-service indemnities	-	-	212	175	440	-
Civil	Pensions	-	-	171	259	270	-
	End-of-service indemnities	-	-	128	25	40	-

Military retirees' cost distribution

Pensions account for 75% of the cost of military retirees and end-of-service indemnities account for the remaining 25%. The Lebanese Army dominates roughly 52% of this cost followed by the Internal Security Forces at 20% as illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2: Military retirees' cost distribution (LBP billion)

Source: Draft public budgets in the respective years

Pensions and end-of-service indemnities	2004	2010	2012
Pensions	660	200	1350
Parliament Police	5	7.5	8
State Security	15.5	30	35
Lebanese Army	325	610.5	657
Internal Security Forces	105	217.5	300
General Security	38.5	75	80
Civil Administrations	171	259.5	270
End-of-service indemnities	340	200	480
Parliament Police	4	4	6.5
State Security	8	6	9.5
Lebanese Army	115	100	289
Internal Security Forces	65	35	80
General Security	20	30	55
Civil Administrations	128	25	40

SCHOOLS ARE CHRISTIAN AND STUDENTS ARE MUSLIM

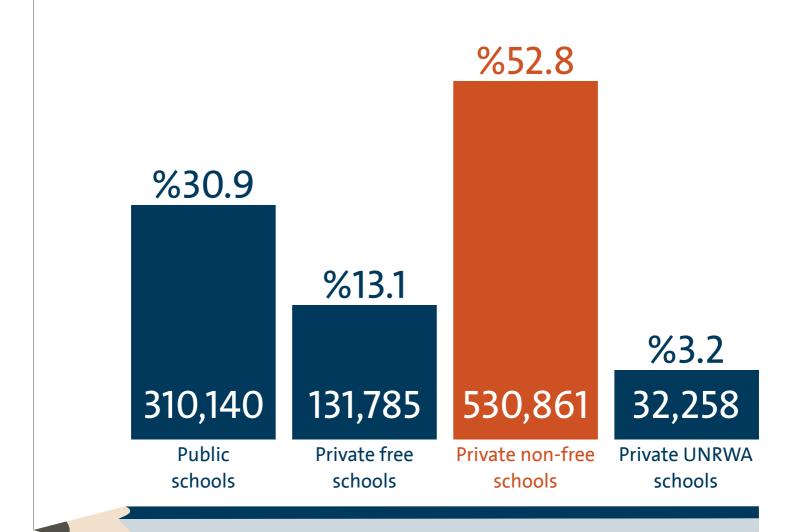
Decades ago, hundreds of schools were established by monks and nuns across different Lebanese regions. Affected by the movements of migration and displacement which marked Lebanon over these decades, these schools recorded declines in their student population. The number of Christian students dropped to alarmingly low rates in some schools. In some cases, Christians were even on the verge of completely disappearing from school records, which became dominated by Muslim students. Yet, those schools persisted in their mission far from any sectarian or religious considerations.



In the scholarly year 2013/14, the student population totaled

1,005,044

and broke down as follows:



Christian schools alone have 207,000 students including 28,000 in private free schools and 179,000 in non-free schools.

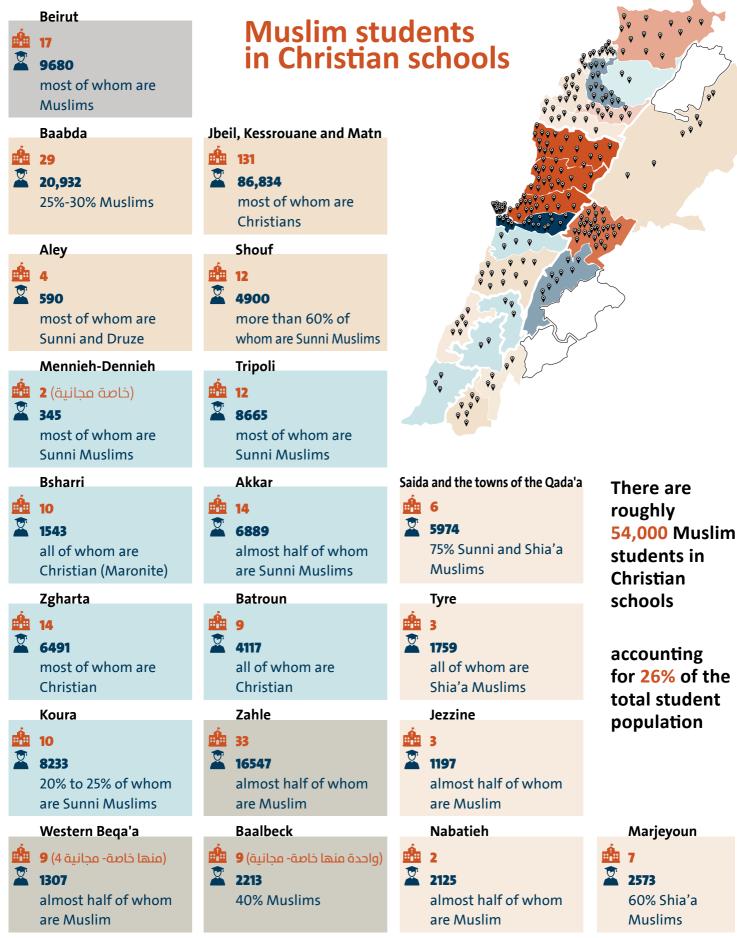
Distribution of Schools by Qada'a

These schools are distributed across all Lebanese Aqdiya; some of them are present in Christian Aqdiya with a majority of Christian students; some in mixed Aqdiya with students from different sectarian backgrounds and the remaining schools are located in Muslim areas and accommodate a majority of Muslim students.

Table 1: The distribution of private Christian schools- both free and non-free- and the number of students in the scholarly year 2013/14.

Source: School Guide issued by the Center for Educational Research and Development

Qada'a	# of private non-free Christian schools	# of students	# of private free Christian schools	# of students	Total # of schools	Total # of students
Beirut	30	20,564	5	2,018	35	22,582
Jbeil (Byblos)	10	7,393	4	740	14	8,133
Kessrouane	32	26,973	12	3,678	44	30,651
Matn	54	42,888	19	5,162	73	48,050
Baabda	24	19,415	5	1,517	29	20,932
Aley	2	293	2	297	4	590
Shouf	11	4,564	1	336	12	4,900
Tripoli	7	5,939	5	2,726	12	8,665
Mennieh-Dennieh	-	-	2	345	2	345
Akkar	8	4,082	6	2,807	14	6,889
Bsharri	6	909	4	634	10	1,543
Batroun	6	3,550	3	567	9	4,117
Zgharta	10	4,890	4	1,601	14	6,491
Koura	7	7,258	3	975	10	8,233
Zahle	25	14,710	8	1,837	33	16,547
Baalbeck	8	1,800	1	413	9	2,213
Hermel	No Christian schools					
Rashaya			No Christian scho			
Western Beqa'a	5	709	4	598	9	1,307
City of Saida and the towns of the Qada'a	6	5,974	-	-	6	5,974
Tyre	3	1,759	-	-	3	1,759
Jezzine	2	744	1	453	3	1,197
Nabatieh	2	2,125	-	-	2	2,125
Bint Jbeil	5	1,676	2	897	7	2,573
Marjeyoun	3	880	1	165	4	1,045
Hasbaya	No Christian schools					
Total	266	179,095	92	27,766	358	206,861



There are no Christian schools in the Aqdiya of Hasbaya, Rashaya and Hermel.

Was Napoleon Bonaparte a 'shorty'?

Myth

In addition to being recognized as a mighty emperor with tactical savvy and military prowess, Napoleon Bonaparte is still widely remembered for an even more popular trait: his short stature. However, was the "Little Corporal" really as short as commonly believed or is this just another historical myth perpetuated by misleading narratives?

Fact

The Short Man Syndrome- so-called Napoleon Complex- has allegedly been named after Napoleon and suggests that short men usually develop an inferiority complex and attempt to overcompensate for this perceived shortcoming. Many believed that Napoleon Bonaparte conquered Europe as a form of overcompensation for his lack of height. Interestingly though, Napoleon was far from short by the standards of his time.

It is believed that the confusion stems from miscalculations caused by the difference in English and French units of measure. Napoleon's autopsy, which was carried out by Napoleon's doctor, Frenchman Francesco Antommarchi and signed off by a number of British doctors, recorded his height as 5'2" (1.57m), which may be the source of much of the confusion. The French pouce ("inch") of the 19th century was slightly longer (2.71 centimeters) than its British equivalent (2.54 centimeters). In modern international units, Napoleon was just under 5'7" (1.70m) tall—not a giant by modern day standards but slightly taller than the average Frenchman of his era. At the time in France, the average height for an adult male was 5'5".

As for his nickname, the Little Corporal (le petit caporal), it does not refer to his small size as is mistakenly thought but to his little-known status when he rose to prominence at the 1796 Battle of Lodi. This battle was a turning point in Napoleon's career and, according to Napoleon himself, contributed to convincing him that he was superior to other generals. The nickname was in fact used as a term of affection rather than an insult, but British propaganda capitalized on this term to portray him as short in stature as a way of attacking and undermining him. The myth was also perpetuated by the fact that Napoleon was often surrounded by much larger soldiers and bodyguards and thus he must have seemed smallish in comparison.



MLIKH: MADE IT TO PARLIAMENT

A tranquil town in the Qada'a of Jezzine, Mlikh made headlines when its resident Amal Abou Zeid won one of the Maronite seats in the Qada'a, breaking- although not for the first time- the long established norm that the Qadaa's MPs should be from the city of Jezzine.

Etymology

In his book, *Names of Lebanese Towns and Villages*, author Anis Fraiha suggests that the word is of Aramaic origin and means salinity and a barren land unable to produce crops. However, this does not apply to the town's fertile lands. It is also possible that 'mlikh' is the root of the word 'malak', i.e. king.

Location

Mlikh is located in the Qada'a of Jezzine at an altitude of roughly 1000 meters above the sea level. It is 70 kilometers from Beirut and stretches across 400 hectares. The town may be reached by heading from Beirut to Saida to Jezzine then to Kfarhouna or from Beirut to Nabatieh and then to Loueizy.

Population and houses

The people in the town's personal status register total 2800. However, permanent residents do not exceed 400. There are 250 houses and the town's sectarian makeup is as follows: 55% Shia'a and 45% Christian (Maronite and a Greek Orthodox minority).

Voters

In 2000, there were 2,000 eligible voters in Mlikh, 455 of which turned out for the elections. The number rose to 1,781 in 2009 with 903 casting their ballots. This year, 1,964 voters were registered of whom 933 actually voted.

Voters are distributed over the following families:

Maronite

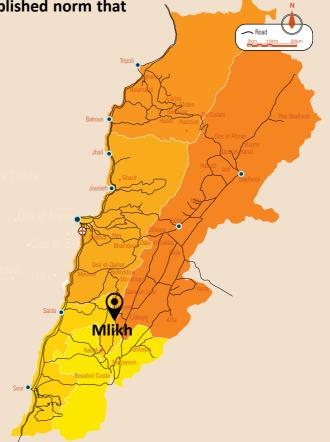
Abou Zeid: 643Qostantin: 45Zaidan: 45Boutros: 35

Greek Catholic

Matta: 45 votersIbrahim: 40

Shia'a

Abou Melhem: 103Hassan: 100Suleiman: 77



Abdullah: 66Mostafa: 66Mouqaddam: 66Amin: 50

Mantash: 48
Khalil: 48

Local Authorities

Local authority is vested in a municipal council of 12 members.

Economic Life

Residents rely on minor jobs and agriculture to earn a living.

Problems

The displacement of the residents due to the Israeli occupation in 1982 remains a major concern as the majority of those did not return despite Mlikh's liberation in 1999. Most of them visit during the weekends or summer vacations.

KHADEM AND KHADDAM FAMILIES

Sunni and Alawite in the north

'Khadem' is the Arabic for 'servant' or any person who helps or serves others in the various spheres of life. However, the widespread use of this word that particularly refers to domestic workers who help with cleaning and menial tasks around the house, the office or in restaurants, has downgraded the sense of the word. In Lebanon, there are families named 'Khadem' and 'Khaddam', probably because their forefathers used to be in service jobs.

Khadem

There are 63 Khadem members all of whom are Sunni living in the Nouri, Qebbeh and Hadid neighborhoods of Tripoli.

Al-Khadem

The Al-Khadems amount to 115 members, all of whom belong to the Sunni community, and live in Ras Beirut, Beirut and the Tebbaneh and Qebbeh neighborhoods of Tripoli.

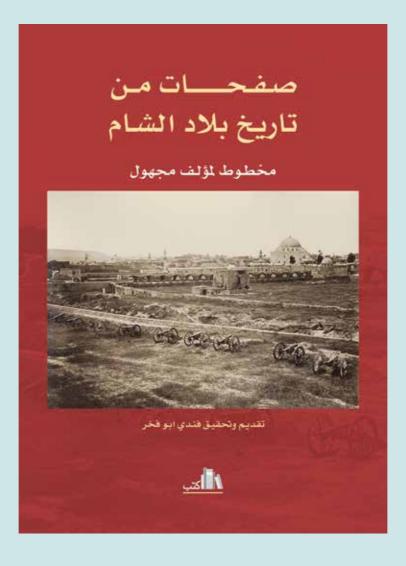
Khaddam

120 members make up the Khaddam family in Lebanon. The Khaddams are Alawite and live in the Tebbaneh neighborhood of Tripoli.

New Releases by Dar Kutub

PAGES OF THE HISTORY OF THE LEVANT

Pages of the History of the Levant is the third book published by Dar Kutub for Fandi Abou Fakhr. The book, which is a manuscript by an anonymous writer dating back to the Ottoman era, chronicles the historical facts and occurrences that unfolded in the Levant and particularly in Lebanon between 1697 and 1809, a period that was rife with crucial junctures. Maintaining an anonymous identity, the author diagnoses the features of the public life under the Chehabi Emirs and presents an account of the ordeal that the people suffered as a result of the feudal conflicts over power. Abou Fakhr obtained a copy of the manuscript from the Berlin State Library and, without compromising the style of the author or the spirit of the text, he added some punctuation marks and made linguistic corrections, where necessary, so as to facilitate comprehension.



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