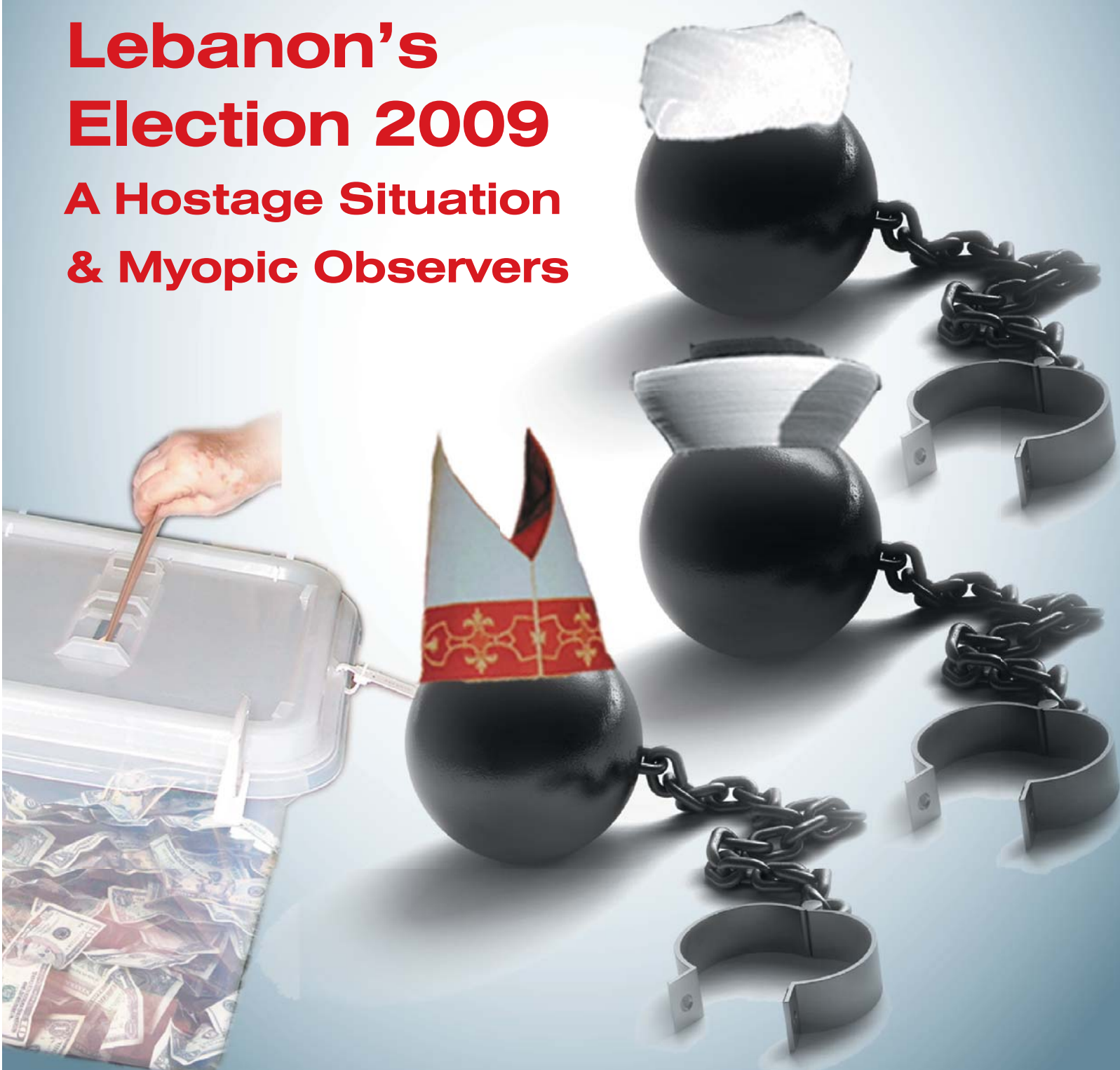


**Results of Parliamentary election
confirm accuracy of Information
International opinion polls published
by As Safir newspaper**

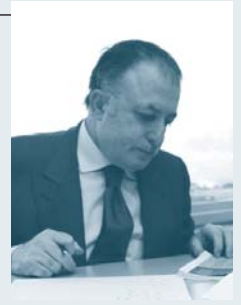
Lebanon's Election 2009 A Hostage Situation & Myopic Observers



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Lebanon Election

Stockholm Syndrome and Florence Nightingale Effect



Let us visit 17th century Lebanon, when the 'Great Prince' Fakhreddine II, "Ruler of all Mount Lebanon", "Sultan of the Sea", conqueror of Tripoli, Koura, Jbeil and ruler of Metn, Keserouan and Chouf is "dispensing Justice" by severing the heads of some of his followers and accepting appreciation and praise for his 'wisdom' from their relatives for sparing them. Here he is, writing to the Grand Duke of Tuscany that he is a Christian and he is prepared to unveil this secret and he signs: "My children kiss your hands and foot"

He writes to the Grand Duchess as well... "I and my country and followers are under your command, awaiting your orders, begging you to appoint me Counsel of Tuscany to oversee the exports and imports of my country to and from Tuscany.

He signs:

'Servant of your Highness

Prince of Saida and the entire Mount Lebanon'.

What does the emissary of the Grand Duke say about this 'great prince'.

"Although he is stingy and he robs his followers of their earnings, he seems loved by them because he gives his soldiers the opportunity to rob and to benefit. He is feared yet stingy and patient when confronted with calamities'.

Let us now move to the 18th century Lebanon, with another "great prince" Bashir al-Shihabi Al-Kabeer, at his Beiteddine Palace, also 'dispensing justice' by piercing the eyes of his nephews and sending his henchman Said Hamadeh to sever some heads here and there, perhaps in Deir Al Qamar or Joune. He sends his son Amine to the Ottoman Wali of Saida assuring him that he supports the Sultan, while his other son Khalil is assuring the Egyptian-French Mohammad Ali the opposite. His dream was to kiss the hands and feet of the Ottoman Sultan, but he died outside of Istanbul without realizing his dream, satisfying himself by kissing the hands of those who perhaps kissed a hand of a Sultan.

He was a Durzi with the Druze, a Christian with Christians and a Mohamadi with the Muslims, but he worked hard to have them at each other's throats...

What do his friends the French say about him?

'...The whole truth must be said; his oppression was overwhelming. Some people have shown me (in Damour and Chwaifat) their burned houses and their destroyed monastery and they told me that their women and daughters were violated...'wrote the translator for the French Council.

Let us now move to 20th Century Lebanon when the Zua'ama of Jabal Lebanon (Mount Lebanon) were groveling at the feet of Jamal Basha, for the titles of Beik, Afendi, Agha, and Sheikh and for the spoils of the Land.

What does Jamal Basha say about them?

'I made them' says the one they nicknamed "the Butcher", after the defeat of the Ottomans in WWI.

'I had never thought they would steep so low' he says, mentioning them one by one in his memoirs, they whose grand children still prowl Lebanon and the Arab World.

They were 'serving' him and at the same time 'serving' the French and the British, he says.

Let us now go to Lebanon at its 'First Independence', in 1943

What does General Edward Spears say?

'On the night of the 11th of November I was fast asleep with my windows wide open as usual when I was suddenly awakened in a startling way by a body falling into my mosquito net. Then I realized that I knew the figure that had fallen into my mosquito net. It was the President's eldest son, Khalil, a pudgy lad, and his face was covered with blood. He said, 'My father said to me, 'Go to General Spears and tell him'. Then he told me that soldiers had burst into his parents' room where his mother was ill in bed. Which they flung him, shouting 'Son of a dog, son of an Englishman'.

What does Patriarch Arida write about himself?

'Dear Professor Weizmann

We have authorized our son Sheikh...to conclude with you agreements for the benefit of both our countries and he is authorized to receive from you any amount of money as well'.

We continue our path to Camille Chamoun nicknamed 'The Handsom Arab Youth', brought to the presidency by the British and the Americans to the "Prince General" Shihab installed by Nasser and Eisenhower all the way to Helou, Frangieh, Sarkis and to the end of our symphony today.

What was and is being said about them?

Let us now enter the election of 2009 when 'we all', 'elected' 'them' and even the "missing third" stayed missing. This is an election that proves that 'we' have been taken hostages since the 17th century.

What does this say about these Zua'ma if the ultimate ambition of Fakhreddine was to become a council of Tuscany and Bashire to kiss the hands of the Sultan?

What would then be the ambition of who crawled and still crawl at Anjar and Awkar?

The equation is simple, it is fear and security.

Fear of "the other" and of the unknown, seeking refuge with the Zai'm who provides money and employment. Fear creates a dual Stockholm Syndrome and Florence Nightingale effect, for we Lebanese do fear and venerate our masters, just as they need us and love our need for them. So it is no wonder that 'we fear them' so and that 'we love them' so and 'they fear us' and 'love us' as well and that is the story of the Lebanese election in 2009 and of all elections.

— Jawad N. Adra



Newly elected Members of Parliament mean a new composition of Parliament and a mounting financial burden

Parliamentary election results were announced as the ballot boxes closed on June 7th and votes were tallied. The resulting new Parliament would consist of newly elected MPs, expected to perform legislative tasks in Parliament and supervise the government's work until June 2013. The Monthly will review the new Parliament and see whether new blocs will emerge, old blocs will change, and what its composition will be.

Parliamentary Blocs

The 2009 elections resulted in the victory of the pro-government 'March 14' alliance with 71 seats compared to 57 seats for the opposition's 'March 8' coalition. The Future Movement achieved a major victory as the largest parliamentary bloc, winning 39 seats - an increase of four seats compared to the 2005 elections. This was followed by the Free Patriotic Movement that gained 21 MPs, adding 5 new members to its bloc from the previous elections. The Phalange Bloc also increased its parliamentary representation with two new MPs. The Progressive Socialist Party (Jumblatt) lost 7 seats, as they waived an additional seat in Chouf to aid the election of another member of the March 14 alliance (Dory Chamoun) and another in A'aley for the Phalange Party (Fadi Haber), coupled with the loss of their candidates in the Ba'abda district. Both Shia'a Blocs also experienced setbacks. Hezbollah ceded some seats for its allies, while the Amal Movement lost 1 seat in West Beqa'a/Rachaya and 2 seats in Jezzine.

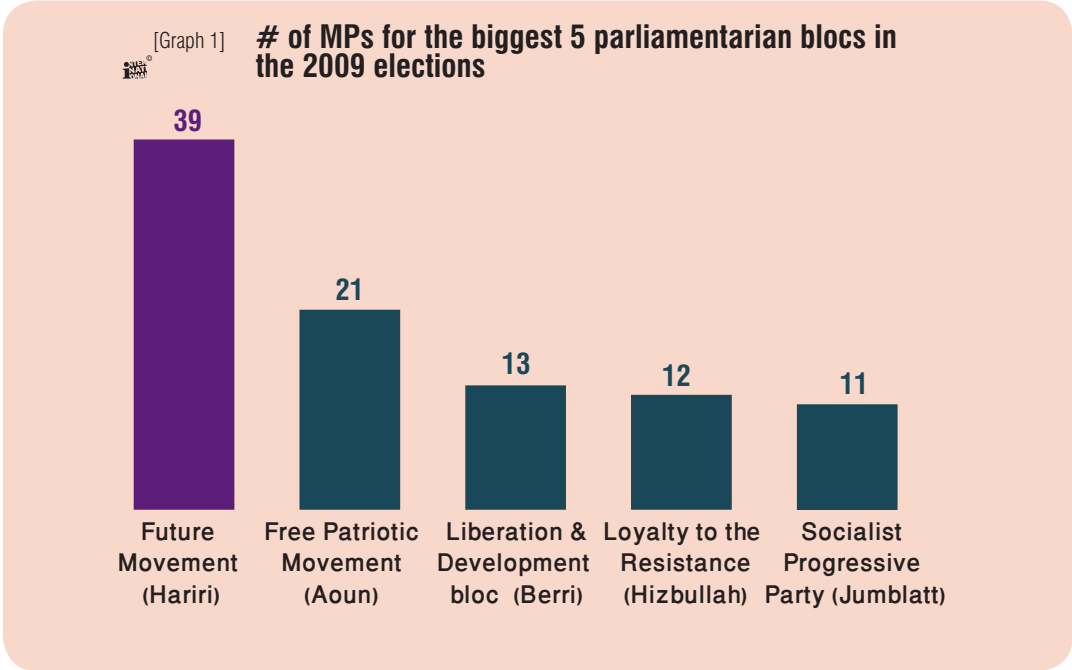
Table 1 details the distribution of MPs according to parliamentary blocs after the 2005 and 2009 elections. It also points to the possibility of changes that may occur in bloc representation if some MPs change blocs, as is expected in the coming months.

Distribution of MPs according to parliamentary blocs after the 2005 and 2009 elections				Table 1
Parliamentary Blocs	# of MPs in accordance with the 2009 Electoral Alliances	# of MPs that Resulted from 2005 Elections	Differences	
March 14 and Pro-government				
Future Bloc (Hariri)	36 MPs	35 MPs	1	
Progressive Socialist Party (Jumblatt)	11 MPs	18 MPs	-7	
Lebanese Forces Party (Geagea)	8 MPs	6 MPs	2	
Lebanese Phalange Party (Gemayel)	5 MPs	3 MPs	2	
Mikati Bloc	2 MPs	--	2	
Tripoli Bloc (Safadi)	3 MPs	4 MPs	-1	
Islamic Group List	1 MP	--	1	
National Liberal Party (Chamoun)	1 MP	--	1	
Independent	3 MPs	5 MPs	-2	
Democratic Left Party	1 MP	1 MP	0	
Total March 14 and pro-government MPs	71 MPs	72 MPs	-1	

Distribution of MPs according to parliamentary blocs after the 2005 and 2009 elections			Table 1
Parliamentary Blocs	# of MPs in accordance with the 2009 Electoral Alliances	# of MPs that Resulted from 2005 Elections	Differences
March 8 and Opposition			
Free Patriotic Movement (Aoun)	21 MPs	16 MPs	5
Liberation and Development bloc - Amal Movement (Berri)	13 MPs	15 MPs	-2
Loyalty to the Resistance (Hizbullah)	12 MPs	16 MPs (including Hussein Hussein)	-4
Tashnaq Party	2 MPs	1 MP from Free Patriotic Movement	2
Syrian Social Nationalist Party	2 MPs	2 MPs	0
People's Bloc (Skaff)	--	5 MPs	-5
El-Marada Party (Franjeh)	3 MPs	--	3
Nasserite Popular Organization in Lebanon (Saad)	--	1 MP	-1
Arab Socialist Baath Party	2 MPs	1 MP	1
Lebanese Democratic Party	1 MP	--	1
Islamic Action Front Party	1 MP	--	1
Total March 8 and Opposition MPs	57 MPs	56 MPs	1

We have listed the blocs formulated after the 2009 Parliamentary election. However, some of the blocs were re-organized according to political affiliation. For example, some members of Loyalty to the Resistance (Hizbullah) and Free Patriotic Movement (Aoun) blocs have joined the Talal Irsan and Franjeh blocs. The same applies to March 14 and pro-government parties. We will re-visit this subject again in the next issue after the nomination of the prime minister and perhaps the selection of new cabinet members.

Graph 1 shows number of the MPs from the 5 largest parliamentary blocs in the 2009 elections



Confessional Formula of Blocs

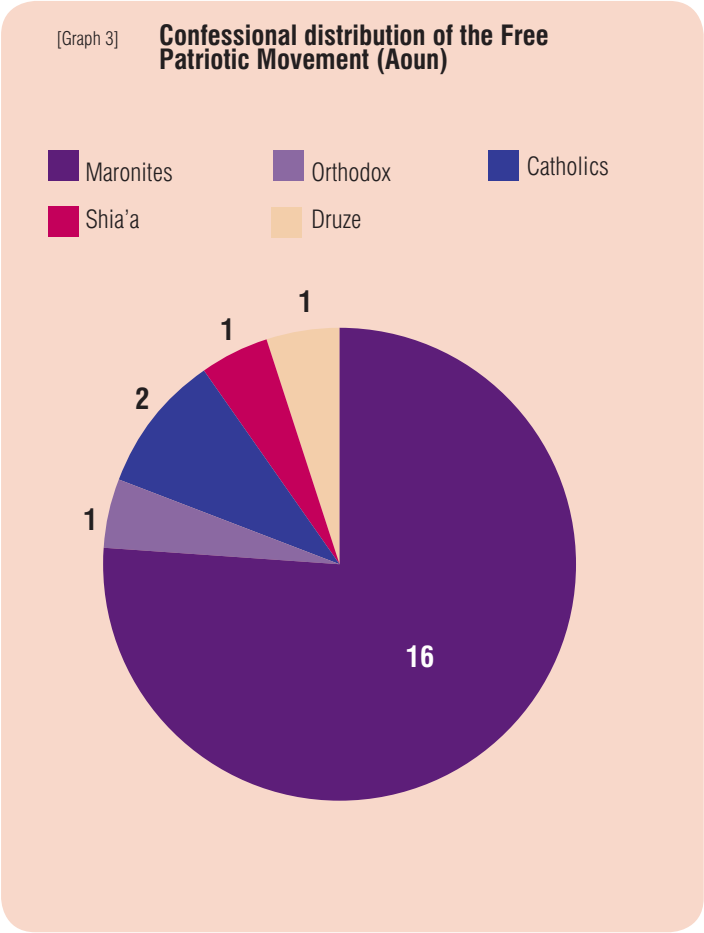
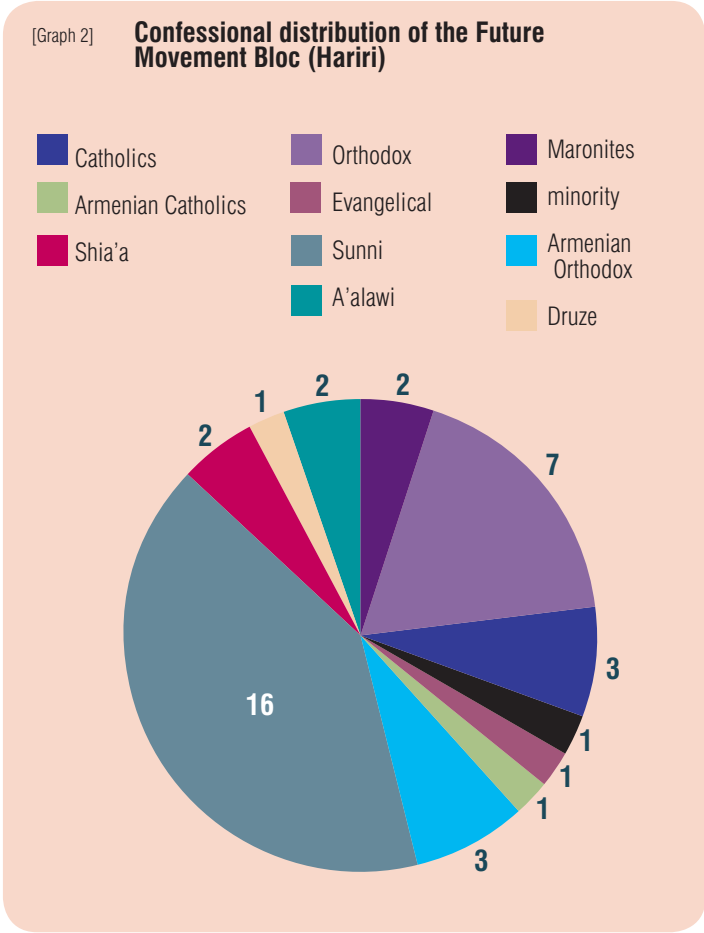
It has become apparent that MP membership in a bloc is no longer limited to their confessional affiliation. There is still an obvious predominant confessional leaning in each bloc; the Future Movement is dominated by the Sunni confession (41%) and comprises 60% of all Sunni MPs, whereas the Free Patriotic Movement is predominantly Maronite (76%) and encompasses 47% of all Maronite MPs. The Walid Jumblatt Bloc includes half of the Druze MPs, while Amal and Hizbullah Blocs mainly consist of the Shia'a confession and each comprise 40% of Shia'a MPs. Table 2 describes the confessional formula of parliamentary blocs.

Confessional formula of parliamentary blocs												Table 2
Blocs	Maronite	Orthodox	Catholics	Minorities	Evangelical	Armenian Catholics	Armenian Orthodox	Sunni	Shia'a	Druze	A'alawi	Total
Future Bloc (Hariri)	2	7	3	1	1	1	3	16	2	1	2	39
Progressive Socialist Party (Jumblatt)	3	1	1					2		4		11
Lebanese Forces Party (Geagea)	4	1										5
Lebanese Phalange Party (Gemayel)	4	1										5
Tripoli Bloc (Safadi)								3				3
Mikati Bloc								2				2
Independent	1	2										3
Democratic Left Party									1			1
Islamic Group List								1				1
National Liberal Party (Chamoun)	1											1
March 14 and Pro-government group	15	12	4	1	1	1	3	24	3	5	2	71
Free Patriotic Movement (Aoun)	16	1	2						1	1		21
Liberation and Development Bloc - Amal Movement (Berri)			1						11	1		13
Loyalty to the Resistance (Hizbollah)								1	11			12
Tashnaq Party							2					2
Syrian Social Nationalist Party		1	1									2
El-Marada Party (Franjeh)	3											3
Arab Socialist Baath Party								1	1			2
Lebanese Democratic Party										1		1
Islamic Action Front Party								1				1
March 8 and Opposition Group	19	2	4	0	0	0	2	3	24	3	0	57
Total March 8 and March 14 Groups	34	14	8	1	1	1	5	27	27	8	2	128

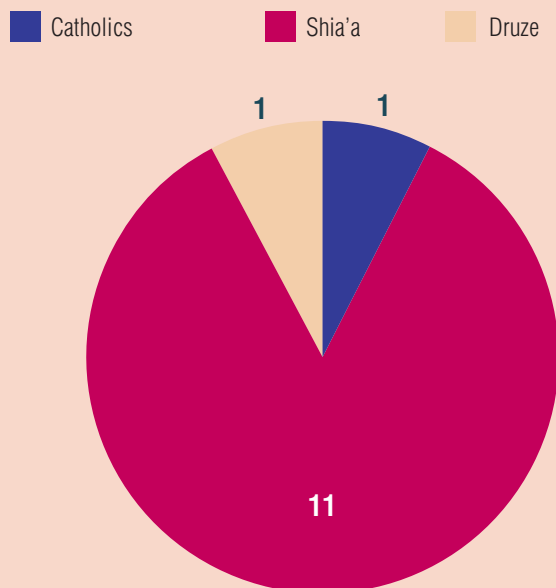


Photo by Waddah Joma'a - 2009

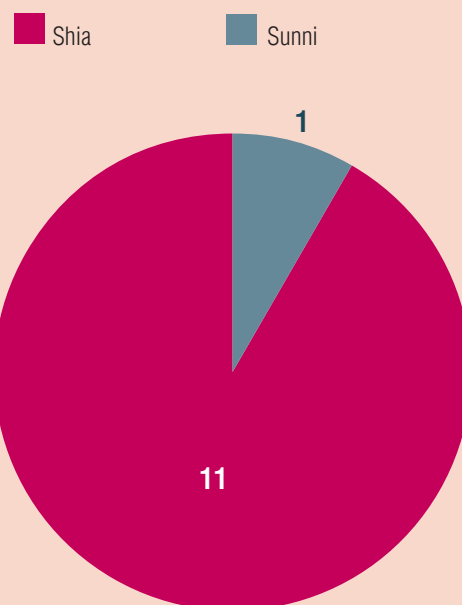
Graphs 2 – 6 show the confessional distribution of the 5 largest parliamentary blocs in the 2009 elections.



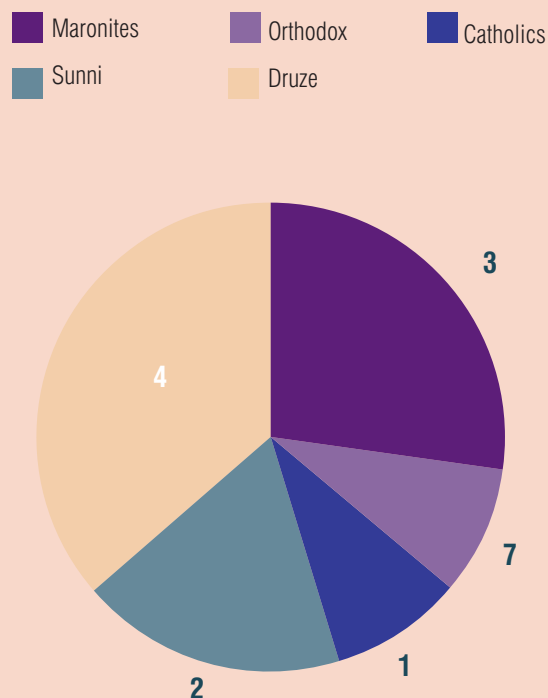
[Graph 4]

Confessional distribution of the Liberation and Development bloc - Amal Movement (Berri)

[Graph 5]

Confessional distribution of the Loyalty to the Resistance (Hizbullah)

[Graph 6]

Confessional distribution of the Socialist Progressive Party (Jumblat)

“ The Future Movement is dominated by the Sunni confession (41%) and comprises 60% of all Sunni MPs, whereas the Free Patriotic Movement is predominantly Maronite (76%) and encompasses 47% of all Maronite MPs. The Walid Jumblatt Bloc includes half of the Druze MPs, while Amal and Hizbullah Blocs mainly consist of the Shia'a confession and each comprise 40% of Shia'a MPs ”

Parliamentary Term

47 MPs lost their seats in the 2009 elections. They were replaced by 39 first-time MPs, who now comprise 30% of Parliament, and 7 previously elected MPs. This parliamentary renewal is less significant than that of the 1992 elections, when 105 new MPs were elected (including MPs appointed in 1991), which is more than the 44 new MPs in 1996, 36 in 2000, and 59 in 2005.

It is also worth mentioning that Abdul Latif Ezzein is the only MP to have spent 8 terms in Parliament (including the current one), while most MPs (40) have spent only two terms.

In addition, Abdul Latif Ezzein and Butros Harb remain the only two current MPs to have been in office since the Parliament of 1972.

Table 3 illustrates the distribution of MPs according to the number of parliamentary terms.

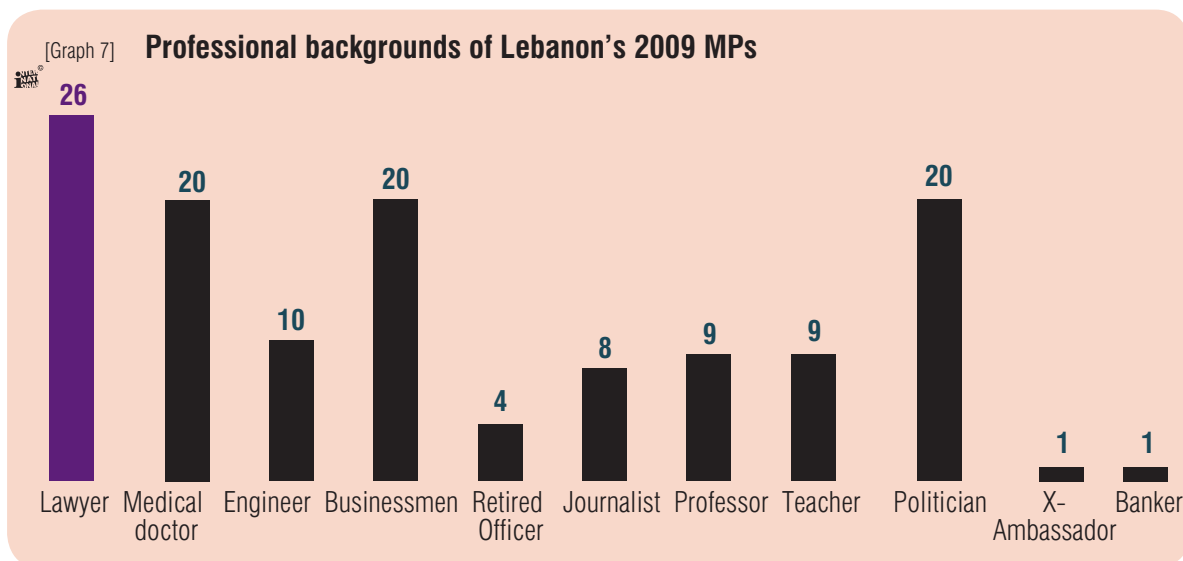
Distribution of MPs according to number of parliamentary terms									Table 3
Electoral Districts	# of MPs	One Term	Two Terms	Three Terms	Four Terms	Five Terms	Six Terms	Seven Terms	Eight Terms
Beirut 1st District	5	2		2	1				
Beirut 2nd District	4	4							
Beirut 3rd District	10	1	5	3		1			
Metn	8	1	6				1		
Keserouan	5		4	1					
Jbeil	3	1	1	1					
Ba'abda	6	5			1				
A'aley	5	1	1		2	1			
Chouf	8	1	1	3		3			
West Beqa'a/Rachaya	6	2	3			1			
Zahle	7	5	1			1			
Ba'albeck/Hermel	10	3	3	1	3				
Saida	2	1				1			
Zahrani (Saida Villages)	3					3			
Jezzine	3	3							
Nabatieh	3				1	1			1
Sour	4	1	1		1	1			
Bint Jbeil	3		1	1		1			
Marjeyoun/Hasbaya	5	1		1	1	2			
Tripoli	8	2	4	1		1			
Koura	3		1	1		1			
Batroun	2		1			1			
Zgharta	3	1		1	1				
Bcharri	2		2						
Minieh/Dannieh	3		2		1				
Akkar	7	4	3						
All Lebanon	128	39	40	16	12	19	1	0	1

Professional Backgrounds

Current Members of Parliament come from various professional backgrounds and practices which they exercised before joining Parliament. Most Lebanese MPs are lawyers (26 lawyers) followed by equal amounts of doctors, businessmen, and political and partisan activists (20 MPs per profession). When compared with the composition of the previous parliament, the number of lawyers remained stable, while the number of doctors witnessed a decrease from 24 to 20 and businessmen from 26 to 20. Table 4 lists the professional backgrounds of the Members of Parliament

Professional background of the Members of Parliament											Table 4	
Electoral Districts	# of MPs	Lawyers	Medical Doctors	Engineers	Businessmen	Retired Officers	Journalists	Professors	Teachers	Politicians	X-Ambassador	Banker
Beirut 1st District	5	2			1	1	1					
Beirut 2nd District	4				2		1			1		
Beirut 3rd District	10		4	1	2		1	1		1		
Metn	8	2	2	1		1	1			1		
Keserouan	5	1	1			1		1		1		
Jbeil	3		1		2							
Ba'abda	6		2	2	1					1		
A'aley	5	1		2					1	1		
Chouf	8	2			1		1	1		3		
West Beqa'a/Rachaya	6	2	1			1				1		1
Zahle	7	2	2				1	1	1			
Ba'albeck/Hermel	10	3	2					3	1	1		
Saida	2				1				1			
Zahrani (Saida Villages)	3	1	1							1		
Jezzine	3	2			1							
Nabatieh	3	1			1				1			
Sour	4						1		2	1		
Bint Jbeil	3				1		1		1			
Marjeyoun/Hasbaya	5	1	1		1			1		1		
Tripoli	8	2		1	4					1		
Koura	3	1			1					1		
Batroun	2	1			1							
Zgharta	3									3		
Bcharri	2	1								1		
Minieh/Dannieh	3		2	1								
Akkar	7	1	1	2				1	1		1	
All Lebanon	128	26	20	10	20	4	8	9	9	20	1	1

Graph 7 shows the professional backgrounds of Lebanon's MPs as of 2009



Age Categories

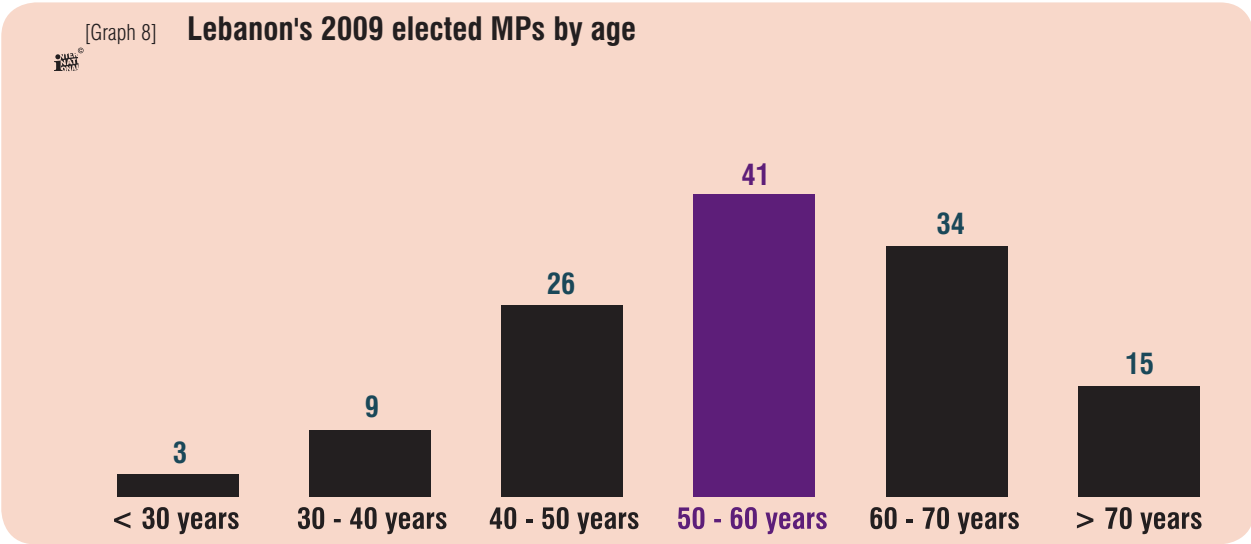
Parliament is taking on a new, younger face. 12 newly elected MPs are under the age of 40 and 67 others are between 40 and 60 years old.

Table 5 shows a distribution of MPs by age

Distribution of MPs according to their age							Table 5
Electoral Districts	# of MPs	< than 30 years	Between 30-40 years	Between 40-50 years	Between 50-60 years	Between 60-70 years	> than 70 years
Beirut 1st District	5	2		1	2		
Beirut 2nd District	4			1	3		
Beirut 3rd District	10		1	1	5	3	
Metn	8	1		1	3	1	2
Keserouan	5			1		2	2
Jbeil	3			1	2		
Ba'abda	6		1	3	1	1	
A'aley	5			1	2	2	
Chouf	8				1	2	5
West Beqa'a/Rachaya	6		2		2	1	1
Zahle	7		2	2	2	1	
Ba'albeck/Hermel	10			3	1	5	1
Saida	2				1	1	
Zahrani (Saida Villages)	3					2	1
Jezzine	3			1		2	
Nabatieh	3				2		1
Sour	4			1	2	1	
Bint Jbeil	3			1	2		
Marjeyoun/Hasbaya	5			3	1		1
Tripoli	8		2		1	5	
Koura	3					2	1
Batroun	2				1	1	
Zgharta	3			1	1	1	
Bcharri	2			1	1		
Minieh/Dannieh	3				2	1	
Akkar	7		1	3	3		
All Lebanon	128	3	9	26	41	34	15

Currently, the youngest MP in Parliament is Nadim Gemayel (born May 1, 1982) and the oldest is Abdul Latif Ezzein (born in 1930)- the only MP to have been in office since 1962.

Graph 8 shows Lebanon's 2009 elected MPs by age



Oldest to Youngest

The table below names the oldest and youngest MPs elected to parliament from 1992 to 2009. MP Emil Lahoud is the youngest MP elected throughout this period. The minimum age to run for parliamentary candidacy is 25 years old.

Year of elections	The Oldest	The Youngest
1992	Kabalan Issa Khoury (81)	Suleiman Franjieh (28)
1996	Kabalan Issa Khoury (85)	Suleiman Franjieh (32)
2000	Kabalan Issa Khoury (89)	Emil Lahoud (25)
2005	Edmond Neim (87)	Hadi Hobeish (29)
2009	Abdul Latif Ezzein (79)	Nadim Gemayel (27)

N.B. The age listed is the candidate's age the year of the elections

Political Succession or Political Inheritance?

A review of current MPs' relatives clearly shows that 25 MPs are the children or nephews of former MPs. These new MPs are listed below:

Michel Feraoun, Saad Hariri, Walid Jumblatt, Tammam Salam, Sami Gemayel, Nadim Gemayel, Selim Salhab, Robert Fadel, Samer Saadeh, Suleiman Franjieh, Nicolas Ghosn, Selim Karam, Ahmad Fatfat, Gilberte Zouein, Talal Irsan, Dory Chamoun, Samir Al-Jisr, Ghazi Zaaite, Hachem Alameddine, Henri Helou, Nayla Tueni, Ziad Kadri, Walid Khoury, Ali Oseiran, Abdul Latif Ezzein, Hadi Hobeish, Boutros Harb (nephew of a former MP), Estephan Doueihy (nephew of a former MP), Ghassan Mkheiber (nephew of a former MP), Ali Ammar (nephew of a former MP).

It is also important to note that political families have significant representation and influence in Parliament.

The Cost of MP Turnover Compensation in the 2009 Parliament
As mentioned above, the outcome of the 2009 parliamentary elections led to the departure of 46 Members of Parliament, who had been in office for varied numbers of terms. These MPs were replaced by 46 new candidates; 7 of whom had previously been elected to Parliament.

The expiration of parliamentary terms of unseated former MPs creates additional financial expenses, according to Law #25/74 enacted on September 25, 1974. This law entitles former presidents, speakers of parliament, prime ministers and MPs to a monthly compensation. The compensation is determined as follows:

- 55% of an MPs present salary, if the MP is elected for one parliamentary term.
- 65% of an MPs present salary, if the MP is re-elected for the second term
- 75% of an MPs present salary, if the MP has completed at least three terms.

According to this law, the present remuneration assigned to each Member of the Parliament totals 8.5 million LBP. When adding social aid provided by the Parliament Cooperative Fund valued at 2.7 million LBP, the total reaches 11.2 million LBP per month.

Voter numbers sustained a significant increase in Beirut 1st District, Jezzine and Saida

The 2009 parliamentary elections had a significant increase in voter turnout, particularly in highly contested districts. Competing electoral campaigns sought to sway Lebanese both in Lebanon and abroad. Total voting turnout reached 50.7%, compared to 46.47% in the 2005 elections, signaling an increase of 4.3%.



Photo by Waddah Joma'a - 2009

It is apparent in the Table 1 that the number of registered voters increased between 2005 and 2009 by 7.7% whereas the number of actual voters increased by 18.4%. Beirut 1 district for example registered an increase of 2.5% in the number of registered voters, but with a 188.3% increase in the number of actual voters.

In the district of Jezzine, the number of registered voters grew by 6.3%, while the number of actual voters reached 158%, the 2nd highest percentage after Beirut 1 (188.3%), followed by Saida with a 10% increase in the number of registered voters and a 75.5% increase in the number of actual voters.

Zahle on the other hand had the lowest percentage of increase in the number of registered voters (of 2% only), and an increase of 32.2% in the number of actual voters.

The rate of increase amongst registered voters and actual voters was very close in some uncompetitive districts, such as A'akar, Minnieh-Dinnieh, Bcherri, Nabatieh, and Sour.

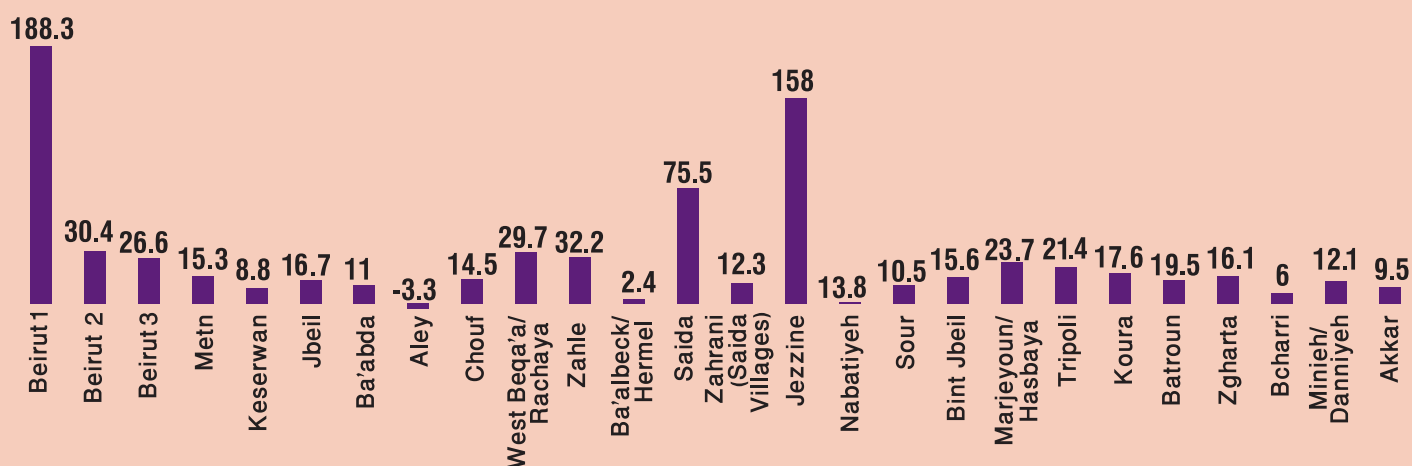
Table 1 compares voter turnout during the 2005 and 2009 elections by electoral districts.

Comparison in voter turnout during the 2005 and 2009 elections by electoral districts													Table 1
Electoral District	# of Registered voters 2009	# of Votes Cast 2009	% of Votes Cast 2009	Invalid Ballots	Blank ballots	# of Registered Voters 2005	# of Votes Cast 2005	% of Votes Cast 2005	Increase/Decrease in % of Votes Cast to Registered Voters 2005 & 2009	Increase/Decrease in # of Registered Voters between 2005 and 2009	Increase/Decrease in # of Votes Cast 2005 & 2009	Increase/Decrease in % of Registered Voters 2005 & 2009	Increase/Decrease in % of Votes Cast 2005 & 2009
Beirut 1	92,885	37,284	40.1%	201	183	90,642	12,933	14.3%	25.9%	2,243	24,351	2.5%	188.3%
Beirut 2	101,750	27,787	27.3%	450	315	95,373	21,315	22.4%	5.0%	6,377	6,472	6.7%	30.4%
Beirut 3	248,826	103,243	41.5%	705	991	233,829	81,558	34.9%	6.6%	14,997	21,685	6.4%	26.6%
Metn	169,229	96,299	56.9%	439	460	163,069	83,502	51.2%	5.7%	6,160	12,797	3.8%	15.3%
Keserouan	89,231	60,336	67.6%	266	215	86,361	55,465	64.2%	3.4%	2,870	4,871	3.3%	8.8%
Jbeil	75,582	50,432	66.7%	189	182	70,650	43,200	61.1%	5.6%	4,932	7,232	7.0%	16.7%
Ba'abda	151,590	84,562	55.8%	526	414	142,529	76,181	53.5%	2.3%	9,061	8,381	6.4%	11.0%
A'aley	114,061	59,809	52.4%	577	1,013	109,480	61,819	56.5%	-4.0%	4,581	-2,010	4.2%	-3.3%
Chouf	181,949	91,970	50.5%	1,029	1,502	165,803	80,307	48.4%	2.0%	16,146	11,663	9.7%	14.5%
West Beqa'a/Rachaya	121,972	65,237	53.5%	402	264	112,387	50,313	44.8%	8.7%	9,585	14,924	8.5%	29.7%
Zahle	144,415	91,848	63.6%	414	200	141,529	69,488	49.1%	14.5%	2,886	22,360	2.0%	32.2%
Ba'albeck/Hermel	255,637	126,038	49.3%	776	869	234,414	123,070	52.5%	-3.2%	21,223	2,968	9.1%	2.4%
Saida	53,859	36,624	68.0%	386	355	48,975	20,866	42.6%	25.4%	4,884	15,758	10.0%	75.5%
Zahrani (Saida villages)	92,606	50,291	54.3%	305	634	84,662	44,783	52.9%	1.4%	7,944	5,508	9.4%	12.3%
Jezzine	54,185	29,225	53.9%	117	113	50,950	11,327	22.2%	31.7%	3,235	17,898	6.4%	158.0%
Nabatieh	122,644	68,829	56.1%	67	92	107,711	60,477	56.1%	-0.0%	14,933	8,352	13.9%	13.8%
Sour	153,060	74,941	49.0%	640	1,073	140,598	67,822	48.2%	0.7%	12,462	7,119	8.9%	10.5%
Bint Jbeil	122,706	52,899	43.1%	420	783	109,070	45,774	42.0%	1.1%	13,636	7,125	12.5%	15.6%
Marjeyoun/Hasbaya	138,898	64,775	46.6%	536	506	124,883	52,383	41.9%	4.7%	14,015	12,392	11.2%	23.7%
Tripoli	195,544	89,818	45.9%	1,038	1,027	175,601	73,998	42.1%	3.8%	19,943	15,820	11.4%	21.4%
Koura	57,794	27,417	47.4%	178	161	56,249	23,307	41.4%	6.0%	1,545	4,110	2.7%	17.6%
Batroun	58,196	34,699	59.6%	129	117	55,543	29,035	52.3%	7.4%	2,653	5,664	4.8%	19.5%
Zgharta	71,656	34,399	48.0%	221	175	66,986	29,635	44.2%	3.8%	4,670	4,764	7.0%	16.1%
Bcharri	46,496	17,183	37.0%	126	134	43,996	16,210	36.8%	0.1%	2,500	973	5.7%	6.0%
Minnieh-Dinnieh	96,697	54,510	56.4%	495	436	87,089	48,637	55.8%	0.5%	9,608	5,873	11.0%	12.1%
A'akar	223,538	120,608	54.0%	778	354	204,974	110,149	53.7%	0.2%	18,564	10,459	9.1%	9.5%
Total	3,235,006	1,651,063	50.7%	11,410	12,568	3,003,353	1,393,554	46.4%	4.3%	231,653	257,509	7.7%	18.4%

Graph 1 shows the increase and decrease of voter turnout during the 2005 and 2009 elections by electoral districts (%)

[Graph 1]

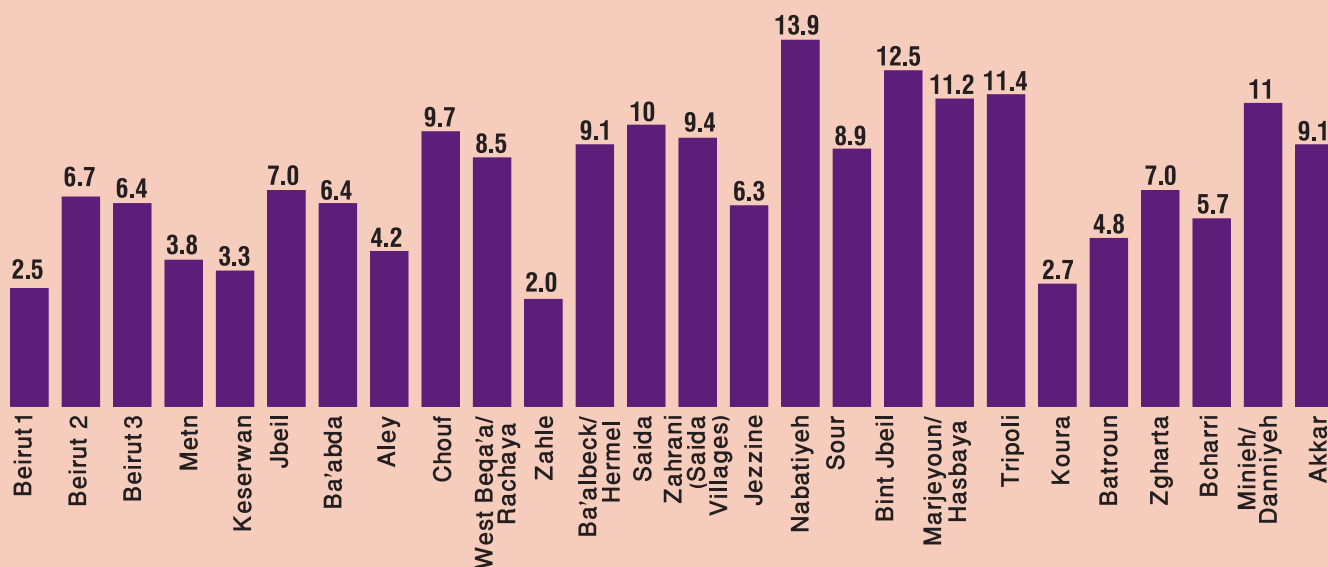
Changes of the % of actual and registered voters between 2005 - 2009



Graph 2 shows the increase and decrease of registered voters between 2005 and 2009 (%)

[Graph 2]

Changes of the % of actual and registered voters between 2005 - 2009



Note: In the 2005 elections, the division of electoral districts differed from that of 2009. The number of registered and actual voters was calculated based on the 2009 division.

Lebanon's 2009 MPs

On the June 7, 2009, 128 members of Parliament were elected for a period of four years with a mandate that extends from June 21, 2009 until June 20, 2013. Among the 128 elected MPs, 39 were elected for the first time, while 8 had previously served in the parliamentary terms (excluding the 2005 term) and 47 served in the 2005 term. Table 1 lists the names of newly elected MPs in different electoral districts per confession, number of votes acquired and terms in office. The table also lists the candidates who lost against them.

Lebanon's 2009 MPs (terms, number of votes and confessions) and candidates that lost

Table 1

Beirut 1st District (5)					
Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Nayla Tueni	Orthodox	19,985	2009	Issam Abou Jamra	16,421
Michel Pharoan	Catholic	19,742	1996	Nicolas Sehnaoui	16,730
Nadim Gemayel	Maronite	19,340	2009	Massoud Achkar	17,209
Jean Ogasapian	Armenian Orthodox	19,317	2000	Warij Sabonjian	16,778
Serj Tor Sarkisian	Armenian Catholics	19,281	2000	Krikwar Kaloust	16,817
Beirut 2nd District (4)					
Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Nohad Machnouk	Sunni	16,583	2009	Adnan Arakji	8,071
Hani Kobeisi	Shia'a	15,126	2009	Abbas Yaghi	195
Artur Nazarian	Armenian Orthodox	Won by acclamation	2009		
Sbough Kalbakian	Armenian Orthodox	Won by acclamation	2009		
Beirut 3rd District (10)					
Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Saad Eddine Hariri	Sunni	78,382	2005	Ibrahim Halabi	21,050
Imad Hout	Sunni	75,954	2009	Omar Ghandour	21,703
Tammam Salam	Sunni	76,925	1996 & 2009	Baha'a Eddine Itani	21,507
Ghazi Aridi	Druze	76,792	2000	Ghazi Munzer	20,860
Basem Chab	Evangelical	76,510	2005	George Achkhanian	21,041
Mohamed Kabbani	Sunni	76,448	1992 & since 2000	Khaled Daouk	21,100
Nabil de Freij	Minorities	76,431	2000	Raymond Asmar	21,362
Ghazi Youssef	Shia'a	76,410	2005	Rafic Nasrallah	22,177
Ammar Hourri	Sunni	76,201	2005	Abdel Nasser Jabri	21,103
Atef Majdalani	Orthodox	76,133	2000	Najah Wakim	21,921
Metn (8)					
Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Ibrahim Kanaan	Maronite	49,147	2005	Ghassan Achkar	45,759
Michel Mur	Orthodox	48,953	1968 & since 1991	Elias Mkheiber	44,297
Salim Salhab	Maronite	48,673	2005	Emil Kanaan	44,602
Edgar Maalouf	Catholics	48,577	2005	Elias Karamah	44,543
Ghassan Mkheiber	Orthodox	46,874	2002	Ghassan Rahbani	46,204
Nabil Nicolas	Maronite	47,844	2005	Sarkis Sarkis	45,252
Sami Gemayel	Maronite	47,688	2009	Eddy Abi Lama'a	44,423
Agop Bakradonian	Armenian Orthodox	Won by acclamation	2005		

Keserwan (5)

Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Michel Aoun	Maronite	31,861	2005	Mansour Bon	29,111
Farid Elias Khazen	Maronite	31,387	2005	Farid Haykal Khazen	28,494
Youssef Khalil	Maronite	31,313	2005	Carlos Edde	26,418
Ne'mtallah Abi Nasr	Maronite	30,989	2000	Sejan Kazi	26,010
Gilbert Zwain	Maronite	30,444	2005	Fares Boueiz	24,587

Jbeil (3)

Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Walid Khoury	Maronite	28,852	2005	Fares Said	20,698
Simon Abi Ramia	Maronite	28,598	2009	Nazem Khoury	19,960
Abbas Hachem	Shia'a	28,332	2000	Mustapha Husseini	20,437

Ba'abda (6)

Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Fadi A'awar	Druze	45,718	2009	Ayman Choucrair	36,287
Hikmat Dib	Maronite	45,386	2009	Edmond Gariou	37,108
Alan Aoun	Maronite	45,055	2009	Salah Hnein	36,548
Ali Ammar	Shia'a	44,995	1992 & since 2000	Bassem Sabe'a	37,420
Naji Gariou	Maronite	44,735	2009	Elias Abou Assi	35,742
Bilal Farhat	Shia'a	44,181	2009	Salah Harakeh	35,561

A'aley (5)

Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Akram Chouhaib	Druze	36,138	1991	Suleiman Sayegh	5,941
Henri Helou	Maronite	35,322	2003	Ssezar Abu Khalil	21,197
Fouad Saad	Maronite	35,126	1991 & 1992 and since 2000	Antoine Zoghbi	21,595
Fadi Habr	Orthodox	33,884	2009	Marwan Abou Fadel	21,966
Talal Arslan	Druze	23,501	1991 until 2000 & 2009		

Chouf (8)

Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Nehme Tohme	Catholic	62,578	2000	Abdo Munzer	20,721
Walid Jumblat	Druze	62,450	1991	Baha'a Abdel Khaleq	20,933
Mohamed Hajjar	Sunni	62,072	2000	Zaher Khateeb	21,703
Ala'a Eddine Terro	Sunni	62,045	1992	Nabil Owaidat	4,939
Dori Chamoun	Maronite	61,936	2009	Nassif Kazzi	21,269
Marwan Hamadeh	Druze	61,557	1991	Adnan Ba'einy	69
Elie Aoun	Maronite	60,483	2000	Mario Aoun	22,900
Georges Audwan	Maronite	58,502	2005	Antoine Bustani	19,873

West Beqa'a/Rachaya (6)

Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Robert Ghanem	Maronite	35,329	1992	Henri Chdid	27,415
Wael Abou Faour	Druze	35,053	2005	Faysal Daoud	28,026
Ziad Kadri	Sunni	34,886	2009	Abdel Rahim Mrad	29,095
Amine Wehbe	Shia'a	34,424	2009	Nasser Nasrallah	25,457
Antoine Saad	Orthodox	33,718	2005	Elie Ferzli	29,344
Jamal Jarrah	Sunni	33,389	2005	Mohamed Qar'awi	27,538

Zahle (7)

Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Elie Marouni	Maronite	49,328	2009	Salim Aoun	41,064
Oqab Sakr	Shia'a	49,238	2009	Hasan Yaacoub	40,463
Chant Jinjirian	Armenian Orthodox	48,527	2009	Georges Kasarji	41,512
Assem Araj	Sunni	48,464	2005	Rida Meiss	40,046
Joseph Maalouf	Orthodox	48,288	2009	Kamil Maalouf	41,643
Antoine Abou Khater	Catholic	48,019	2009	Elias Skaff	42,975
Nicolas Fattouch	Catholic	47,709	1992	Fouad Turk	40,459

Ba'albeck/Hermel (10)

Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Emil Rahme	Maronite	109,060	2009	Chawki Fakhri	13,768
Kamel Rifaei	Sunni	108,678	2005	Fadlalah El Solh	13,427
Ali Mokdad	Shia'a	108,455	2005	Rached Hamadeh	13,891
Nawwar Sahli	Shia'a	108,266	2005	Fadi Younes	14,755
Al Wali Sukkariyeh	Sunni	108,222	2009	Bassel Hujairi	13,401
Hussein Hajj Hasan	Shia'a	108,062	1996	Hafez Kahmez	14,686
Ghazi Zaaiter	Shia'a	107,212	1996	Mohamed Suleiman	13,620
Marwan fares	Catholic	107,974	1996	Khalil Rufaail	13,812
Hussein Mussawi	Shia'a	104,707	2009	Mohamed Yaghi	13,207
Assem Kansa	Shia'a	102,452	1996 & 2000 & 2009	Ali Mousawi	10,333

Saida (2)

Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Bahia Hariri	Sunni	25,460	1992	Ousama Saad	13,512
Fouad Sanioura	Sunni	23,041	2009	Mustapha Kawwas	626

Zahrani (Saida Villages) (3)

Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Nabih Berri	Shia'a	45,315	1991	Riad Assad	3,574
Ali Oseiran	Shia'a	43,746	1992	Yehia Ghaddar	1,205
Michel Moussa	Catholic	43,648	1992	Robert Khoury	3,101

Jezzine (3)

Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Ziad Aswad	Maronite	15,648	2009	Samir Azar	10,792
Issam Sawaya	Maronite	14,914	2009	Kamil Serhal	5,403
Michel Helou	Catholics	13,285	2009	Antoine Khoury	5,220

Nabatiyeh (3)

Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Mohamed Raad	Shia'a	62,720	1992	Adham Jaber	3,866
Yassine Jaber	Shia'a	60,068	1996	Nadim Oseiran	3,094
Abdel Latif Zein	Shia'a	55,250	1962	Mohamed Jaber	2,744

Sour (4)

Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Abdel Majid Saleh	Shia'a	69,362	2005	Jamal Safieddine	2,322
Mohamed Fneish	Shia'a	69,059	1992	Ali Al Amine	1,946
Nawwaf Mousawi	Shia'a	68,991	2009	Mohamed Jbaei	1,051
Ali Khreiss	Shia'a	67,754	2000	Ali Khalil	51

Bint Jbeil (3)

Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Hasan Fadlallah	Shia'a	49,852	2005	Ali Mhanna	616
Ali Bazzi	Shia'a	49,220	2000	Mohamed Khawaja	554
Ayoub Hmeid	Shia'a	48,775	1992	Mahmoud Baydoun	470

Marjeyoun/Hasbaya (5)

Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Anwar Khalil	Druze	50,937	1991	Wissam Charrouf	4,150
Ali Hasan Khalil	Shia'a	48,064	1996	Adnan Abboud	11,327
Asaad Herdan	Orthodox	46,690	1992	Elias Abu Rizk	13,107
Ali Fayyad	Shia'a	46,674	2009	Ahmed Asaad	10,694
Kasem Hachem	Sunni	46,460	2000	Munif Khateeb	13,418

Tripoli (8)

Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Mohamed Safadi	Sunni	66,539	2000	Omar Karami	30,313
Najib Mikati	Sunni	65,076	2000 & 2009	Khalidoun Charif	22,274
Robert Fadel	Orthodox	55,884	2009	Rafli Diab	22,485
Mohamed Abdel Latif Kabbara	Sunni	55,511	1992	Musbah Ahdab	18,474
Badr Wannous	Alawi	55,415	2005	Rifeat Eid	16,172
Samir Jisr	Sunni	54,259	2005	Bilal Chaaban	17,416
Samer Saadeh	Maronite	49,861	2009	Jean Obeid	31,973
Ahmed Karami	Sunni	42,987	1996 & 2009	Mohamed Nadim Jisr	14,757

Koura (3)

Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Farid Makari	Orthodox	14,952	1992	Fayez Ghosn	12,201
Farid Habib	Orthodox	13,809	2005	Salim Saadeh	12,154
Nicolas Ghosn	Orthodox	13,662	1996 & 2005 & 2009	Georges Atallah	11,980

Batroun (2)

Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Boutros Harb	Maronite	17,733	1972 & since 1996	Gebran Girgi Basil	14,267
Antoine Zahra	Maronite	17,541	2005	Faeq Younes	13,132

Zgharta (3)

Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Suleiman Frenjiyeh	Maronite	19,227	1991 until 2000 & 2009	Michel Moawad	16,251
Estphan Dweih	Maronite	17,784	1991 until 1996 & 2009	Jawad Boulos	15,331
Salim Karam	Maronite	17,173	2009	Youssef Dweih	13,128

Bechari (2)

Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Setrida Geagea	Maronite	13,066	2005	Gebran Tawk	4,089
Elie Kairouz	Maronite	12,751	2005	Rachid Rahmeh	1,349

Minieh/Danniyeh (3)

Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Kassem Abdel Aziz	Sunni	39,491	2005	Jihad Samad	16,136
Ahmed Fatfat	Sunni	37,667	1996	Asaad Harmouch	6,034
Hachem Alameddine	Sunni	36,159	2005	Kamal Kheir	5,631

A'akkar (7)

Winners	Confession	# of Votes	Year Elected	Losers	# of Votes
Riad Rahhal	Orthodox	78,685	2005	Karim Rassi	36,102
Hadi Hobeich	Maronite	78,450	2005	Mekhaeil Daher	37,956
Nidal Tohme	Orthodox	78,437	2009	Joseph Chahda	33,582
Khodr Habib	Alawi	76,679	2009	Mustapha Hussein	36,691
Khaled Daher	Sunni	73,954	1996 & 2009	Wajih Baarini	42,758
Khaled Zahraman	Sunni	72,658	2009	Mohamed Yehia	38,722
Mouin Merhbi	Sunni	71,596	2009	Soud Youssef	31,140

Note: in 1991, MPs were appointed in vacant positions which lasted until 1992. Subsequent elections terms were 1992-1996, 1996-2000, 2000-2005, 2005-2009.



Increasing Costs of Former MPs to Lebanese Taxpayers

Being an MP has benefits that go beyond politics and public service. MPs enjoy lifelong allocations, indemnities, exemption from customs fees, and are ensured free medical treatment, and protection.

Indemnities and Allocations

According to Lebanese law, Members of Parliament do not get monthly salaries but receive monthly indemnities and allocations. The difference in designation here is more than just terminology. An MP is permitted to combine his monthly allocations and his retirement salary, in the event that he was a civil servant or in the military. According to law # 63 dated December 31, 2008, the allocations of public authorities (including MPs) is determined in accordance with Table 1. An MP's monthly allocation is estimated at LBP 8.5 million, not including a stipend valued at LBP 2.7 million granted by the Parliament Cooperative Fund (symbolically financed by the contributions of MPs and but mainly by the State Budget).

Indemnities and Allocations of public authorities (LBP)							Table 1
	President of Republic	Speaker of Parliament	Prime Minister and Deputy	Prime Minister / not Deputy	Minister and Deputy	Minister not Deputy	Member of Parliament
Allocations	4,500,000	3,500,000	3,500,000	3,500,000	3,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
Representation indemnity	4,500,000	3,400,000	3,400,000	3,400,000	1,500,000	1,500,000	1,500,000
Car Indemnity*	-	1,125,000	1,125,000	1,125,000	1,125,000	1,125,000	-
Car and phone Indemnity**	-	-	1,800,000	1,800,000	1,500,000	1,500,000	1,500,000
Driver and secretary indemnity	-	1,800,000	-	-	-	-	1,500,000
Protocol indemnities	3,500,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	1,500,000	1,500,000	1,000,000
Total	12,500,000	11,825,000	11,825,000	11,825,000	8,625,000	8,625,000	8,500,000

* Car indemnity is for car use and the depreciation of its value

** Car and phone indemnity is to pay for car and phone allowances like gas, oil, phone bills etc

Other Characteristics

- ◉ In addition, an MP can benefit from free medical treatment through a hospitalization contract signed with a private insurance company. The value of the contract is paid from the parliament budget.
- ◉ Each parliamentary term, MPs are entitled to purchase a vehicle exempt from customs fees and remains as such as long as it is registered in the MP's name.
- ◉ MPs are granted private passports, enabling him/her to obtain visas entry to several countries freely.
- ◉ MPs are protected by two bodyguards from the State Security Service (and more if necessary).
- ◉ MPs have individual offices in Parliament.
- ◉ MPs can spend an annual credit of LBP 100-150 million, funded by the Ministry of Public Work and spent with the knowledge of each MP.

Indemnities and Allocations of Former MPs

The indemnities and allocations of an MP do not end when he/she leaves office. Law # 25/74 of September 25th, 1974 states that former MPs shall receive the following proportions of the indemnities and allocations granted to the MP during his/her effective term of office:

- ⦿ 55% for MPs that have served one parliamentary term
- ⦿ 65% for MPs that have served two parliamentary terms
- ⦿ 75% for MPs that have served three parliamentary terms or more.

Each former MP also benefits from the social assistance granted by the Parliament following the same proportion of the indemnities and allocations he/she benefits from.

According to this law, an MP that passes away while in office shall be considered as having fulfilled three full parliamentary terms. His/Her family will therefore be entitled to 75% of the indemnities and allocations he/she would have received (family being defined as wife/husband, children and male students from 18 to 25 years and single, widowed or divorced daughters). Furthermore, MPs elected in 1972 that continued to be in office until 1992 are considered as having fulfilled three parliamentary terms, unlike deputies appointed in 1991, who do not benefit from the same allocations and indemnities. Deputies elected in by-elections serving terms of more than three years, are also not entitled to indemnities and allocations.

Former deputies' indemnities and allocations' charge

There are 310 living former MPs and 103 families of deceased former MPs, which are all allocated substantial state funds. Therefore, the number of MPs that the Lebanese people financially support reaches 541 (128 current, 310 former and 103 deceased). Moreover, each parliamentary election so far has led to new financial burdens, which result from parliamentary turnover and the creating of incumbent 'former MPs':

- ⦿ In the 1992 elections, the monthly charge of incumbent 'former MPs' after the elections was of LBP 584 million per month.
- ⦿ In the 1996 elections, the charge amounted to LBP 284 million per month.
- ⦿ In the 2000 elections, it amounted to LBP 277 million per month.
- ⦿ In the 2005 elections, the charge reached LBP 410 million per month.
- ⦿ In the 2009 elections, incumbent 'former MPs' or their families cost the Lebanese taxpayers LBP 269 million per month.

The total value of indemnities received by former MPs and their families is calculated at LBP 1.824 billion per month. After adding the cost of the 'former MPs' from before the 1972 elections, the current cost of former MPs or their families reaches LBP 28 billion per year.

The Parliament's Budget

The Parliament's budget underwent a significant increase throughout past decades due to an increase in the number of MPs (99 MPs in 1960 to 128 in 2009) and to the augmentation of MPs' indemnities, which all fall within the general increase of the State budget. Table 2 documents the evolution of the Parliament's budget and includes the share of MP indemnities.

Evolution of the Parliament's budget, including the share of MP indemnities				Table 2
Year	# of MPs	Parliament budget (LBP)	% of public budget	MP indemnities (LBP)
1972	99	1,580 million	0.16	1 million
1993	128	39 billion	1.14	3.2 billion
1996	128	31.6 billion	0.48	4.9 billion
2000	128	40.3 billion	0.47	12.4 billion
2005	128	43.9 billion	0.43	12.4 billion
2008 (absence of budget approval)	128	57.7 billion	0.5	12.4 billion

Source: Public Budgets by mentioned years

The 2008 budget was approved by the government but not the Parliament as is the case for the 2006 and 2007 budgets.

The Lebanese Parliament's budget constitutes about 0.5% of the total expenses of the public budget, which may appear low, but when adding the LBP 28 billion given to former MPs and their families, reaches 0.74% of the 2008 state budget, which is LBP 11,475 billion. This portion is double the budget of the Ministry of Agriculture (0.35%), and more than the combined budget (LBP 81 billion) of seven Ministries, the Ministries of Industry, Environment, Culture, Tourism Sports and Youth, Information and of the Ministry of Displaced.

Parliamentary elections in Zahleh:

Transfer of civil registries or increase in voters or naturalization

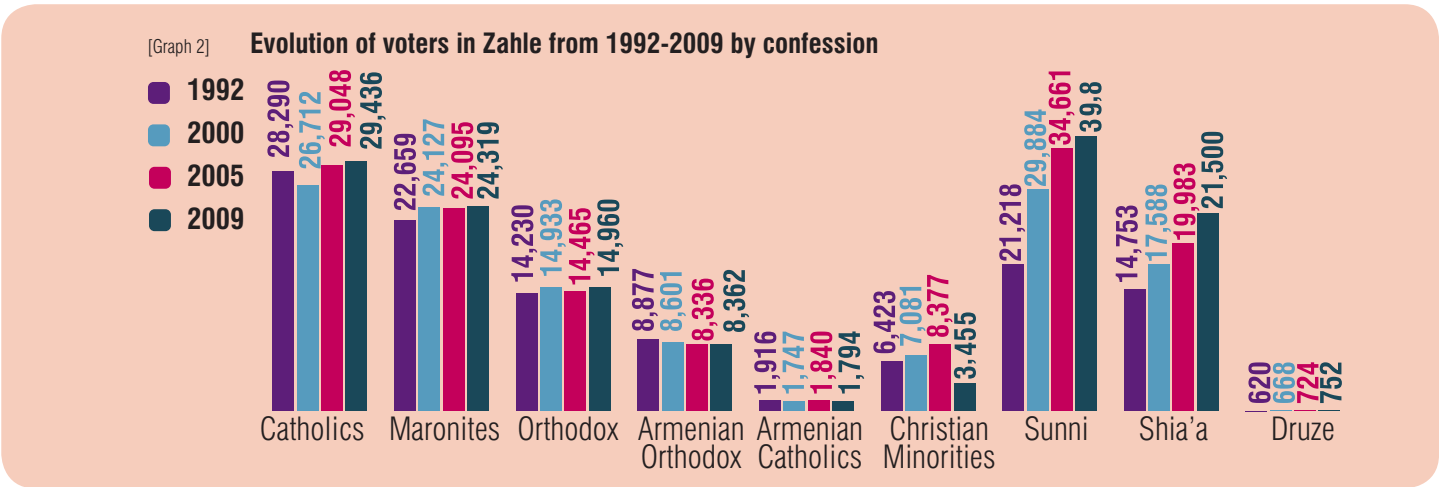
Evolution of voters since 1992: 45% growth for the Shia’a, 90% growth for Sunni, but limited increase within Christian confessions

The result of the parliamentary election in the district of Zahleh was an unexpected surprise for many who followed the elections. The election outcome in Zahleh resulted in a major loss for the opposition and the March 8 alliance, and a sweeping victory for the pro-government parties of the March 14 alliance who were allotted 7 seats. Minister Elias Skaff of March 8 is the key person affected by this defeat, having inherited the leadership of the district from his father, the late Joseph Skaff. Joseph Skaff represented the pillar of the Catholic confession in Lebanon. For this reason, Skaff’s defeat goes beyond losing a seat in Parliament, and it may influence his role not only in Zahleh but in Beqa’a as well. According to Minister Skaff, the reasons for his loss are the confessional mobilization of voters and the money that was spent. He claims that following the 2005 elections, the Naturalization of civil registries of 4,500 Sunni voters from various areas of Lebanon to the district of Zahleh was done in order to tilt the balance in favor of the pro-government parties and the March 14 alliance. However, a close examination of the number of voters, with particular regard to the Sunni, reveals that this is not accurate.

The following table 1 and graph 1 leads to the conclusion that Christian voters in the Zahleh district never underwent a significant increase in the 1992 to 2009 period. This proportion has reached 4% for Catholics, 7.3% for Maronites and 5.1% for Greek Orthodox. It also decreased by 5.8% for the Armenian Orthodox and by 6.3% for the Armenian Catholics. On the other hand, Shia’a registries revealed an important increase of 45.7%. **The same applies for Sunni voters with a remarkable increase of 87.7% due to the Naturalization Decree issued in 1994, where around 4,500 of Sunni Arabs were naturalized in the district, resulting in a demographic imbalance that was cemented throughout the years. In addition to the increase in the number of Sunni registered voters, there was an increase in the number of elected voters by 72% (28,675 voter) compared to 60% in the 2005 election.** The number of Sunni voters increased between 2000 and 2005 by 16.9%, while the percentage of actual voters increased by 46.2%. These numbers increased between 2005 and 2009 to 17.3% in registered voters and 40.5% in actual voters. In the current 2009 elections, these Sunni cast their vote quasi-unanimously to the advantage of the pro-government and the March 14 alliance.

Number of Voters in the Zahleh district Table 1

Year	# of voters	Catholic	Maronite	Greek Orthodox	Armenian Orthodox	Armenian Catholic	Christian Minorities	Sunni	Shia’a	Druze
1992	118,986	28,290	22,659	14,230	8,877	1,916	6,423	21,218	14,753	620
2000	131,341	26,712	24,127	14,933	8,601	1,747	7,081	29,884	17,588	668
2005	141,529	29,048	24,095	14,465	8,336	1,840	8,377	34,661	19,983	724
2009	144,415	29,436	24,319	14,960	8,362	1,794	3,455	39,837	21,500	752



Candidates between Constituencies and Confessions

Election Day was set to take place on June 7th, 2009, following Parliamentary Elections Writ Decree # 1116 issued on December 31, 2008. The Lebanese government then permitted potential candidates to submit applications within the period spanning from March 2, 2009 until April 7, 2009. During this period, 702 candidates applied to the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities, 115 of whom withdrew during the prescribed legal term. 587 candidates officially ran for Parliament. Dozens of candidates later declared to abstain from the election, although their names remained on the roll of official candidates because their withdrawal occurred outside that period.



Photo by Waddah Joma'a - Saida 2009

Electoral law stipulates that each candidate is required to place a non-refundable candidacy fee to the Finance Fund of 2,000,000 LBP, and an election deposit amounting to 6,000,000 LBP. In case the candidate should decide to withdraw within the legal prescribed period, he/she may recover half of the election deposit, which amounts to 3,000,000 LBP. He/she may regain the complete sum if the candidate either wins the election or fails while receiving a minimum of 20% of cast votes.

In other terms, each candidate that withdraws within the legal prescribed period is entitled to recover the sum of 3,000,000 LBP, whereas that deposit is non-refundable for those who withdrew from the run after the expiration period.


The number of candidates varies when divided by constituency and confession. The following table allows several observations to be made:

- ⦿ The average candidacy ratio reached 4.5 candidates per seat
- ⦿ The Minieh-Danniyeh district had the largest number of candidates compared to the number of seats (35 candidates for 3 seats, amounting to 11.7 candidates per seat), followed by the Zahleh district (61 candidates for 7 seats, amounting to 8.7 candidates per seat) and the Jbeil district (25 candidates for 3 seats, amounting to 8.3 candidates per seat).
- ⦿ The Sour district had the lowest number of candidates per number of seats (8 candidates for 4 seats, which amounts to 2 candidates per seat), as did Beirut's 2nd District, where 8 candidates ran for 4 parliamentary seats following a settlement that took place between prospective candidates. This was followed by the Saida district, where 6 candidates ran for 2 seats (3 candidates per seat).
- ⦿ The Sunni confession had the largest amount of candidates with 160 candidates fighting for 27 seats, amounting to a ration of 5.9 candidates per seat.
- ⦿ The lowest rates were within the Druze confession (22 candidates ran for 8 seats) and the Armenian Orthodox, Evangelical and 'Minorities' confessional categories with 3 candidates per seat.
- ⦿ The seat that was contested by the highest number of candidates was the Catholic seat in the Jezzine district, with 10 competing candidates. This was followed by the Orthodox Armenian seat in Zahleh (with 8 candidates who running for the same seat).

Number of seats and candidates and uncontested winners by district (2000 and 2009)

						Sunni				Shia'a				Druze				Maronites			
Beirut*	Beirut 1st District*	6 (5)	31	9	20	2 (0)	11	4										1	8	1	4
	Beirut 2nd District*	6 (4)	29	17	8	2 (1)	11	8	4	1	6	4	2								
	Beirut 3rd District*	7 (10)	23	8	41	2 (5)	10	4	23	1	3	1	4	1	4	1	3				
Mount Lebanon																					
1st District	Jbeil	3	15	26	25					1	5	10	13					2	10	16	12
	Keserwan	5	34	33	27													5	34	33	27
2nd District	Metn	8	24	32	26													4	14	16	13
3rd District	Ba'abda	6	23	23	36					2	8	8	12	1	3	3	8	3	12	12	16
	A'aley	5	22	15	14									2	8	5	3	2	6	7	7
4th District	Chouf	8	23	16	21	2	6	3	6					2	5	2	4	3	9	9	8
Beqa'a																					
1st District	Ba'albeck - Hermel	10	49	34	41	2	9	7	5	6	29	21	28					1	8	4	4
2nd District	Zahle	7	25	51	61	1	5	12	20	1	5	9	9					1	4	7	7
3rd District	West Beqa'a Rachaya	6	21	30	25	2	7	14	14	1	4	6	3	1	4	2	2	1	3	2	2
North																					
1st District	A'akar	7	36	43	40	3	17	17	21									1	7	8	5
	Al Dinnieh*	2 (3)	11	9	35	2	11	9	35												
	Bcharreh	2	8	8	8													2	8	8	8
2nd District	Tripoli	8	51	41	40	5	33	21	22									1	6	5	7
	Al Minnieh	1	6	10	-	1	6	10	-												
	Zgharta	3	9	8	10													3	9	8	10
	Batroun	2	11	9	9													2	11	9	9
	Koura	3	13	17	15																
South																					
1st District	Saida	2	5	2	6	2	5	2	6												
	Zahrani	3	7	5	10					2	5	3	5								
	Sour	4	11	7	8					4	11	7	8								
2nd District	Bint Jbeil	3	8	6	9					3	8	6	9								
	Marjaayoun Hasbaya	5	5	13	16	1	8	1	4	2	7	6	8	1	5	2	2				
	Nabatiyeh	3	10	9	14					3	10	9	14								
	Jezzine	3	15	3	22													2	10	2	12
Total		128	525	484	587	27	139	112	160	27	101	90	115	8	29	15	22	34	159	147	151

Numer of seats
 2005 Candidates
 2000 Candidates
 2009 Candidates

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What if the elections were conducted on a proportional basis?

60 seats for March 14 & Pro-Government Alliance against 68 seats for March 8 & Opposition

The current parliamentary elections were conducted according to the 1960 Electoral Law that divides electoral districts into different Qada's. Many criticize such a voting system and argue that expanding the electoral districts at the Mouhafaza level in Lebanon is the sole system that can ensure valid and credible representation. Others go even further and believe that adopting a proportional representation system with the entire country considered as a single electoral district would be the best electoral law. This issue has become more pertinent following the 2009 election results, where many expressed the view that if the parliamentary elections had been conducted according to a proportional representation system, they would have guaranteed the election of different political leaders and ensured better parliamentary representation. As such, the animating question here is what would the results have been if the parliamentary elections were conducted with a proportional representation formula according to the division of current electoral districts instead of the majority system? Do different voting systems give different results?

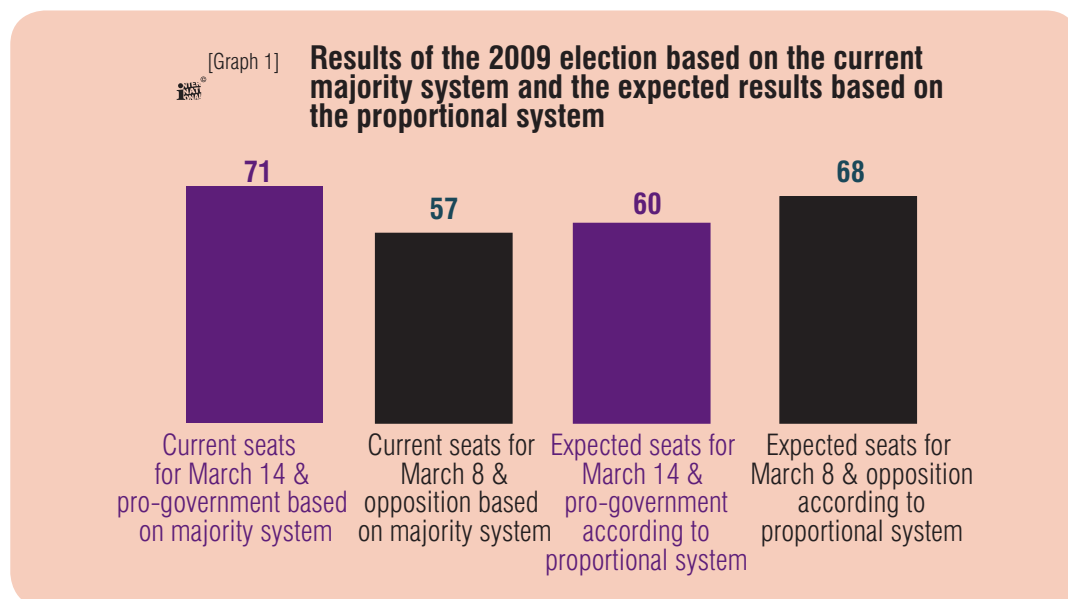
Proportional Representation System

Proportional Representation is a category of electoral formula aimed at a close match between the percentage of votes that parties and parliamentary blocs obtain in elections and the percentage of seats they receive in the parliament. This system contrasts with the majority voting system adopted in the current Lebanese parliamentary elections.

Results based on the Proportional Representation System

According to the current parliamentary election results, the March 14 and pro-government alliance won 71 seats in Parliament, while March 8 and the opposition won 57 seats. Even so, if the votes were recalculated based on the proportional system, the results would reveal a majority for March 8 and opposition who would have won 68 seats against 60 seats for the March 14 and pro-government coalition, as detailed in Table 1. It is also worth mentioning that with the proportional system, results would have changed in most electoral districts, with the exception of Bent Jbeil, Sour, Nabatieh and Zahrani districts, pointing to the overwhelming amount of voters that voted for one side there. As for Beirut 3 and Ba'albeck - Hermel, all parties won seats.

Graph 1 shows the results of the 2009 election based on the current majority system and the expected results based on the proportional system



Results of 2009 Elections with Majority System and Proportional System

Table 1

District	Number of seats	March 14		March 8	
		Current seats according to majority system	Expected seats according to proportional system	Current seats according to majority system	Expected seats according to proportional system
Beirut 1	5	5	3	-	2
Beirut 2	4	2	2	2	2
Beirut 3	10	10	8	-	2
Ba'abda	6	-	3	6	3
A'aley	5	4	3	1	2
Chouf	8	8	6	-	2
Matn	8	2	3	6	5
Keserouan	5	-	2	5	3
Jbeil	3	-	1	3	2
Tripoli	8	8	5	-	3
Koura	3	3	2	-	1
Batroun	2	2	1	-	1
Menieh-Donieh	3	3	2	-	1
Zgharta	3	-	1	3	2
A'akkar	7	7	5	-	2
Bcharri	2	2	1	-	1
Zahleh	7	7	4	-	3
West Beqa'a & Rachaya	6	6	3	-	3
Ba'albeck- Hermel	10	-	1	10	9
Saida	2	2	1	-	1
Saida district villages (Zahrani)	3	-	-	3	3
Nabatieh	3	-	-	3	3
Sour	4	-	-	4	4
Bent Jbeil	3	-	-	3	3
Marjeyoun & Hasbaya	5	-	2	5	3
Jezzine	3	-	1	3	2 (1 seat for each list)
Total	128	71	60	57	68

The comparison given is hypothetical since proportional representation cannot be applied to an election already carried out on a majority basis. This is because voter trends may change and adopting proportionality with the current electoral districts could lead to other ballots being created and possible faults and errors.

Reading Further into the Lebanese Election Results

Parliamentary majority and popular votes 2005 and 2009

The current election was a defeat for the opposition, which failed to obtain a parliamentary majority. Opposition leaders, notably the Secretary-General of Hezbollah, Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, declared their acceptance of the election results, while voicing a problematic issue: they, as the minority party in Parliament, enjoy the majority of the popular vote. To what extent this statement is true will be further reviewed below.

The Results

The final outcome of the election was a victory for the pro-government, March 14 bloc gained 71 seats in the 128-seat parliament, while the opposition and the March 8th' alliance secured the remaining 57 seats. In other words, the pro-government March 14 alliance now holds 55.5% of the total parliamentary seats versus 44.5% for the opposition, leaning Parliament in their favor. (See table 1)



Photo by Waddah Joma'a - 2009

Population Majority in 2009

In order to estimate the popular vote given to each coalition, (March 14th and 8th), The Monthly resorted to calculating the average number of votes received by each of the 14th and 8th of March candidates in different constituencies. It is important to note that according to electoral law and district divisions, voters in the Beirut 3rd District and the district of Ba'albeck and Hermel can vote for 10 candidates, whereas voters in Saida or Bcharri can only vote for 2. The prevailing trend of voting for the complete list in both coalitions proved very helpful in this calculation process. Table 1 illustrates the popular vote received by the March 14 and March 8's candidates across the electoral districts.

Popular number of votes received by March 14 and March 8's candidates across electoral districts

Table 1

Electoral district	# of registered voters for 2009	# of voters who cast their ballot for 2009	Average number of voters for the March 14 list	Average number of voters for the March 8 list
Beirut 1st District	92,764	37,284	19,533	16,791
Beirut 2nd District	101,787	27,787*	16,583	15,126
Beirut 3rd District	252,165	103,243	76,618	21,382
Metn	170,744	96,784	45,680	47,582
Keserouan	89,228	60,336	26,924	31,200
Jbeil	75,582	49,128	20,365	28,594
Ba'abda	151,590	84,546	36,444	45,011
A'aley	116,181	59,779	35,117	21,596
Chouf	181,949	91,642	61,452	21,248
West Beqa'a and Rachaya	122,487	65,237	34,466	27,812
Zahleh	158,005	88,483	48,510	41,166
Ba'albeck and Hermel	255,637	126,038	14,000	107,308
Saida	53,859	36,624	24,250	13,512
Zahrani (Saida villages)	92,995	50,217	3,300	44,236
Jezzine	54,188	29,225	6,400	14,650
Nabatiyeh	121,912	60,956	3,200	59,346
Sour	153,060	74,941	2,000	68,800
Bent Jbeil	123,396	52,899	500	49,282
Marjeyoun and Hasbaya	138,844	64,975	12,000	47,745
Tripoli	196,149	89,886	55,690	31,143
Koura	57,794	27,417	14,141	12,100
Batroun	58,444	32,914	17,637	13,700
Zgharta	71,035	34,399	14,900	18,060
Bcharri	46,422	17,183	12,910	4,089
Minyeh-Danniyeh	97,352	54,916	37,772	16,100
Akkar	223,538	120,608	75,780	36,700
Total	3,257,107	1,637,412	716,172	854,279

* The appearance of candidate names on the same list from both March 8 and March 14 led to joint voting and therefore the total number of votes cast for both blocs exceeds the number of voters.

The total number of registered voters reached 3,257,107. Of these, 1,637,412 voters cast their ballots, totaling 50.7% of all eligible voters. The pro-government March 14 alliance candidates received 43.7% of the popular vote (716,172), whereas candidates supporting the opposition and March 8 alliance received 52.1% (854,279). In addition, 66,961 electors voted with blank ballots or in favor of independent candidates, constituting an average of 4.1%.

2005 Elections

In 2005, the division of electoral districts was larger and different than the division of districts of 2009. The same also applies to the formation of electoral alliances. In the 2005 elections, an alliance was formed between Future Movement-Hezbollah, the Progressive Socialist Party, Amal Movement, Lebanese Forces, and the Phalange Party who received 60.5 % of the total vote and 83 % of the seats in Parliament. On the other hand, the Free Patriotic Movement, the Marada Movement, and other parties opposed to the Future-Hizbollah-Progressive Socialist alliance received 32 % of the vote and only 17 % of the seats in Parliament. The alliances of the time reflect a vastly different political landscape.

The fact that the popular vote of the majority does not also enjoy the parliamentary majority reveals the inconsistencies of current electoral law. Then again, it should be noted that all parties consented and agreed to electoral law before the elections. For this reason, The Monthly concludes that the election results maintain their validity and that the discrepancy between the popular vote and actual parliamentary majority is irrefutable.

Constitutional Council

The decision to hold parliamentary elections on June 7th became conclusive when the Lebanese government finally appointed the five remaining members needed to complete the Constitutional Council. One of the main purposes of the Council is to allow candidates to submit contestations of election results. Following the most recent elections, a number of losing candidates questioned the validity of the results, claiming that the election process was flawed and delegitimized by various influences.

There are a number of fundamental questions pertaining to the Constitutional Council that The Monthly will bring to light. How can the Council's role be defined today? And how is the Council expected to deal with past disputes as well as new contestations that may arise following the most recent elections?

Establishment of the Constitutional Council

As part of political and judicial reforms, the 1989 Ta'if Agreement called for the establishment of a Constitutional Council to "interpret the constitution, supervise the constitutionality of laws, and to arbitrate conflicts that arise from presidential and parliamentary elections...." The Constitution was then amended according to the terms of the agreement.

However, when the Council was formed on September 21, 1990 under Article 19 of the Constitution, its mandate was modified by the current Parliament, which had grown wary of granting an independent body such power. The first clause, granting the Council the authority to interpret the constitution, was removed.

On July 14 1993, Parliament issued law #250, establishing the Constitutional council. Some of the Council's duties were established, inter alia to "settle the validity of an elected MP and arbitrate conflicts and contestations that may arise from parliamentary elections, provided that the contestation is submitted to the Council's presidency no later than 30 days after the announcement of the results and that the appeal be enclosed with the required documents and evidence. The Council shall reserve the right to hold re-elections or to overturn the victory of an MP whose mandate is justifiably contested and to declare victory for the candidate who received the eligible majority to enter Parliament. The Council's rulings are binding and after no review may be reexamined".

Actions of Previous Councils

As a result of the 1996, 2000, 2002 by-election and the 2005 elections, many petitions were submitted to the Constitutional Council, which ruled the following:

- ◉ In the 1996 elections, 13 out of the 17 petitions filed were rejected. The 4 that were upheld led to re-elections over contested seats in the electoral districts of Jbeil (Nazem Khoury challenged the election of Emil Nawfal), Akkar (Mechael Daher challenged the election of Fawzi Hobeish and Mohammed Yahya while Jamal Ismaeil challenged the election of Khaled Daher) and West Beqa'a/Rachaya (Robert Ghanem contested the election of Henri Chedid).

The re-elections throughout the four constituencies led only to a change of West Beqa'a/Rachaya representative, with Robert Ghanem defeating Henri Chedid.

- ◉ In the 2000 elections, 13 appeals were filed to the Council, all of which were rejected.
- ◉ In the 2002 by-election held in the Metn district following the death of MP Albert Mekheiber, three candidates ran for the seat and a conflict arose from the vote count. Eventually, Gabriel al-Murr won the seat with 34,780 votes, defeating Mirna al-Murr with 34,760 and Ghassan Mekheiber who obtained only 1,773. As a result of the appeal filed by Mirna al-Murr, the Council overturned the victory of Gabriel al-Murr and declared Ghassan Mekheiber the winner. The ruling led to questioning the integrity and impartiality of the Council.
- ◉ In the 2005 elections, 13 petitions were submitted. However, the Council declined to examine them due to law #679 passed by the elected parliament during its first session on July 19, 2005. The law stipulates that the review of petitions submitted before the Council must be postponed until the Council's completion. Parliament's term expired on June 20, 2009 and no appeals were examined.

The current situation

After suspending the Council for over three years, draft law # 43 dated November 3, 2008 was passed in Parliament, decreeing a modification of the Council's law in terms of candidacy mechanism, members' qualifications, and the decision-taking quorum. This step was followed by a parliamentary session in December 18, 2008, during which Parliament appointed its share in the Constitutional Council, consisting of four members from the pro-government March 14 alliance and only one from the opposition and March 8 alliance, according to sources. As a result of the imbalance in nominations, the Council of Ministers refused to appoint its share, thereby making it impossible to hold the parliamentary elections on June 7th. The second and lesser consequence of not having a constitutional body present in charge of settling conflicts that could have arisen during the parliamentary elections would have been a general distrust of how the election was conducted and its eventual outcome. After international mediation, an agreement was reached on May 26, 2009, in which the Council of Ministers would complete the Constitutional Council by appointing its share of members.

The new appointed members are divided according to the following arrangement:

- ⦿ The Council's president, who is considered impartial
- ⦿ 6 members from the pro-government March 14 alliance
- ⦿ 3 members from the opposition and March 8 alliance

Furthermore, it is impossible to execute any decision made by the Council without a 2/3 consensus. According to Article 12, "All decisions taken by the Constitutional Council shall be upheld by a majority vote of at least seven members in terms of reviews of the constitutionality of laws and arbitration conflict that may arise from parliamentary elections."

The first mission of the new Council will be to settle parliamentary disputes submitted before the previous Council that have been suspended since 2005, however settling these disputes will not change the formation of the current Parliament, since the previous parliamentary term it related to has already expired. The Council will probably reject these contestations since they have no effect and can generate no change, with the exception of possible compensation for some former MPs if their contestant's mandate was found unlawful, ipso facto null and void.

In the upcoming weeks, a number of losing candidates from the current election could file complaints. There is a high likelihood that under the current parliamentary composition, these contestations would be rejected. There is a much higher inclination to judge the election as valid than to annul any results. This is even more likely since the International Supervisory Committees declared the election process credible and fair, which would provide sufficient proof for the Council to reject any appeals. Moreover, the anticipated perception that the Council would decline to overturn election results would most likely lead to an abstention of candidates from submitting contestations.

Under circumstances, the role of the Council will most likely be limited to supervising the constitutionality of laws. The election and its outcome have become concrete and any change in the outcome or attempt to carry out a new election may constitute a subject of contestation. It seems that international and regional parties as well as most local parties are united in their desire to decline from contesting the election and turn the page.

Members of the Constitutional Council

A member of the Constitutional Council has a mandate of 6 years. However, the mandate of half the members of the current Council, formed after the new Constitutional Council law, will end after three years. New members are selected by lot and five will then be appointed for a 6-year term of office by the Parliament and by the Council of Ministers, who had selected the members whose mandate had expired.

According to custom, these members are to be selected according to their confessional affiliation. The President is to be of the Maronite confession and the Vice President from the Sunni confession.

The members of the current Council are:

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| ⦿ Issam Sleiman (Maronite), President of the Constitutional Council | ⦿ Assaad Diab (Shia'a), Secretary |
| ⦿ Antoine Kheir (Maronite) | ⦿ Ahmad Taqi Eddine (Shia'a) |
| ⦿ Tareq Ziyadeh (Sunni), Vice President | ⦿ Zaghloul Atieh (Greek Orthodox) |
| ⦿ Toufic Supra (Sunni) | ⦿ Salah Mekheiber (Greek Orthodox) |
| ⦿ Antoine Messarra (Roman Catholic) | ⦿ Suheil Abdul Samad (Druze) |

International Observation of Lebanese Parliamentary Elections

Myopic Observers

The election was crucial and decisive for both the opposition and 'March 8' alliance and the pro-government and 'March 14th' alliance. As such, both blocs welcomed the election, and each put considerable amounts of effort into winning the majority of seats in parliament. However, the opposition and March 8 bloc was less enthusiastic about the arrival of international observation delegations to monitor the election process and consolidate international recognition of the results. Despite their reluctance, the Lebanese government organized domestic and international monitoring processes in preparation for Election Day. International delegations arrived to monitor the election and issued reports at the end of their mission confirming the integrity and transparency of the election process, with but a few insignificant shortcomings.

Organizing the work of international observers at the election

Article 20 of parliamentary Electoral Law # 25/2008 granted specialized civil society associations the right to monitor the election process. Similarly, decree # 1517 of March 13, 2009 defined the terms and conditions of observation for international delegations. For instance, an association willing to perform monitoring should be a legal entity in the country it is registered in, have previous experience in election monitoring in at least five countries, must not be related to any Lebanese political group, and must not exceed 100 observers.

Observation Associations

Six domestic and international associations submitted election observation applications that conformed to the aforementioned legal documents. These associations are:

- ◉ The Carter Center, an American non-profit organization founded by former President Jimmy Carter, which led a mission of 60 observers.
- ◉ The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs delegated 52 observers.
- ◉ The European Union affiliated to the Group of European Countries delegated 90 observers.
- ◉ The Arab League delegated 20 observers.
- ◉ Russia and Turkey sent minor delegations.
- ◉ The Lebanese Association for Democratic Elections (LADE), a Lebanese association founded in 1996 and presided by current Interior Minister Ziyad Baroud, monitored the election. This association led to an alliance with several other associations with election monitoring

experience. The funding of these associations is not clearly defined, as they are funded by multiple third-parties such as the European Union, USAID, and the United Nations. Their financial support is estimated at a minimum of 10 million USD.

The Reality of the Election

It is undeniable that the election was the scene of remarkable spending that exceeded ceiling expenditures determined by law for each candidate. Such spending included bearing the costs of transporting 48,000 expatriate voters brought from outside Lebanon in addition to buying votes in highly contested districts, such as Zgharta, Koura, Batroun, Beirut I, Saida, Metn and Kesrouan. Moreover, in order to push voter approval towards a particular side, members of different parties provided public services, such as water network installations and road asphaltting. Public statements also reveal that religious interference had a role in persuading people to vote for a particular party. Similarly, sources stated that institutions exerted pressure on their employees to vote for a particular side. In light of this, there is a quasi-unanimous agreement that many factors during the election period, ranging from inter-confessional hatred to open bribery, affected the electoral process and eventual outcome.

International Monitoring Results

Following the election, international delegations in charge of observing the elections released their primary reports without mentioning the aforementioned factors. Instead, the delegations lauded the election process for its integrity, pointing only to "some procedural shortcomings", and stating that it was conducted effectively. The reports also indicated that the management of the election process was successful and the elections were "conducted within a legal context, where the security forces played a critical role in support of the process and behaved professionally throughout Election Day, which was marked by high levels of voter participation." Some of the shortcomings noted were "procedural defects that resulted in long lines at many polling stations" and that "several parties had set up temporary offices in the direct vicinity of polling stations."

Therefore, observers merely observed and reported on visible formal procedures, while ignoring the supervision of some potential influences. Their observation was very selective, made only according to select criteria, and neglecting factors outside their political agendas. In this context, supporters of the opposition may wonder whether the reports of international observation associations and delegations would have remained the same if the election was won by the opposition.

What about the transport of Lebanese expatriates (see page 33), the launching of public service projects, (see page 36) and the buying of votes via the Ministry of Displaced (see page 38)?

48,000 Lebanese flown in to participate in the Parliamentary Elections

The most recent parliamentary elections that took place on Sunday June 7th were distinguished by a phenomenon previously unseen at this magnitude.

One of the most significant characteristics of this election was the transport of Lebanese expatriates in order to get them to participate in the elections by either paying their plane tickets or flying them in organized charter flights to Lebanon. This phenomenon indicates the importance of the elections and intensity of the competition for some districts (Beirut 1st District, Zahle, Saida, Metn, Kesrouan, Jbeil, Koura, Batroun, and West Beqa'a). This time, different electoral campaigns put in place a local and international strategy not limited to the traditional domestic voter transportation to voting stations, but also by bringing people from abroad to vote. The high number of voters supposed to have come from abroad, estimated at 120 thousand by analysts and politicians, would have entailed tremendous costs. This has become a subject of debate and contention between politicians and political parties. However, Information International believes that these numbers are exaggerated and has provided a more reasonable estimate below.

Number of Arrivals 2007-2008-2009

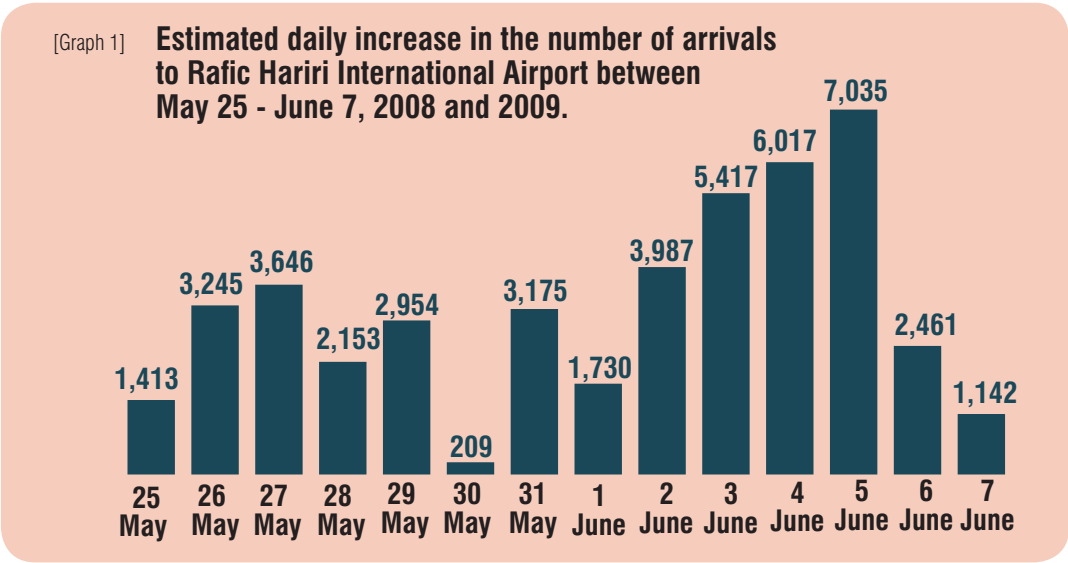
One would logically assume that the two weeks prior to the election (May 25th - June 7th) is the period that would witnessed the arrival of voters from abroad. Comparing it to the same periods in 2007 and 2008, figures show an increase of 72,022 arrivals compared with 2008 and 44,584 compared with 2007. It is also important to note that the figures on airport traffic for the year 2008 may not be completely reliable

due to the irregularities in travel that occurred from the May 7 incident, which resulted in the closure of the airport until its re-opening on May 22, 2008.

If normal percentage of growth for arrivals during the past two years (estimated to be around 17.5%) is taken into account, it is estimated that the voters coming from abroad should be around 68,056 and 90,163 consecutively, an average of 79,110 arrivals. Furthermore, by making the logical assumption that those who arrived to vote by other means than their own had organized their arrival to coincide with the elections, we estimate their number to be at approximately 42,000. (the difference between 121,319 arrivals during election period in 2009 and 79,110 arrivals who would normally arrive during the same period).

If one further assumed that the number of people who would normally arrive had organized their trips to coincide with the elections (around 6,000 Lebanese), our calculations place the number of people who organized their trips to Lebanon to coincide with the election date is estimated at around 48,000 and not 120,000 as claimed. As such, the influx of arrivals between May 25 and June 7, 2009 is estimated to be around 121,319, both of Lebanese and foreigners. Table 1 and Graph 1 show the daily arrivals to Rafic Hariri International Airport during the two weeks under study compared with 2007, 2008 and 2009.

Graph 1 shows a comparison of the daily increase in the number of arrivals to Rafic Hariri International Airport between May 25- June 7 2008 and 2009.



Daily Arrivals to Rafic Hariri International Airport between May 25 and June 7					Table 1
Day	# of arrivals in 2007	# of arrivals in 2008	# of arrivals in 2009	Increase in # of arrivals 2008-2009	Increase in # of arrivals 2007-2009
May 25	3,179 (estimated)	4,759	6,172	1,413	2,993
May 26	2,715	3,605	6,850	3,245	4,135
May 27	3,647	4,143	7,789	3,646	4,142
May 28	3,010	5,942	8,095	2,153	5,085
May 29	3,065	5,048	8,002	2,954	4,937
May 30	3,983	6,713	6,922	209	2,939
May 31	3,712	4,678	7,853	3,175	4,141
June 1	3,745 (estimated)	6,291	8,021	1,730	4,276
June 2	3,295	4,559	8,546	3,987	5,251
June 3	3,994	5,219	10,636	5,417	6,642
June 4	3,041	7,094	13,111	6,017	10,070
June 5	3,437	5,836	12,871	7,035	9,434
June 6	4,884	7,657	10,118	2,461	5,234
June 7	3,590	5,191	6,333	1,142	2,734
Total	49,297	76,735	121,319	44,584	72,022

Source: General Directorate of Civil Aviation 2009

Countries of Departure to Lebanon

Lebanese citizens that came to vote departed from many Arab, European and American countries (those coming from America arrived by connecting flights through many European countries, which is why their country of origin is unknown). Table number 2 shows the countries with the highest number of departures that arrived in Lebanon between May 25-June 8, 2009.

Countries with the highest number of departures that arrived in Lebanon between May 25-June 8, 2009											Table 2
Passengers travel during May – June 2009	Saudi Arabia	Kuwait	Bahrain	U.A.E.	Qatar	France	Great Britain	Cyprus	Germany	Jordan	Italy
May 25	662	407	114	1,037	449	1,180	124	196	256	791	40
May 26	207	460	221	1,685	121	956	543	87	261	405	306
May 28	578	784	427	1,818	417	1,186	435	168	184	446	231
May 29	696	674	139	1,844	315	1,040	387	227	293	445	232
May 30-31	888	1,090	380	3,028	759	1,577	905	452	1,079	717	572
June 1	930	531	187	1,765	367	1,028	357	194	150	285	396
June 2	486	579	298	2,516	405	728	363	152	630	634	208
June 3	2,347	691	148	1,862	441	1,085	350	192	429	588	81
June 4	1,658	1,022	458	3,182	508	1,022	445	291	427	627	388
June 6-5	2,527	2,257	777	5,883	1,153	2,051	651	754	1,233	1,229	418
June 7	133	430	143	1,183	740	707	463	490	387	258	335
June 8	69	353	202	609	123	484	-	-	-	64	811

Source: General Directorate of Civil Aviation 2009

Graph 2 shows the total number of Lebanese arrivals per country from May 25- June 7, 2009.

Number of Departures from Lebanon

In order to confirm that those who arrived in Lebanon came to participate in the 2009 elections, the number of departures from Lebanon 10 days before and after the elections is also displayed.

When comparing last year's figures with this year's, figures show an increase in the number of departures from Lebanon. The figures also confirm that the 40,000 expatriates who participated in the elections is a realistic as the number of departures from Lebanon reached 46,600 between June 7 – 17, 2008 and reached 68,523 in the same period in 2009. When the population growth is calculated, the number of additional departures from Lebanon reaches 12,000 – 15,000, assuming that a significant number of the arrivals had started their summer vacation in Lebanon earlier to coincide with the election date, thus staying in Lebanon a few extra weeks. These Lebanese were not calculated in the number of departures during the period of our study (table 3 and graphs 3 and 4).

Table 3 displays the daily departures from Rafic Hariri International Airport from May 28- June 17.

Daily Departures from Rafic Hariri International Airport from May 28-June 17.
Table 3

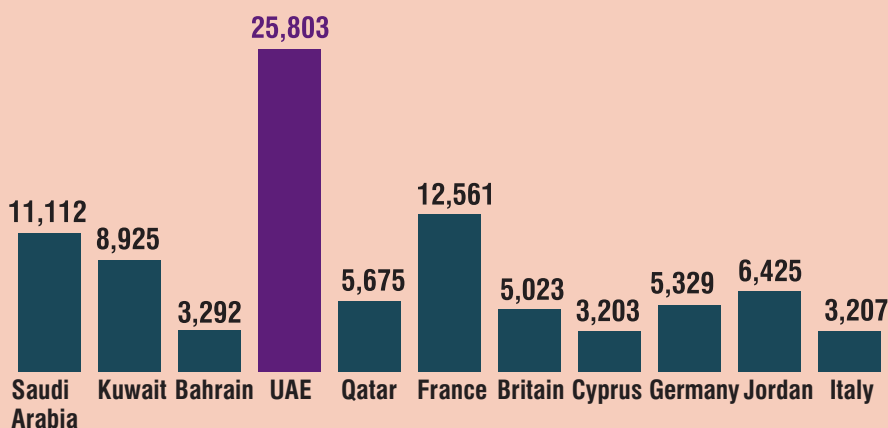
Date	# of departures in 2009	# of departures in 2008
May 28	3,756	3,434
May 29	5,440	3,260
May 30	5,478	3,869
May 31	5,447	4,267
June 1	4,604	4,548
June 2	3,562	3,927
June 3	3,151	3,305
June 4	3,258	3,019
June 5	4,684	3,147
June 6	4,146	3,935
June 7	5,068	4,418
June 8	5,078	4,864
June 9	7,148	4,100
June 10	6,769	3,818
June 11	5,098	3,182
June 12	6,420	3,392
June 13	6,813	4,205
June 14	6,417	4,618
June 15	6,500	5,065
June 16	6,780	4,608
June 17	6,432	4,330
Total	112,049	83,311

Source: General Directorate of Civil Aviation 2009

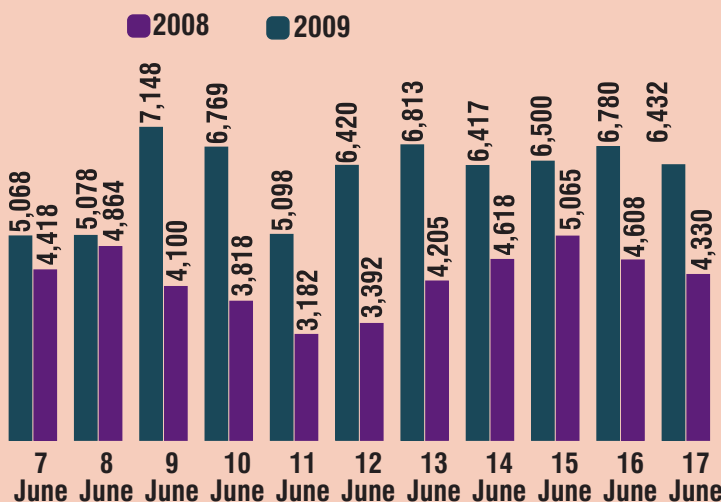
Whether the votes cast by Lebanese that came from abroad made a difference in the results or not, the enormous amounts of money spent were essentially used as a tool of voter enticement based on confessional lines, setting a dangerous new precedent for future elections in Lebanon. It should be noted that in smaller districts such as Zgharta, Koura, Batroun, Kesrouan and Saida, a voter influx proportionate to these numbers could be large enough to tip the scales or, at the very least, slim the margins.

Note: Information International has displayed the methodology used to calculate the estimated number of people that arrived to Lebanon to cast their votes. 48,000 is only an estimate, and could be higher or lower than the actual figure. However, this is more accurate than the 120,000 given to the public and that is currently under debate.

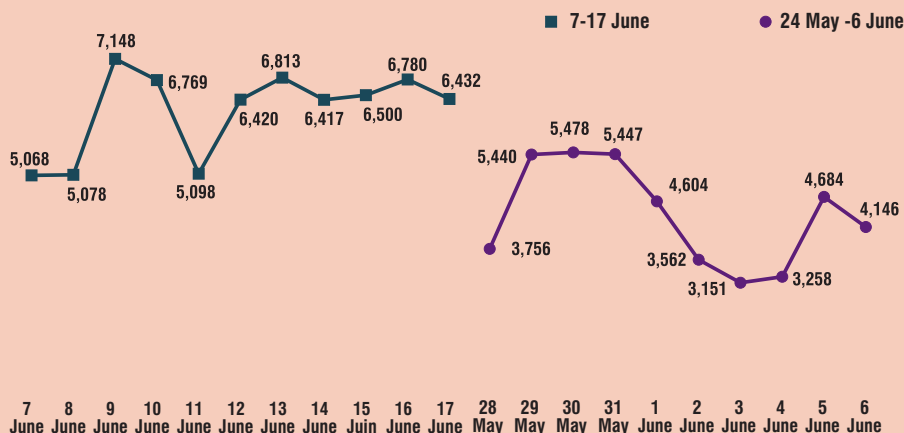
[Graph 2] **Total number of Lebanese arrivals between 25 May - 7 June 2009 by country**



[Graph 3] **Comparison of the daily departures from Rafic Hariri International Airport between June 7-17, 2008 and 2009**



[Graph 4] **Comparison of the daily departures from Rafic Hariri International Airport between May 28 - June 6 and June 7 - June 17, 2009.**



Projects in Service of the Elections

As the parliamentary election drew near, many aspiring and current MPs proceeded to declare the launch of various personal and public service projects (although a number of these projects remain unexecuted). In order to gain popularity, their inauguration ceremonies were delayed to coincide with Election Day. This political machination is no way unique to the current parliamentary elections.

Below are projects inaugurated during the 2005 and 2009 election periods.



During 2005	
Date	Project
March 8, 2005	With the support of MP Mohammed Safadi, a graduation ceremony for new trainees was held at the Computer and Internet Center affiliated to the Safadi Foundation in Abi Samra, in Tripoli.
March 22, 2005	In Ba'albeck, a campaign for distributing clothes to nursery children across public and private schools was launched at the Development Services Center with the support of Minister of Social Affairs Ghazi Zaiter and in collaboration with the Generations Donation Foundation.
April 6, 2005	Mrs. Nazik Hariri visited Beirut University Government Hospital, accompanied by then MP Ghattas Khoury, among others. She announced the establishment of a Medical Aid Fund from the late ex-MP Rafiq Hariri. Its aim was to cover the external costs of Social Security and the Ministry of Health to benefit needy patients at the Beirut Government Hospital. She also donated 100,000 USD in the name of the Hariri family to inaugurate the Fund.
May 6, 2005	The Makhzoumi Foundation distributed 7000 gifts across Beirut and its commercial markets in commemoration of Labor Day. This initiative was welcomed by shop and commercial establishment owners.
May 12, 2005	The inauguration ceremony of Imam Khumaini Sports Hall was held with the support of Sheikh Naeim Qassem at Batoul High School.
May 15, 2005	The Islamic University inaugurated a new branch in Sour under the backing of Speaker Nabih Berri.
May 22, 2005	The launching ceremony of "The Civilization Map of Lebanon" was held in Martyrs Square. The ceremony was organized by the Ajialuna Association and held under the auspices of the Head of Parliamentary Education Committee Bahia Hariri.

During 2009

Date	Project
March 2, 2009	The Minister of Public Works and Transportation Ghazi Aridi inaugurated the construction of a road linking Kfarhim, Kfarfaqud, Bchatfin, Deir Kucha, El-Kneysse, and Ammiq. The project is considered of vital importance for the Manassef area in Chouf, with an estimated contract cost of 1.5 billion LBP.
March 13, 2009	The Future Movement held a celebration in the North to lay the foundation stone for a series of developmental projects in Qalamun. The projects are financed by donations from MP Saad Hariri. They also include a sports stadium, the enlargement of the cemetery road, renovation of buildings, and the installation of a sewage disposal system in Qalamun.
March 13, 2009	Balamand University students organized a gathering at their university entrance in the district of Koura to express their gratitude to the Vice President of Parliament MP Farid Mekari for his initiative to enlarge and fix the road linking the university, high school and nearby villages with the Tripoli-Beirut Highway.
March 17, 2009	MP Saad Hariri, leader of the Future Movement, signed a donation agreement valued at 8,738,000 USD with the Minister of Education and Higher Education, Bahia Hariri. The grant given by MP Hariri to the Ministry is meant to cover the renovation expenses of official schools in different Lebanese areas. The schools included are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mouhafaza of Beirut: 10 schools, including 3 finished, 4 being implemented, 2 being contracted and 1 being studied. - Mouhafaza of Mount Lebanon: 17 schools, including 4 finished, 6 being implemented, 2 being contracted, and 5 being studied. - Mouhafaza of Beqa'a: 22 schools, including 1 finished, 7 being implemented, 2 being contracted and 12 being studied. - North: 23 schools, including 6 finished, 5 being implemented, 4 being contracted, and 8 being studied. - South: 10 schools, including 8 being implemented and 2 being contracted.
March 23, 2009	The inauguration of a new center for women, with the support of the Future Movement, for the Ma'alumatiyun Association, was dedicated to conducting program sessions for "Women and Technology". This was done in collaboration with Microsoft and financed by the Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI).
March 24, 2009	Two health projects were launched in the Druze Confession House in Verdun with the support of Druze spiritual leader Sheikh Naeim Hassan and Head of the Democratic Gathering, MP Walid Jumblatt. Both projects include beginning work on an ambulance that would transport Druze patients at the expense of the Ministry of Health to the University Rafiq Hariri Hospital.
March 24, 2009	A celebration was held to lay down the cornerstone of a project that will build a bridge for pedestrians in Quarantina Avenue, sponsored by Future Movement leader, MP Saad Hariri.
March 25, 2009	MP Robert Ghanem and the Cultural and Social Club of Saghbin Association's President Mrs. Viviane Ghanem were present as the Club celebrated after receiving a TV set, a library, computer sets, and other equipment.
March 26, 2009	The inauguration of the Vegetable and Fruit Market of Akkar held in Qobet Bchamra in the Akkar Plain was followed by a celebration held with the support of MP Saad Hariri, who financed the project.
March 30, 2009	Head of the Democratic Gathering, MP Walid Jumblatt, and the Archbishop of Saida and Deir El Qamar, Catholic Diocese Rev. Elie Bechara Haddad, inaugurated the construction of a reception room in the Church of Our Lady in Mukhtara on a lot offered by Jumblatt.
April 2, 2009	In collaboration with the Imkan Association, leader of the Future Movement MP Saad Hariri inaugurated a fruit cold storage plant in Fnaydeq, in the mountains of Akkar.
April 3, 2009	Prime Minister Fouad Siniora inaugurated a sewage refining plant financed by the European Bank for Investment. The event was followed by the removal of the curtain from the project plaque for "the western circular road" of Tripoli City.
April 4, 2009	With the support of MP Saad Hariri, MP Hashem Alam Eddine laid the cornerstone of a new high school intended to be built in the Minyye area with a donation offered by MP Hariri. This was done in addition to the inauguration of the Rawdha Mosque, which was also renovated at Hariri's expense.
April 7, 2009	With the support of Future Movement leader MP Saad Hariri, a new series of developmental projects for the Rachaya villages was inaugurated. Mr. Hariri was represented by MP Jamal Jarrah. <p>A ceremony was held in Ain Ata that inaugurated a project aiming to build an electrically operated water well at an estimated cost of 130,000 USD.</p> <p>In Ain Harsha village, MP Saad Hariri also offered a project of installing a potable water distribution network with house linkages at an estimated cost of 257,000 USD.</p> <p>In Mhaydtheh, MP Walid Jumblatt's house was crowded with locals expressing their gratitude to MP Hariri for supporting the building of an artesian well and equipping it with an electrical generator to the water purification refinery, at an estimated total cost of 227,000 USD.</p>
April 14, 2009	Speaker Nabih Berri inaugurated the Ain Zarqa project, executed by the South Council in the Mashghara Plain.
April 15, 2009	The President of the Educational Development Association in the Beqa'a, Mrs. Viviane Ghanem, offered the high school of Lala village in West Beqa'a and its complementary school two cameras, a TV set, and two DVD readers. She also offered similar equipment to the Feminine Cooperative Association for Agricultural Industry in Rachaya Al Wadi, promising in her speech to expand the offering in order to include the official school and other humane and productive institutions.
May 03, 2009	A public park was inaugurated in Deir El Ghazal town in Zahleh with the support of the Head of the Popular Bloc Minister of Agriculture Elias Skaff.
May 17, 2009	After its renovation and re-opening, the Committee of Religious Endowments attached to the Druze Religious Council organized a ceremony to inaugurate the Daoud Hikmat School in the presence of the leader of the Democratic Gathering, MP Walid Jumblatt.
May 25, 2009	Future Movement leader MP Saad Hariri was represented by the General Coordinator of the Future Youths Section Ahmad Hariri at the inauguration of Saint George School in Lahya, in the Rachaya District.
May 25, 2009	Speaker Nabih Berri inaugurated the Town Council and the Cultural Center in Haret Saida.

Vote-Buying: A Case Study

Historical Background

The Lebanon of 1957 was a state in turmoil, torn between Nasser's Pan-Arabism and the Baghdad Pact. Parallels are easy to draw with the parliamentary elections then and now. Foreign powers vied for control of Lebanon, power-plays that have not faded with time. An ex-CIA field officer, Wilbur Crane Eveland, exposes the scandalous bribery practices of the time in his book, "Ropes of Sand: America's failure in the Middle East". He said that the Lebanese elections of 1957 were particularly important to them. US policy makers decided that none of the opposition's candidates would make it to Parliament, despite Chamoun's [then President of the Republic of Lebanon] concerns that opposition leaders would then create additional strife. They allocated a large sum of money to the achievement of that goal. They decided that Charles Malek [a parliamentary hopeful] would represent the district of Koura. They held a meeting and learned that the Saudis, the Egyptians, and the Syrians were spending vast amounts of money on this election. They selected the candidates that they would support, and gave their candidates enough money to ensure that just about all of them would win. They made sure that candidates against Eisenhower's [then president of the United States of America] doctrine would not make it to Parliament. Eveland reveals that he was sent to meet with Chamoun many times, entering the Presidential Palace with a briefcase full of money and leaving with it empty. He asked Chamoun to liaise with a middleman in order to make the exchange less obvious, but the President insisted on getting the money himself. Charles Malek ended up winning the district of Koura by a large margin. Eveland then affirms that they gave Charles Malek LBP 75,000 (present day equivalent: USD 600,000) and Fouad Ghosn, his opponent, another LBP 75,000 to withdraw. They spent a total of LBP 150,000 (Present day value: USD 1.2 million) to buy the Greek Orthodox seat of Koura."

Present-Day Koura

Information International decided to perform a case study of the election process of 2009 in a specific village of Koura, that we will name Village X. Village X's inhabitants cast slightly more than 900 votes in the election. International observers were supposedly present in the region, but an official report on the following has yet to be issued. We hope that this will prompt an investigation into the observers' work and the entire election process.

As of December 2008, March 14 has paid USD 30,000 worth of school tuition fees for students from Village X, and USD 25,000 worth of food and medicine. In May 2009, the Future Movement took on 12 "Ansar" (members of a youth group equivalent to Boy Scouts) at an average salary of USD 400 per month. Four people were hired during the pre-election period in various organizations affiliated with the March 14 party (more specifically with the Future Movement). The March 14 party brought 12 expatriates to vote in Village X, 6 from Oceania (average plane ticket price: USD 2,000) and 6 from Gulf States (average plane ticket price: USD 600). Local transportation was also provided in the form of car rentals (6 cars were rented for 2 weeks, at a total cost of USD 5,880. However, the March 8 party paid for plane

tickets for only 5 expatriates from the Gulf (average ticket price: USD 600). Outright vote buying was done by both parties, with March 14 buying around USD 150,000 worth of votes and March 8 spending approximately USD 25,000 on votes. It has also come to our attention that three "independent" candidates in Village X may have been used as surrogates for March 14 because, according to Lebanese law, every candidate is allowed to hire three delegates to supervise the voting process. It is quite probable that March 14 used the delegates of each of the three 'independents' to as their own. The example of Village X indicates that this practice was most likely widespread throughout the district as a front for hiring extra delegates and for going beyond ceiling expenditure limits. This throws doubt on the validity of the entire election process. **However unlikely it is, the possibility that international observers remained completely oblivious of the aforementioned information does exist. It does not for this:**

Information International was made aware that 30 heads of families in Village X were each paid LBP 5 million from the Ministry of the Displaced's reconstruction fund (the Ministry's intended role is to provide financial compensation for the reconstruction of homes destroyed during the civil war.) The overwhelming majority of these people were either legally ineligible to receive the money, or had already received their compensation. A total of USD 100,000 was wrongfully appropriated from Lebanese taxpayers through March 14's political influence to buy votes in Village X. This is documented, traceable information. At the very least, it conclusively proves gross negligence on the part of the observers. International observers praised the Lebanese elections, claiming that they were "free and fair". A glance at Table 1 proves that, at least in Village X of Koura, it was not.

Expenditures in Village X in Koura during the elections		Table 1
Description	March 14 (\$)	March 8 (\$)
School Tuition	30,000	0
Food & Medicine	25,000	0
Ansar Future Movement*	57,600	0
Airway ticket (Roundtrip)	15,600	3,000
Car Rentals	5,880	0
Vote Buying	150,000	25,000
Ministry of Displaced	100,000	0
Total	384,080	28,000
Approximate # of votes	720	180
Approximate average cost per vote**	533.44	155.56

*Calculated by estimating a minimum employment span of one year (May 2008-June 2009)

**Information International made the extremely pessimistic unlikely assumption that all votes were bought; the average cost per vote may be much higher.

Information International 3 days before the election: The Deciding Factor in Beirut 1st District and Zahle: 7 seats to be decided by hundreds of votes and 10 seats too close to call

Three days before the actual election results were announced on Sunday evening and early Monday morning, As Safir published the forecasted pre-election results based on opinion polls conducted by Information International. The Monthly re-publishes these finding in this issue.

In the early nineties, many politicians and some media outlets were denied or doubting the importance of opinion polls. Most recently however, there major focus is being put on opinion polls as if these polls can give conclusive answers. In reality, opinion polls are a tool used to measure public opinion, and could be wrong or right. In Lebanon, opinion polls could be a painstaking process due to many other factors such as money, defiance, pressure, and incitement. Moreover the issue of naturalized citizens and expatriates as well as the distribution of districts makes competition nil in some districts or extremely close in other districts, with a difference of only few hundred of votes.

In order to reach more comprehensive results, conducting few distributed opinion polls is not sufficient. Information International previously approached the subject of casting electing results in its June 2009 issue of The Monthly. Information International now presents a revised version of the forecast in light of new polls conducted.

Elections' competition map

1- Districts with apparent competition where results are in favor of the pro-government and March 14th coalition. (44 seats for pro-government and 14th of March and 34 seats for opposition and March 8th).

There are fifteen districts that will witness "apparent battles" where results are almost definite. The seats are distributed in the districts mentioned below, with 34 seats for the opposition and March 8th and 44 seats to the pro-government and March 14th. This means that the pro-government and March 14th coalition already have 10 seats more than the opposition and March 8th without any battle.

These districts are: Beirut 2nd District (4 seats), Beirut 3rd District (10 seats), A'aley (5 seats), Chouf (8 seats), Zahrani (3 seats), Nabatieh (3 seats), Marjeyoun and Hasbaya (5 seats), Bint Jbeil (3 seats), Sour (4 seats), Jezzine (3 seats), Tripoli (8 seats), Bcharri (2 seats), Minieh and Dinnieh (3 seats), A'akkar (7 seats), Ba'albeck and Hermel (10 seats).

2- Districts with fierce competition where results are in favor of the opposition and March 8th. (23 seats for the opposition and March 8th and 2 seats for the pro-government and March 14th)

There are five districts with 25 seats that will witness fierce battles and

المنطقة	النتيجة	عدد المقاعد
بيروت الأولى	الحسم في بيروت - ١	١
بيروت الثانية	٧ مقاعد تحسمها مئات الأصوات.. و ١٠ مقاعد غير محسومة	٧
بيروت الثالثة	١٠ مقاعد غير محسومة	١٠
بيروت الرابعة	١٠ مقاعد غير محسومة	١٠
بيروت الخامسة	١٠ مقاعد غير محسومة	١٠
بيروت السادسة	١٠ مقاعد غير محسومة	١٠
بيروت السابعة	١٠ مقاعد غير محسومة	١٠
بيروت الثامنة	١٠ مقاعد غير محسومة	١٠
بيروت التاسعة	١٠ مقاعد غير محسومة	١٠
بيروت العاشرة	١٠ مقاعد غير محسومة	١٠

some possible losses for the opposition. The result could be 23 seats for the opposition and March 8th and 2 seats for the pro-government and March 14th.

These districts are Ba'abda (6 seats), Metn (8 seats), Kesrouan (5 seats), Jbeil (3 seats), and Zghorta (3 seats).

3- A District with competition where results are in favor of pro-government and the March 14th coalition. (6 seats for pro-government and March 14th)

In West Beqa'a and Rachaya the high number of voters could allow the opposition and March 8th to win one or two seats. In addition to this, the pro-government and March 14th could also win all 6 seats in this district.

4-Districts with fierce battles and close number of votes (7 seats to be decided by few hundred votes)

There are three districts with a total of 7 seats that will witness fierce battles and a very close number of votes, making estimates very difficult. We can however say with reservation that these seats will be distributed as follows: 5 seats for pro-government and March 14th (a confirmed seat for Deputy Bahia Hariri in Saida), and two seats for the opposition and March 8th.

These districts are Saida (2 seats), Batroun (2 seats), and Koura (3 seats).

5-Districts with fierce competition that will determine the election results

There are two districts that have a total of 12 seats of which 4 of these seats are almost confirmed. Although, these districts will witness fierce competition and be determined by the volume of the Armenian voters that are in favor of Tachnaq in the Beirut 1st District. Contrary to the estimate, the opposition also has a chance of winning 4 or 5 of these seats. In the case that the percentage of votes is less than expected, the pro-government and March 14th could win 5 or 4 of these seats.

In the Zahle district, the pro-government and March 14th alliance will win 5 or 6 seats, however the intensity of voters could weight the results in favor of the opposition and March 8th and this coalition could win 4-5 seats. If the number of votes decreased, then the result could be in favor of the pro-government and March 14th coalition.

The election competition map

Table 1

District	Seats almost settled for pro-government and March 14th	Seats almost settled for opposition and March 8th	Seats not settled	
Beirut 1st District	1	-	4	These non-settled seats will be defined by the volume and tendencies of Armenian voters
Beirut 2nd District	2	2	-	Final result
Beirut 3rd District	10	-	-	This result is almost confirmed
Ba'abda	-	6	-	A fierce competition with the possibility of one seat for pro-government and March 14th
A'aley	4	1	-	This result is almost confirmed
Chouf	8	-	-	This result is almost confirmed
Metn	2	6	-	A fierce competition and a modification in current estimate in case the number of Armenian voters changes
Kesrouan	-	5	-	A fierce competition. The result is almost confirmed with the possibility of one or two seats for pro-government and March 14th
Jbeil	-	3	-	This result is almost confirmed
Saida	2	-	-	This result is almost confirmed and there will be a fierce competition. The difference in votes between Siniora and Saad will be determined by the size of votes from expatriates and naturalized Palestinians
Zahrani (Saida villages)	-	3	-	This result is almost confirmed
Nabatieh	-	3	-	This result is almost confirmed
Marjeyoun & Hasbaya	-	5	-	This result is almost confirmed
Bint Jbeil	-	3	-	This result is almost confirmed
Sour	-	4	-	This result is almost confirmed
Jezzine	-	3	-	This result is almost confirmed
Tripoli	8	-	-	This result is almost confirmed
Bcharri	2	-	-	This result is almost confirmed
Minieh / Dinnieh	3	-	-	This result is almost confirmed
Batroun	2	-	-	Few hundreds of votes can confirm this result or give the opposition the probability of winning one seat
Koura	1	2	-	Fierce competition, a few hundreds votes can change the expected result
Zghorta	-	3	-	This result is almost confirmed
A'akkar	7	-	-	This result is almost confirmed
Zahle	2	1	4	A decisive and major battle. The number of voters from both Shia'a and Sunni confessions will resolve the disputed seats
West Beqa'a & Rachaya	4	-	2	A fierce battle, the number of voters from both confessions will decide the disputed 2 seats
Ba'albeck & Hermel	-	10	-	This result is almost confirmed
Total	10	68	58	

Based on this, Information International can say there are 78 conclusive seats in districts with 'apparent battles', 31 conclusive seats in districts with fierce battles, 7 seats that will be determined by a difference of few hundred votes, and 12 seats that will witness fierce battles out of which 4 seats are already determined. There are still 10 seats in Lebanon too close to call.

Election law produced a reality that

- 1- Has allowed the pro-government coalition of March 14th to have an advantage of 10 seats against the opposition and March 8th forces in the districts where competition is only apparent or more precisely, in the districts where results have already been determined without elections.
- 2- Has made competition nil in some districts and severe in other districts, in which few hundred votes could be the decisive difference.
- 3- Has allowed one or two districts in Lebanon to decide on the winning party.
- 4- Has allowed Lebanese Armenians to decide the election results in at least two districts.

Election and Naturalization Law have

- 5- Produced a reality allowing the naturalized citizens to play a role in Lebanese elections. The results of the naturalized votes are difficult to estimate given the absence of detailed statistics about their number and distribution.

The Monthly issue 83 of June 2009 issued mid May 2009

Expected results: 62 seats for March 14 and 66 for March 8 with competition in the electoral districts of Koura, Batroun, Beirut 1, Zahle and Saida. At the end of the article, the following was stated: "The above mentioned results are based on a voters' trend study led according to the results of the elections held in 2000 and 2005, as well as according to the opposition and loyalists' current coalitions and on the assumptions that no radical changes will occur to these coalitions. The results were drawn as well from opinion polls conducted by Information International in some regions. It is worth noting that Information International is conducting new polls in Koura, Saida and Zahle of which results will be ready after the publication of this issue of The Monthly. In order to avoid any contradicting figures, the new results as well as any possible modifications to the table will be published in As-Safir newspaper."

30 March 2009 - Metn 1

As-Safir newspaper published the 1st opinion poll in Metn:

67.5% electing full list; 39.6% voting for the opposition and 26.3% voting for March 14. March 14 list is supported by 34.5% of the Maronites compared to 29.8% for Free Patriotic Movement

21 April 2009 - Koura 1

As-Safir newspaper published the 1st opinion poll in Koura: Makari is a winner, Saadeh second, and hundreds of votes decide the fate of the 3rd seat.

4 May 2009 - Saida 1

As-Safir newspaper published the 1st opinion poll in Saida: Hariri leads by major difference... Saad ahead of Saniora

14 May 2009 - Batroun

As-Safir newspaper published Information International's only opinion polls in Batroun: Harb leads... Zahra outnumbers Bassil by hundreds of votes

20 May 2009 - Metn 2

As-Safir newspaper published the 2nd opinion poll in Metn:

"Free Patriotic Movement-Tashnaq" list wins... Murr's fate is determined by the Armenian votes.

27 May 2009 - Koura 2

As-Safir newspaper published the 2nd opinion poll in Koura: Salim Saadeh, Farid Makari and Fayeze Ghosn lead with minimal differences. However, hundreds of votes decide the ultimate winners

22 May 2009 - Saida 2

As-Safir newspaper published the 2nd opinion poll in Saida: Hariri is a winner and Saniora ahead of Saad by a thousand vote.

Information International in As-Safir newspaper, June 5, 2009 – A new reading to The Monthly's issue # 83

June 5, 2009: Information International published in As-Safir newspaper the following expected results: "Information International: Decisiveness in Beirut 1 and Zahle, 7 seats determined by hundreds of votes... and 10 seats indecisive.

"It is not right to count on opinion polls only to determine realistic results. Information International previously highlighted in The Monthly issued in the month of June 2009 and it currently gives a new reading of the 2009 elections in Lebanon".

The expectations of Information International were close to reality with 60 seats for the opposition (whereas the actual was 57) and 58 seats for the pro-government (whereas the actual was 71 as a result of winning the 10 competitive seats we had highlighted, in addition to 3 seats we had expected to be in favor of the opposition - 2 seats in Koura and 1 in Zahle.)

السفير الشريف
١٠ هزيران ٢٠٠٩ ص (٦)
نتائج الانتخابات تتقارب وأرقام «الدولية للمعلومات» المنشورة في «السفير»

١٥,٧٢٠ صوتاً استناداً إلى عدد المقترعين المقدّر بـ ٣١,٠٠٠ مقترع. أما العدد الفعلي فكان ٣٢,٩١٤ مقترعاً وقد نال حزب ١٧,٧٣٣ صوتاً.

The 2009 parliamentary elections had multiple opinion polls being conducted on voters by various parties and companies. Some of these companies (5 companies) had been working in this field for many years, while others were recently established for this election period.

➤ **In Qada'a Saida:** The second opinion poll related to this district was published on May 22, 2009 (it was conducted on May 19th - 20th, 2009). It showed that Fouad Siniora was ahead of Oussama Saad by 1,000 votes.

📍 In Qada'a Koura: The second opinion poll related to this district was published on May 27, 2009 (it was conducted on May 21st – 22nd, 2009). It showed that Salim Saadeh, Farid Makari and Fayez Ghosn had taken the lead with minor differences. As such, the poll concluded by stating “we can say nothing is final in this district and that a few hundred votes could modify the results.”

إحصائيات
2009



الأمم المتحدة
2009

جدول رقم 1: أنواع الجرائم المصنفة بتعددية في الإقرار لأجحة القاتلة تبعاً للظائفة

مؤامرة	الزناوة	الاعتداء	الزناوة والاعتداء معاً	سوء النية	التمييز	مؤامرة
الزناوة فقط	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4
الاعتداء فقط	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4
الزناوة والاعتداء معاً	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4
سوء النية فقط	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4
التمييز فقط	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4
الزناوة والاعتداء معاً وسوء النية	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4
الزناوة والاعتداء معاً والتمييز	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4
سوء النية والتمييز معاً	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4
الزناوة والاعتداء معاً وسوء النية والتمييز معاً	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4	19.4

الدولية للمعلومات، تستطلع مجدداً الخاضعين في قضاء المتن: لائحة «التيان» - «الطاشناق» تفوز.. ومصير الرقيقة الصوت الأرميني

الأمم المتحدة، 19 كانون الأول/يناير 2009 - في اجتماعها السنوي، قررت الجمعية العامة للأمم المتحدة، في 19 كانون الأول/يناير 2009، اعتماد لائحة «التيان» - «الطاشناق» كلائحة دولية للمعلومات، تستطلع مجدداً الخاضعين في قضاء المتن. وتقرر أيضاً، اعتماد لائحة «التيان» - «الطاشناق» كلائحة دولية للمعلومات، تستطلع مجدداً الخاضعين في قضاء المتن. وتقرر أيضاً، اعتماد لائحة «التيان» - «الطاشناق» كلائحة دولية للمعلومات، تستطلع مجدداً الخاضعين في قضاء المتن.

[illegible]

⊙ **In Qada'a Zahle:** The pro-government bloc would win all the seven seats. This opinion poll was to be published May 27, 2009, during the last deadline defined by law for opinion poll publications. It was not published. Instead, the results were discussed among concerned people.

Despite all estimates, the differences between the number of votes obtained by the candidates according to the opinion polls and the actual votes they obtained in the election is due to an increase in the number of voters in some of the districts, especially in Saida (i.e. the number of estimated voters in Saida was around 31,000, while the actual number of voters reached around 37,000).

On Friday June 5th, 2009 As Safir published an estimate of the expected results according to Information International entitled "Information International: The Deciding Factor in Beirut 1st District and Zahle: 7 seats to be decided by hundreds of votes and 10 seats too close to call." Furthermore, results showed that 60 seats were almost decided for the opposition, 58 for the pro-government coalition, and 10 seats were still open to competition. The election results showed that these seats were won by the pro-government bloc (4 in Beirut 1st district, 4 in Zahle, and 2 in West Beqa'a).

⊙ Qada'a Metn

According to the opinion poll, it was estimated that Ibrahim Kanaan would obtain 48,400 votes based on an estimated 88,000 voter turnout. The actual number of voters was 96,748 and Ibrahim Kanaan obtained 49,147 votes.

⊙ Qada'a Batroun:

According to the opinion poll, it was estimated that Boutros Harb would obtain 15,720 votes based on an estimated 31,000 voter turnout. The actual number of voters was 32,914 and Boutros Harb obtained 17,733 votes.

⊙ Qada'a Koura:

According to the opinion poll, it was estimated that Farid Makari would obtain 12,339 votes based on an estimated 27,000 voter turnout. The actual number of voters was 27,417 and Makari obtained 14,952 votes. It was also estimated that Faye Ghosn would obtain 12,163 votes, while election results showed that he actually

In light of election results and our opinion polls, we can confirm what As Safir already published in its issue 11310 on Friday June 5th - that opinion polls are one of the scientific tools and methods used to evaluate public opinion. As such, politicians and decision makers should take these polls seriously. Moreover, this also imposes professional and scientific responsibilities that research companies must abide by, regardless of financial interests, and political and/or religious affiliations.

In the coming few days, and in cooperation with As Safir, Information International will conduct an analysis of the election results in order to further read and analyze the behavior and political choices of the Lebanese people during elections.

The main slip was counting one seat in Zahle for the opposition where Elie Skaff was expected to win it. The other two seats were in Koura, which our poll showed would most likely be taken by the opposition. This however was not confirmed because Information International considered that competition in this district was fierce and that a few hundred votes could make a difference to who would win that battle. In light of this, the opposition's share decreased from 60 seats (as estimated) to 57 seats.

Information International differentiated itself from other research companies by being the only company to estimate the number of voters, while other research companies provided percentages only. Most of the final results were very close to the numbers provided by Information International and published by As Safir before the election. Below are some examples:



Al Akhbar Newspaper: "The Return of the Majority"

Al Akhbar newspaper showed the election results as a victory for the March 14th coalition with 71 parliamentary seats. However it questioned what would come next what the future would hold; and what the repercussions of this victory would be.

Al Mustaqbal Newspaper: "The Cedar Revolution Wins"

The main headline cited in the election news was under the following title:

"The movement of March 14th wins again with a majority and Hariri assures that democracy is the only winner."

Furthermore, the newspaper repeated the same terminology used 4 years ago by stating, "The cedar revolution has achieved a historic victory in the most crucial elections in the history of Lebanon, once again winning the parliamentary majority." However, Al Mustaqbal did show some moderation and future tendency towards pacification by quoting Hariri's statement inviting other parties to dialogue and asking that these election results not be given a personal or party classification.



An Nahar Newspaper: "March 14th Wins"

The title of An Nahar reflects the reality as is without giving any background or possible future consequences. It stated that March 14th won and obtained a majority of 71 MPs. Its coverage also highlighted the loss of the opposition in Ashrafieh and Zahle and the victory of Franjieh in Zghorta. In an attempt to play down Aoun's achievements, the second title shows that Aoun managed to retain the districts of Jbeil, Kesrouan, and Jezzine yet ignored the results of Metn and Ba'abda, which were also in kept Aoun.



Women in Parliament across the Arab World

In light of the most recent Lebanese parliamentary elections that have taken place, The Monthly explores the issue of women in Parliament to show to what extent women are involved in public and political life across the Arab world and to see whether there are any affirmative action or laws that help provide women with more representation.

Women's participation in politics is a relatively new concept, not only in the Arab world but Western countries as well. For example, women in France, a country that boasts being a very liberal and progressive country, gave women the right to vote in 1944. In view of this, it is important to note the year women in various Arab countries received their right to vote, which would logically come before their right to participate in political life and run in parliament. Table 1 illustrates the year women were granted suffrage in Arab countries.

Year women were granted suffrage in Selected Arab countries

Table 1

Country	Women's Suffrage (Year)
Lebanon	1952
Syria	1949
Jordan	1974
Egypt	1956
Iraq	1980
Tunisia	1959
Algeria	1962
Morocco	1963
Libya	1964
Bahrain	1973
Kuwait	2005
Sudan	1964
Djibouti	1946 (to vote) 1986 (to stand for election)
Mauritania	1961
Yemen	1967

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union

Despite having received the right to participate in politics, most women in the Arab world continue to be isolated from public and political life. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), the Arab world is the lowest in terms of percentage of women in parliaments, which makes the political status and participation of Arab women a critical issue in the Arab world. Table 2 shows the percentage of Arab women in parliaments in comparison to other regions of the world.

Percentage of women in parliaments around the world

Table 2

Countries	Parliament
Nordic Countries	41.4%
Americas	21.7%
Europe-OSCE Member Countries (including Nordic Countries)	21.3%
Europe- OSCE Member Countries (excluding Nordic Countries)	19.3%
Sub-Saharan Africa	18.1%
Asia	18.0%
Pacific	13.0%
Arab States	9.7%

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union

The continued political upheavals and militarization of Arab societies is probably one reason why so many women continue to be excluded from politics or not be encouraged to get involved. There are also other economic or cultural factors that do not allow women the time or place to be given decision making positions. These reasons vary according to different countries in the Arab world, which is in no way a homogenous entity. Table 3 shows the number and percentage of women in parliament in comparison to the total number of Parliamentarians as well as the term for members of Parliament across Arab countries.

& % of women in parliament in various Arab countries

Table 3

Country	# of Women in Parliament	% of Women in Parliament	Total Number of Seats in Parliament	Term for Members of Parliament (Years)	Year of Latest Election
Lebanon	4	3.1%	128	4	2009
Syria	31	12.4%	250	4	2007
Jordan	7	6.4%	110	4	2007
Egypt	8	1.8%	442	5	2005
Iraq	70	25%	275	4	2005
Tunisia	43	22.8%	189	5	2004
Algeria	30	7.7%	389	5	2007
Morocco	34	10.5%	325	5	2007
Libya	36	7.7%	468	3	2009
Bahrain	1	2.5%	40	4	2006
Oman	0	0.0%	84	4	2007
Kuwait	4	8%	50	4	2009
Qatar	0	0%	35	2	2008
UAE	9	22.5%	40	4	2006
Sudan	66	14.7%	450	3	2005
Djibouti	9	13.8%	65	5	2008
Mauritania	21	22.1%	95	5	2006
Yemen	1	0.3%	301	6	2003

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union

As shown in the above table, the highest percentage of women in Parliament in the Arab world is in Iraq, followed by Tunisia, while the lowest is in Yemen and Egypt. It is interesting to note the high percentage of women in Parliament in countries such as Mauritania and Djibouti since both these countries are considered more conservative Islamic countries and received their right to participate in elections later than other Arab countries. On the other hand, Lebanon, which granted women the right to vote in 1952 and prides itself as the most open and progressive Arab country still shows very low figures for women's participation as members of Parliament. In the most recent Lebanese elections, there was actually been a drop from 6 Female MPs to 4 in the current election. More importantly, while Lebanon appears to be a modern state and encompasses all the institutions that make up a modern state, its politics remain very tribal, dominated by former warlords and family dynasties. The women who do make it as members of Parliament or that have other political posts are usually the wives, daughters or sisters of assassinated figures from these very dynasties.

The IPU also points out that in the United Arab Emirates, where the Parliament is officially appointed; neither men nor women have the right to vote or stand for elections. In Saudi Arabia, men took part in the 2005 first local elections ever held in the country. However, women until today are not allowed to exercise their right to vote or to stand for election.

Most recently, there have also been campaigns in the Arab world to push governments to adopt civil rights tools by making quotas for women seeking to enter parliament. Quotas are considered a legitimate means to putting women in decision-making positions, addressing historical discrimination, and ensuring women are represented in public life. Table 4 illustrates countries in the Arab world that have made quota laws for women to enter parliament and what the percentage of the quota is.

Quota laws and quota of women in parliament in Selected Arab countries			Table 4
Country	Quota of Women in Parliament	Election Law Quota or Regulation in the Parliament	
Lebanon	-	No	
Syria	-	No	
Jordan	6 seats/ 5.5%	Election Law Quota Regulation	
Egypt	-	No In 1979 Egypt adopted a guaranteed representation formula reserving 30 seats (out of 360 seats) for women in parliament. In late 1986, however, this quota for women was cancelled in a general revision of the electoral laws.	
Iraq	25%	Constitutional Quota for National Parliaments and Election Law Quota Regulation	
Tunisia	-	No, but do have a Political Party Quota for Electoral Candidates	
Algeria	-	No, but do have a Political Party Quota for Electoral Candidates	
Morocco	30 seats / 9.2 %	No official law, but political parties in 2002 signed a charter to reserve 30 seats for women candidates on a special national list elected nation-wide. There is also a Political Party Quota for Electoral Candidates	
Libya	-	No	
Bahrain	-	No	
Kuwait	-	No	
UAE	-	No	
Sudan	60 seats / 13.3%	Election Law Quota Regulation	
Djibouti	10%	Election Law Quota Regulation	
Mauritania	In constituencies which are to elect 2 members of the National Assembly, all candidate lists must include one candidate of each sex. Where 3 are to be elected, the lists must include at least one female candidate placed first or second. Where more than 3 are to be elected, each group of four candidates on the list from the top down must include an equal number of candidates of both sexes.		Election Law Quota Regulation
Yemen	-	No	
Source: Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance			

Source: Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

Clearly, as shown in the above table, many Arab countries continue to lack quota laws that guarantee the participation of women in parliament through allocating them a percentage of the seats in parliament. There are however some countries such as Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria that have quotas within political parties and not in the national parliament.

According to the Center of Arab Women for Training and Research in Tunis, seven of the 22 Arab states have no female ministers, among them Lebanon and Iraq, states that pride themselves on their women's equality. It is evident from the above information that Arab countries must do more to make it easier and encourage women to get involved in politics and public life.

Voting in the Arab World

Members of Parliament are ideally elected by citizens to advance their interests and work for the common good. There are many differences in voting systems and the structure of Parliament in the Arab world. Moreover, in many cases Members of Parliament are not elected directly by the citizens but are appointed by higher executive authorities. In many Arab countries, the main executive authority (i.e. President or King) has more authority than the legislative councils or Parliaments, whose main duties are limited to approving laws or making statements. In this issue, The Monthly explores and compares Parliaments in Arab countries.

Voting Age

Voting age in the majority of Arab countries is 18, but is set at 21 in Lebanon, Oman, and Kuwait. The UAE has the highest voting age, set at 25, although the few citizens eligible to vote are selected by the country's rulers. While Sudan has the lowest voting age at 17, voters of all ages were powerless in the most recent elections; in 2005, all 450 members in the National Assembly were appointed to office and not elected by the people.

Number of MPs and Voters

The occupied Palestinian Territories has the highest ratio of MPs to number of people represented. In the occupied West Bank and Gaza, 1.3 million voters elect 132 MPs, meaning that each MP represents around 10,000 voters. On the other hand, in Egypt, every MP represents almost 70,000 voters, meaning that voter representation in parliament is relatively low.

Voter Turnout

Many in the Arab world are skeptical about the way elections are conducted and their results, which in most cases is predictable. The issues of transparency, voter intimidation, and lack of plurality are extremely important since many Arab countries are governed by one dominant ruling party despite the existence of other parties in Parliament. Table 1 shows the number of MPs, voters, and participation rates in selected Arab countries.

Number of MPs, voters, and participation rates in Selected Arab countries								Table 1
Country	Number of MPs	Number of eligible voters	Number of voters who cast their ballot	Participation rate	Parliament terms	Year of election	Voting age	Parliament
Tunisia	189	4,600,000	4,200,000	91.3%	5	2004	20	Bicameral
Bahrain	40	295,686	N/A	72.0% first round, 73.6% second round	4	2006	20	Bicameral
Kuwait	50	384,790	N/A	59%	4	2009	21	Unicameral
Yemen	301	8,035,721	6,105,696	75.9%	6	2003	18	Bicameral
Oman	84	338,683	N/A	62.7%	4	2007	21	Bicameral
UAE	40	6,689	N/A	N/A	4	2006	25	Unicameral
Lebanon	128	3,287,107	1,637,412	50.2%	4	2009	21	Unicameral
Syria	250	7,805,994	N/A	56.0%	4	2007	18	Unicameral
Jordan	110	2,400,000	N/A	54.0%	4	2007	18	Bicameral
Egypt	454/444	31,253,417	8,790,708	28.1%	5	2005	18	Bicameral
Iraq	275	15,568,702	12,396,631	79.6%	4	2005	18	Unicameral
Occupied Palestinian Territories	132	1,332,396	1,011,992	74.6%	4	2006	18	Unicameral

Source: Palestine Central Elections Commission for Election Result in Occupied Palestinian Territories, li for Lebanon Election Results, and Inter-Parliamentary Union for all other results

Voting Systems in Selected Arab Countries

Lebanon

Elections take place in one round according to a majority system using the block vote system (each voter may cast as many votes as the number of MPs elected per constituency). There are 26 electoral districts and the seats are divided along the confessional distribution of each district. Seats in Parliament are equally divided between Christians and Muslims.

Occupied Palestinian Territories

Legislative elections are held according to a mixed electoral system that entails electing 50% of the legislative council seats on the basis of proportional lists and 50% on an individual basis in 16 electoral districts (11 districts in the West Bank and 5 in Gaza Strip). Each voter receives two ballots. On the first, the voter chooses one of several nationwide party lists of candidates. 66 of the PLC seats are distributed proportionally to lists that receive more than 2 % of the total vote. The second ballot is for the voter's local constituency. The voter can cast up to as many votes for individual candidates as there are seats in his or her constituency. There is also a quota of 6 Christian MPs, 2 from Jerusalem, 1 from Ramallah, 2 from Bethlehem, and 1 from Gaza City.

Jordan

In Jordan, each voter casts one vote. Candidates are elected by simple majority. There are 45 electoral districts and the law stipulates that there should be six female MPs, and twelve seats reserved for Christians and Circassians.

Syria

Elections are held according to a majority system where each of the 15 governorates is considered an electoral district. Voters select one list of candidates from amongst a series of lists. Two thirds of the candidates per list are from the National Progressive Front (most of whom belong to the Ba'ath Party), which itself is guaranteed 131 seats. 51% of the MPs must be workers and farmers.

Egypt

The People's Assembly is made up of 454 MPs, 444 of whom are directly elected while the remaining 10 are appointed by the President of the Republic. There are 222 electoral districts with 2 MPs each. All seats are filled in each election by an absolute majority. There are two rounds per district. During the first round, all candidates compete and the candidate with the absolute majority wins. In the second round, the competition is restricted to the four highest-placed candidates who received the most votes in the first round and the candidate with the majority of votes wins.

The Constitution also reserves 50% of the Assembly's seats for workers and farmers, but these quotas are rarely applied. Voting is also compulsory for men, with a non-compliance fine of EGP 20. The Assembly sits for a five-year term but can be dissolved earlier by the president.

Iraq

Elections in Iraq take place in one round according to the proportional system. Each of the 18 governorates constitutes one electoral district. 230 MPs are elected directly and represent the governorates. The remaining 45 seats are allocated in two phases, in which MPs are elected by the total number of voter's in the country. There is also a 25% quota allocated for female MPs.

Tunisia

Elections are held by a mixed voting system. There are 25 electoral districts that cover the 23 governorates across the country, with Tunis and Sfax each comprising two constituencies. The total number of seats is fixed at one seat per 52,000 inhabitants.

152 MPs are chosen by a party-list simple majority system. In each of the 25 constituencies, the voter chooses a list of candidates without replacing the names given. All the seats of a constituency go to the winning list. The 37 remaining seats are guaranteed to the opposition and allotted proportionately to parties that did not secure an absolute majority on the basis of percentage of votes won at the national level and the highest average formula. The seat goes to the candidate whose name appears first on the list concerned at the time of its submission.

United Arab Emirates

Most of the country's population (80%) is made up of foreigners and only 0.8% of the population was selected by the country's rulers in the last election as members of the Electoral College that are eligible to vote. There is no clear voting system; 20 MPs are indirectly elected, while the remaining 20 are appointed.

Bahrain

In Bahrain, 40 MPs are directly elected in a 40 single-member plurality system (first past the post). If no candidate obtains an absolute majority

in the first round, run-off elections are held. An absolute majority is still required in the second round. There are no reserved seats or quotas for women, ethnic minorities or other categories.

Kuwait

Elections in Kuwait are based on a simple majority vote. There are 5 electoral districts that each have 10 seats. Each voter has no more than 4 choices, in which the 10 candidates with the most votes in each district are declared elected. There are also no reserved seats or quotas for women, minorities or other categories.

Yemen

In Yemen, elections are based on a simple majority system, in which 301 MPs are directly elected in 301 single-member constituencies.

Oman

In Oman, elections take place on a proportional basis, where all candidates run as independents with no party list. Constituencies ('Wilayats') that have more than 30,000 citizens are represented by two members, while constituencies with less than 30,000 citizens have one representative each.

Sudan

In Sudan's most recent elections, the National Legislature was not elected by citizens but appointed by the republican decree of August 31, 2005. Of the 450 seats, 13 % or 60 seats are reserved for women.

It is clear that voting systems and parliaments vary across the Arab world, yet the outcomes produce very similar results; that being the reinforcement of existing power structures. Irrespectively of whether elections are perceived as 'free and fair' (i.e. in Lebanon) or restricted and lacking in plurality (i.e. in Egypt), the end result of Arab elections is to perpetuate and maintain the status quo. Furthermore, many also question the validity of elections that take place in countries under occupation, such as the Occupied Palestinian Territories and Iraq. As such, the mere existence of elections in the Arab world is not enough to create reform and guarantee 'democracy' in these societies.

Between Yesterday and Today

The poems herein were written by Omar al-Ze'ini (1898-1961) during the 1951 and 1956 elections, and they still remain relevant.

Elections

My first point of forty
To make the sky rain wheat
The land to yield oil
No taxes, no fees
Just vote for me

I will plant cotton, I will plant wool
In the land of Matn and the land of Chouf
You don't believe me? Tomorrow you will soon see
And witness the miracles
Just vote for me

The foreign delegations are claiming
The opposition is insisting
The newspapers are saying
It was free, it was fair

The election was fair and clean
Oweini made sure of it
They are saying there was money to feed on
To make vinegar you have to fertilize it
To fertilize it, you need worms.

Stop talking
Stop nagging
Let us close this book
This nation, this youth
Deserves this parliamentary look
And that is the truth



If it's true there was money
behind the curtains and under the table
And there was pressure by the police,
Why did the president's candidate lose?

May 1951 Where is he?

Where is he, who was complaining
There is a big rebuke between me and him
I want to see who he's voting for
So I can show him what he's done

Sold his vote for 20 Lira
Cost of drunkenness and a pint of beer
He then calls on the people
They stole the universe, they stole everything
They ate the egg, they ate the shell
They left the people penniless
Sleeping troublesome on the rug

Sold his belief for 20 Lira

Betrayed his conscience, betrayed himself
Deceived his family, tricked his fellows
Brought disaster to his nation
Started crying over his Lebanon
Started slapping on his face

Voted for him for years and years
It was time to know this idiot
Who was good, who was not
Who to be careful from
Which MP smelled so rotten
Who should be allowed into Parliament
To keep his eyes wide open

1956

Election Info

- ⊙ **In 1960 election**, Dr. Elias Khoury won the Ba'abda seat by one vote, receiving 15,805 votes versus 15,804 for his competitor Micheh Farhat. Every vote does count, no matter what they say.
- ⊙ **In 1962** by-election, both sons of MP Youssef El Zein's ran for his seat. Abdul Latif El Zein finally beat his brother Izzatm with 8,799 votes to Izzatm's 4,622.
- ⊙ **In 1963** by-election, Mirna Boustani was elected to Parliament, winning her election uncontested and becoming Lebanon's first female MP. She succeeded her father Emil Boustani, who disappeared in a plane crash.
- ⊙ **In 1972 elections**, two Shia'a candidates, Mohammed Youssef Baydoun and Abdul Majeed El Zein, ran in Beirut's 2nd District. Despite losing to Baydoun by 47 votes, El Zein remained in office for the next twenty years because of the civil war.
- ⊙ **In 1992 elections** Maha Khoury Assaad and Michel Khoury won seats in Parliament by garnering each 41 and 130 votes. Due to the fact that they were the only two candidates running for the two available Maronite seats in Jbeil, logic dictates that they should have been elected by default.



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