

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

ROLE OF ENVIRONMENTAL NON-GOVERNMENT
ORGANIZATIONS IN PROMOTING SUSTAINABLE
TRANSPORTATION IN LEBANON

by
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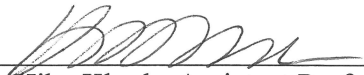
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ABSTRACT

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The transport sector is a crucial sector in order for any economy to function, for it affects the day-to-day activities of the entire population. However, policy makers are increasingly concerned about this sector's adverse effects on the (global and local) environment, and have been seeking to introduce more sustainable transport policies. This thesis takes the case of Lebanon to understand how the transport policies and laws have evolved (they are largely outdated and unimplemented) and how they may be made more sustainable. It posits that the policy process today is no longer seen to be solely in the hands of the government, but increasingly includes the important roles played by other non-governmental actors such as international donors, the media, and civil society groups. As such, this thesis explores the role of environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOS) as policy actors shaping the policy process to achieve a sustainable transport sector in Lebanon. Following Sabatier's work, this thesis holds that the transport problem in Lebanon has so far been a "wicked problem" since the resistances to its solution has come from various players and interests, but also from the more general problem of clientelism. Clientelism limits the work of NGOs and hinders its building collations with other organizations or even governmental agencies in order to shape public policy.

Based on the research conducted, including examination of parliamentary committee records, this thesis concludes that the role of ENGOS has indeed been present throughout all the steps of the process to produce a new, more sustainable transport policy. Indeed, especially before the 2006 war and the political deadlock that took over after that, the impact of these NGOs can be very well seen. However, since then, their role has clearly diminished which in turn has resulted in the failure to move this process forward. Nonetheless, some conclusions can still provisionally be made. First, the policy process in Lebanon is no longer seen to a top-down approach and the government is no longer seen as the only entity to influence the public sphere. This is mainly shown by the increase of number of ENGOS and the activities they have done over the years. Second, the influence of NGOs now cuts across various sectors and issues--such as public smoking, electoral law reform, and gender issues--and this supports the formation of these collations to try pushing for a more sustainable transport sector. Finally, it is clear that a viable sustainable transportation policy must be supported by another potential, though currently absent policy actor, namely the Lebanese citizens who must become more aware and engaged to change the "wicked" problem of transport in Lebanon.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The transport sector is a crucial sector in order for any economy to function, for it affects the day-to-day activities of the entire population. In fact, it is within this sector that other sectors operate. In the past, economies used to be measured based on the size of the transportation sector; for example, the lifespan of a car age and the ownership status were associated with how well-off countries were. Over the past years, the transportation sector has been one of the fastest growing primary sectors. This growth is due to four main reasons, including the increase in population size, urbanization and access to transport, development in industrial works (increase in material transport), and finally, the higher standards of life.¹

Traveling from one place to another is engagement in the economic activity. Transportation is a demand derived from the people's needs for their daily commute; business logistical needs, as well as holiday travel. However, Perston (2001) suggests that transportation could be a normal consumption good.² The transport sector is typically a great contributor to the economy, providing 5-8% of countries total paid employment and adding directly 3-5% to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Worldwide, the three largest automotive manufactures surpasses alone the Gross Net Product (GNP) of Africa.³

¹ UNEP, 2001

² Perston, 2001

³ UNEP, 2001

Whether transportation is seen as a derived or consumption good, it greatly impacts economy, society and environment. Therefore, it should be operated in a sustainable way. Transportation, especially road transportation, is considered to be one of the largest contributors to the global warming due to the high levels of pollutants emitted from buses, trucks and cars.⁴ In 2004, transportation was responsible for 23% of the total Green House Gases (GHG) emitted worldwide. This high percentage over the years has brought the transport sector to become one of the fastest increasing rates in term of GHG emissions.⁵ The transport sector not only affects the environment directly, but also indirectly and adversely affects citizen. World Health Organization (WHO) has stated that accidents will be ranked in the third place as a leading cause for disabilities in 2020.⁶

Policymakers are concerned by the different types of pressures and negative impacts resulting from the sector, such as air pollution, congestion, fatalities from accidents and petroleum dependency.⁷ As such mitigation in terms of policies has become a vital issue. Consequently, governments and policy makers are focusing more on the issue of transportation. The practical implications of that increased focus vary between developed and developing countries. For instance, developed countries started mitigating the impacts, especially the ones related to climate change, while many developing countries are still not active in this field.⁸

⁴Unger et'al,2010

⁵Ribeiro,2007

⁶Markovich& Lucas,2011

⁷Ribeiro,2007

⁸Hmeidan,2002

Some countries in the Arab World suffer from many problems that affect its transport sectors unfortunately, not much is being done to address them. These problems include the rapid growth of fleet size, aging of vehicles –i.e.: some are 10 to 18 years old- poor maintenance and urban planning, as well as lack of efficient and adequate public transport. Limited government actions are present to promote a behavioral shift in the transport sector. Even if some incentives or strategies are proposed, especially in the scope of sustainable transportation, many challenges are present to block this development. Some of these challenges are characterized by rapid increase in fleet size, lack of funding, lack of expertise and accurate data, and lack of awareness and communication between stakeholders.⁹ Lebanon is one of those countries facing a problem in its transport sector.

Congestion, traffic jams and old cars are the main characteristics of the transport sector. Being stuck in traffic is not only a waste of time and fuel, but also affects ones well-being and productivity. Most of the transportation policies are outdated, and citizens find themselves not abiding by these old polices. The transport sector, with all its aging vehicles, puts pressure on both the economy and environment of the country. High levels of pollution are emitted from exhaust pipes of old as well as new vehicles and from engine discharges. The citizens in Lebanon are also responsible, in a way, for the transport problem. Poor driving habits, reliance on personal transport, and not abiding by the law are rampant, among both public and private drivers.

⁹ Chaaban,2014

The solution lies in establishing a new set of policies that will make the transport sector a more sustainable one. However, in Lebanon, with all its political differences and instability, issuing laws has become a difficult and sometimes impossible activity for the government as well as the parliament. As a result, and in the past decade the country has witnessed a rise in a new kind of policy makers, non-governmental organizations (NGOs). NGOs have been active in many fields over the past years, advocating and pushing the parliament to issue new laws that affect various economic and social sectors. For example, the ban on smoking in public places is a perfect example of how NGOs lobbied the parliament and other policy makers to issue the law. Today we also see NGOs lobbying and campaigning for the law against women abuse. The purpose of this thesis is to look into the role of environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs) and how they are shaping the policy process to achieve a sustainable transport sector in Lebanon.

A. Problem Statement: Pubic Transport Sector in Lebanon

Lebanon's major transport- related problem is the bad status of its public transport sector. Regulation, implementation and monitoring processes are not efficient, with no specific entity fully responsible for the sector. A modern and well-organized and operated public transport ensures a sustainable transportation sector. Especially, that public transportation is one of the main modes to achieve sustainability in the sector. . Effective deployment of the public transport does not only reduce various types of

pollutions, but also has lower expenses on both government and citizens.¹⁰ Public transportation is a facility to grant citizens their social right of mobility, through following four basic objectives¹¹:

- Accessible to all people
- Covers a certain geographical area
- Safe and reliable
- Affordable to all levels of society

The public transport sector in Lebanon, compared to international standards, is considered to have a low demand with only 30% coverage of the total transport demand.¹² If well managed the sector will revenue the government 421 million LL/month, rather than 105 million LL/month.¹³

The public transport sector in Lebanon is made up of two main modes: shared taxi and buses. The shared taxi is the most common used model, made up of automobiles and minivans, operating randomly with semi-determined or pre-determined tracks. Another type of public transport is the private taxis, owned by companies and operates by phone call requests. The public sector covers around 20% of the total demand in Greater Beirut Area (GBA). Before the civil war, numbers of taxis were 10,000; however in 1990s it increased to more than 30,000, exceeding the demand of the

¹⁰ ESCWA,2009

¹¹ Kaysi et'al,2010

¹² MoPWT,2007

¹³ Tahtah,2013

community. Over demand brought low revenue for the taxi drivers, preventing them from improving their vehicles; result in high number of old and badly maintained cars.¹⁴

The bus system is operated by both Railway and Public Transport Authority (RPTA) and by private companies. The trips are offered infrequently, with inefficient time and do not cover the whole country. The buses do not even follow a time-table.¹⁵ As result, the number of private and public buses decreased. The Centre Administration de Statique by the Ministry of Transport performed a study in 2007 showing that the , number of trips decreased by 33.1%, total kilometers travelled went down by 23.3% and number of buses fell by 26.1%, as well the total number of passengers inclined by 29.6%.¹⁶ The work of public buses in Lebanon is below international standards¹⁷. As for the railway, it is a non-used method although the government pays around \$8 million per year for maintenance and salaries for employees in the authority responsible for railways.¹⁸Table 1 presents the occupancy of vehicles in GBA in 2008. The table shows that all types of public transportation are present in the city, like RTPA buses, service taxi and others. However, the rate of using them is very low in comparison to other countries. While Table 2 refers to the number of these modes of transport, indicating that although high numbers of vehicles are present, the numbers of passengers are low. Consequently, the people are more interested in using private modes of transport over the public ones.

¹⁴Kaysiet'al, 2010

¹⁵MoPWT, 2007

¹⁶CAS, 2007

¹⁷El-Jisr&Chabarekh.C, 2012

¹⁸Sharkani, 2010

Poor regulations have also constrained the public transport sector. Regulations related to increase in number of taxi permits, resulted in pollution and congestion from the old aged taxi, mainly Mercedes. Another regulation problem, may be the most important one, no specific system to enforce a cost-efficient transport sector.¹⁹

Table 1: Vehicle Occupancy in GBA in 2008²⁰

	Vehicle occupancy (passenger excluding driver)
RPTA buses	15.1
LCC (Lebanese Commuting Company) buses	11.2
Exclusive ride taxis	1.18
Shared ride taxis	1.18
Red plate vans	5.93

Table 2: Public Transportation in Lebanon in 2007²¹

Road Transport	Some Figures
Public Collective Transport (Buses)	3.2 million passengers/year 61,380 bus trips/year
Private Collective Transport (Buses) Lebanese Commuting Company	13 lines 52,385 bus trips/year
Number of Licensed Taxis	33,500
Number Licensed Vans	4,000
Number of Red Numbers-Buses (25-55 passengers)	2,236
Number of Red Numbers-Trucks	14,000

¹⁹ MoE, 2011

²⁰ Mansour, 2012

²¹ El-Jisr&Chabarekh.C, 2012

The transport sector, in general, highly effects the countries environment, i.e.: climate change and local air quality degradation. Climate change is being effected over time from the transport sector and pollutants emitted from it. By year 2100, the mean for global surface temperature will increase by 1.4 to 5.8 degree Celsius accompanied by 15 to 95cm raise in sea levels.²² These changes will create pressures not only on environment (drought, desertification), but also economy (pressure on food production) and society (increase diseases).

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has investigated ways in order to integrate climate change in policy making. Referring to the European Union's (EU) latest strategy for Sustainable Development, adaptation and mitigation from climate change should be present in all relevant European policies.²³ As a result, sustainable development in general and the sustainability of the transport sector in particular is the solution to the problem in hand, but is the government the sole entity responsible for this shift to sustainable transport? Or do the citizens have a role as well, as pressure groups and lobbyists? Litman (2009) has concluded that the solutions or policy decisions taken by the government are sometimes not the best option for the citizens. Allowing high-speed cars, reducing travel or increasing prices for example could have negative impacts on citizens, with low income or living away from their work area.²⁴

²² UNEP, 2001

²³Urwin& Jordan,2008

²⁴Litman,2009

The next section, literature review, presents the debate of public policy process and main definitions of the process by different scholars. As well, the different views of NGOs role in the policy process. The definition of sustainable transportation and weather it is an answer to the problem at hand.

B. Literature Review:

1. Public Policy Process

The policy process is no longer seen to be exclusively in the hands of the government or the parliament as was traditionally assumed. There is no agreed definition that describes the policy process; it can be viewed as critical or rational process. Any actor (state or non-state), which proposes anything in the public domain is considered to be part of the public policy process. Non-state actors can also propose public policy without waiting for government approval. Part of literature assumes rational policy process, were policy is straight forward- including the traditional lobbying system. While the other part of literature, assumes the important role of the power relation between the various actors in policy making, in the political sphere- i.e.: clientelism to form public policy. Policies are set to fall into the public interest of a countries population. The main role is to work in the public interest of the people by using public policy to implement it. Public interest is characterized to be a common good, of which members of society can benefit with no discrimination. When it comes to stakeholders, some are fully committed to public interest, but the majority looks at

their own interests and benefits thus overlooking the public one.²⁵ Therefore, it is important to consider the role of these non-state actors in order to define the power relations among the various actors in public policy.

Public policy as a process is done by the government including agents from outside the government. As indicated in the literature and described by Kingdon (1995), policy making process is completed by two categories: the government and the people outside it. Actors from outside are mainly interest groups, researchers, academics, consultants, media, parties and other election related actors and the public.²⁶

The public policy process is a complex one by itself. Scholars have defined this process for many years, and it can be discussed as being a linear or non-linear one. Also Gordon, Lewis and Young (1993) defined, a policy is a linear one when it follows a systematic model, starting with problem identification, forming the solutions, implementing and evaluating them.²⁷ Non-linear policy process, as defined by Sutton (1999), is a process believed to be a 'chaos of purposes and accidents'.²⁸ The role of the government is no longer the only one, or the base of the policy process. Public policy can be divided into two types; vertical one or horizontal. Horizontal public policy is basically composed of two or more organizations with integration between them, but each has to work with one part of the situation only. On the contrary, the vertical type of public policy is within one organization of power and capitals for implementation.²⁹ As

²⁵ Smith,2003

²⁶ Kingdon,1995

²⁷Shore & Wright,1997

²⁸ Sutton,1999

²⁹ Smith,2003

a result, when the public policy is carried out in a linear way, the government is involved in the process and considered to be a vertical one.

The thesis will present the case study of Lebanon, and since transportation is a very complex issue, very important concept that affects the policy process needs to be discussed. This issue/concept is the patron-client relationship and how it affects the policy process.

Patron-client relationship have affected the policy making process in many ways. Therefore, this type of relation challenges the role of the government in delivering public interest. The power relation between state and non-state actors could be based on the patron-client relation, which is one model to be used in this thesis.

Patron-client relation has been found for a long time in both the Arab World and Lebanon. According to Gellner (1990), he believes that civil society in the Middle East is weak due to the presence of clientelism. He states that civil society “continues to be weak in the face of the state; political conflict within the state apparatus, even when nominally ideological, is generally a matter of the rivalry of patronage networks, often with a regional or quasi-communal base”.³⁰

³⁰ Gellner, 1990

2. Patron-Client Relationship in Lebanon

In Lebanon, the citizens are used to solve their problems through the help of influential people they know. Problems, having to do with police or other issues, are solved not by government officials, but by groups of people with political influence. Although in Lebanon there exists a high number of NGOs but these voices are not heard in the presence of a high patron-client influence. The history of clientelism in Lebanon dates back to the 18th century. It started with Iqta (family running their lands) system, where farmers work in lands with total loyalty to the landlord.³¹ Hamzeh (2001), states that civil society was troubled by the presence of patron-client relationship. He states that “it has had a constraining effect on the enactment of universalistic policies and discouraged the development of Lebanese citizen participation in an already fragile consociation type of democracy”. After the independence in 1943, clientelism continued and can be characterized to be four types. First *zu’ama* clientelism, it conquered up until 1975, it is a hereditary system of *zaim* (power broker) handed down from father to son. It is based on confessional loyalty and kinship. The power broker is concerned to put his hands on the country’s resources, through his high position in the state and administrations. Second type is party-oriented one; people tend to follow an ideology and not a person. However, it failed to channel patron-client relation from private to public sector. Third type is the militia-clientelism that started in 1975 with the beginning of the civil war up until the 1989 and ended by the Ta’if agreement. In principal it emphasizes the influence of the militia, but this type was also interconnected

³¹ World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987

with the first since some of the power brokers were leaders of this type, in parallel with other individuals. This type of clientelism was divided based on areas, where every militia took an area or zone and controlled in politically, socially and economically under armed forces. Finally, is the Islamist clientelism, it started in 1970's were patrons and their clients share the same religion. But this type of clientelism didn't go outside the Muslim community, and it did not even dominate the whole community.³²

Patron-client relationships will always be present in the country, as long as patrons are in power and clients are trying to meet their needs in any way possible. Clientelism is not only present in politics, but also in academia, religious figures and others.³³ Patrons are controlling every aspect of life including health, environment, economy and others. Transportation is also one of the fields where patrons are pressurizing clients to do what they want. The patrons are not only politicians, oil companies for example that are in charge of petroleum prices. They also include companies or individuals in charge of roads and road rehabilitations. The corruption, when it comes to the transport sector, is present in all the levels of the government and officials; this was very clear in the last winter season of 2014. The corruption prohibited the rehabilitation of roads and cleaning the sewage to properly collect the storm water. As a result the roads and tunnel flooded with rain water and citizens got stuck in their cars for hours.

³²Hamzeh, 2001

³³Roniger, 1994

The focus of this thesis is to look into the role of NGOs in policy making, especially transportation. As it is well-known that NGOs are part of the interest groups, therefore they play a very important role in the policy making process. NGOs have been differently defined by the literature some assume that NGOs have the typical role of a civil servant. While others assume that NGOs have become what is called small shops, with no role or influence in the policy making process.

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3. NGOs and Public Policy Process

NGOs have been present for long periods of time, dating back to times were ordinary people organized themselves into groups. As a result, the idea of NGOs evolved, being small, large national or international. NGOs started locally with relief and charity work, and then started to have international activity with the beginning of World War I (WWI). The International Red Cross, Catholic Relief Services and others are some examples of these NGOs. With time NGOs started to work more into

developmental issues, not forgetting relief work.³⁴ Therefore, according to Britain's foreign minister, NGOs role is no longer looked at as simple advocacy or advisory, but are part of the decision making process.³⁵

David Korten described the evolution of NGOs into four main generations. First, they started as organizations focusing on relief work, i.e. social welfare programs. Then NGOs became community development organizations with activities like social and community improvements. The third generation of NGOs started with cooperation between private and public organizations, policy change and sustainable development issues. The fourth generation is when people and organizations developed a self-managing process.³⁶ Therefore, this thesis will mainly deal with the third stage of NGOs development, when it became a major player in sustainable development issues and policy change.

It is important to mention the existing relation between the government and these NGOs. Najam (1997) defines NGOs as policy entrepreneurs with a primary role in social change through advocacy. He views this relation between government and NGOs as being a confrontation, complementation or collaboration.³⁷ As stated by Simmons (1998): " NGOs on the ground often make the impossible possible by doing what the governments cannot or will not do".³⁸ In developing countries the relationship

³⁴ Samuel & Arturo,1991

³⁵Abou Daye,2008

³⁶ AbouDaye,2008

³⁷ Young,1997

³⁸ Simmons,1998

between NGOs and state is guided by a democratic environment. The government plays a role in insuring donations and has connections with other organizations.

The main type of NGOs to be addressed in this thesis is the Environmental NGOs. These kinds of organizations have different kinds of jobs or perform different kinds of activities. Some go into protest activities in order to deliver their goals and visions, therefore detaching themselves from the policy arena. On the other hand, there are the organizations that advocate and lobby inside the political and policy making arena³⁹. The second type of activities is what will be highlighted on in the last chapter of the thesis. Mainly these types of organizations have a range of activities related to wildlife conservation, pollution reduction, poverty elimination and other areas⁴⁰. Moreover, these organizations may be large cooperation like Greenpeace International, World Wide Fund and others, employing hundreds of people with a multi-billion budget with offices all over the world. Alternatively, these ENGOs can be small groups operating with a very small budget and staff.⁴¹

Steinberg (2003) mentions that “civil society actors play the role of bilateral activists who catalyze policy change in developing countries”.⁴² For an organization and in order to influence public policy or policy in general, it must be attentive to information, knowledge, work with bureaucracy and have contact with decision makers.⁴³ Simmons (1998) suggests that NGOs have an unseen role, promoting societal

³⁹Princen & Finger, 1996

⁴⁰Tarasofsky et al, 2003

⁴¹ Bryant & Baily, 2002

⁴² Steinberg, 2003

⁴³ Smith, 2003

changes required for making international agreements work.⁴⁴ According to McCormick (1993) “the fundamental objective of an NGO is to influence public policy from outside the formal structure to elected government”.⁴⁵

NGOs have been integrating, and continue, in performing policy making and being part of each of its levels. However, do the roles of these NGOs come always in the benefit of the people? NGOs can be organizations that work in absence of the government, and are responsible for policy making in many issues and countries. NGOs are considered to be the third sector. David Lewis (2003) says: NGOs or what he referred to as non-governmental, third sector or non-profit, have become major actors in the public policy scenario at all levels being local, national and international.⁴⁶ Kamat (2004); indicates that NGOs became the new patrons of public interest, reflecting the people needs more than unions, welfare associations and other institutes even religious. Along with jeopardizing the role of the state in meeting its public needs, it has reached out to the poor and underprivileged citizens more than the government has.⁴⁷

People are seeking more help of NGOs in the absence of an effective role of the government, or organizations like unions. The work of NGOs has led to the issuing of many policies. Many examples have shown that NGOs are working more than government to help in maintaining a proper quality of life, especially in countries of

⁴⁴ Simmons,1998

⁴⁵Kim,nd

⁴⁶ Lewis,2003

⁴⁷Kamat,2004

conflict. Park (2002) argues that there are four criteria NGOs should meet in an ideal situation.⁴⁸ These are:

- Citizen participation, to put it on a different level than the government
- Be open to any problem or individual regardless of religion, gender and other factors
- Volunteerism
- Deal with public interest, which puts it apart from business organizations

Some scholars do not view NGOs as having the positive role it used to have dealing with public issues and problems. For NGOs now are not always considered the solution. NGOs are not magic bullets, and sometimes they have an adverse effect and need to be always supervised by the public they are serving.⁴⁹ NGOs are no longer being considered as marginal representatives. These organizations are no longer standing as watchdogs for public on the work of the government, in issues like poverty for example.⁵⁰

Clarke (1998), states that the view of NGOs is different between Liberals and Neo-liberals. The first view NGOs as a third sector actors, which converts the weaknesses of both the government and private sector in encouraging socio-economic development. In contrast, Neo-liberals view NGOs as part of this private sector. They are viewed as supplying services to the poor inexpensively, fairly and obviously.⁵¹

⁴⁸Kim, nd

⁴⁹Kim, nd

⁵⁰Lewis & OPOKU-MENSAH,2006

⁵¹Chlarke,1998

NGOs and when it comes to lobbying for policies are often involved in legislative, executive and judiciary branches. Holtzman (1996) describes the influence of interest groups (including NGOs) in lobbying the above bodies. Interest groups are defined by the executive branch to be “useful adjusts”. The relation between them is considered to be a cooperative and dependent one. Both the interest groups and executive body need each other for information, technical support and services. Interest groups are brought directly by the executive body or through consultations to provide services and ideas.⁵²

The second branch is the legislative body. The attitude of the legislator body and interest groups (including NGOs) can be described with four main classifications. The legislative body can be a facilitator for the work of interest groups, a resistor, hostile or neutral with no action towards these groups. Interest groups often help the legislator in technical information. In return, the legislators offer chances to interest groups to lobby their political ideas, as a result be part of the policy process. Interest groups can lobby the legislative body, either directly or indirectly. Direct lobbying remains the most consistent strategy to influence decision-making process, through direct interaction with the legislators.⁵³

The attitudes of NGOs have changed over the years, as it has evolved to become more vague, complex and provocative. Igoe and Kelsall (2005) gave an example that NGOs should reflect the socio-historical status of the area in which they operate, rather

⁵² Holtzman, 1996

⁵³ Holtzman, 1996

than supposing a universal interstice quality. In the past (recent) years, these organizations are no longer found in the policy making circle.⁵⁴ In the past century social and economic growth was looked at using a top- to- bottom approach, while today it is looked at from bottom- upwards. Therefore NGOs became the main compounds replacing the bureaucratic state, which they are considered as the only organizations to apply the bottom-up approach.⁵⁵

When it comes to international environmental issues, NGOs play the role of the government. NGOs have contributed to negotiations, monitoring and implementing activities. Therefore they become more persuasive in environmental diplomacy as stated by Enge and Malkeness (1993) “an integral part of negotiation process”. As well, NGOs have influenced the international environmental law. Some scholars have indicated that the raise of NGOs working with environmental issues is just a “window-dressing” to please the public. Others relate it to the concept of global civil society emergence.⁵⁶

The work of ENGOS over the years is a perfect reflection on the role of NGOs. They are considered to be present as a social move based on the increase in civil society and funding of these kinds of organizations. They are also considered to be present just to satisfy the need of the public to have these association, may be in order to be seen by the international community. Regardless of the purpose of these NGOs, it is proven that their work has led to significant changes in some societies.

⁵⁴Lewis & OPOKU-MENSAH, 2006

⁵⁵Kamat,2004

⁵⁶Raustiala,1997

NGOs, especially ENGOs, have played an important role in promoting sustainable development. The shift of some NGOs work from charity and relief into promoting the concept of sustainability shows how important this issue is becoming to the society. Castells (2002), states that “sustainable development is the code word for the most important social debate of our time”.⁵⁷ The following section will present the concept of sustainable transportation and why was it chosen to be a solution to the current transport problem in Lebanon.

4. Is Sustainable Transportation the Answer?

The idea of sustainable transportation system was highlighted upon in the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation and World Summit on Sustainable Development. Countries agreed to integrate sustainable transportation in policymaking to cover policies related to land use, public transportation, infrastructure and others. Moreover, the countries focused on the issue of affordability, efficiency and safety of the sector, along with pollution and congestion reduction.⁵⁸

Sustainable transportation has been defined by many scholars over the years, and each of these scholars has defined the concept of sustainable transportation in its own

⁵⁷ Zhou,2011

⁵⁸ ESCWA,2009

context. For example, and according to the University of Plymouth Center for Sustainable Transport: sustainable transportation is affordable, efficient, has a variety of transport modes and supports an efficient economy. It should limit harmful emissions, decrease the use of non-renewable resources and noise levels, recycle and reuse its components, and reduce land use. In order to deliver this sustainable transport system, three fields should be taken into consideration. First is the economy, infrastructure must be built within the society's ability to pay for it. Second is social, transport should be accessible, safe and secure for all the people, as well as an asset for them. Third, is the environment, reduce the pollution emitted by the sector.⁵⁹ Moreover, Transport Canada (1997), characterizes the sustainable transportation as follows: "although there is no single, commonly held definition of sustainable transportation, for the department concept means that the transportation system and transportation activity in general, must be sustainable on three courts- economic, environmental and social".⁶⁰

In the beginnings of the discussion of sustainable transportation, the environmental issue was the main concern, especially due to the pollution from the fuels combustion. However, with years authors and scholars started looking into different scope to the problem. Litman and Burwell (2006) looked into the integrated solutions to the problem; Hall (2006) looked into reforming and building up institutional capacity. Moreover, Black (2006) looked into benchmarking sustainable transportation, and Jeon et'al (2007) proposed the concept of taking the sustainable transportation definition to

⁵⁹ AASHTO, 2009

⁶⁰ Zhou,2011

regional level. Thus, sustainable transportation is not just how people drive or the systems operates, but it is about governance and the interaction between the transport sector and other sectors.⁶¹

Application of sustainability in the transport sector is seen by many communities to be a difficult task. The sector is a complex one, especially when addressing social, technological, environmental and economic systems comprehensively. In the meantime, the transport demand is increasing worldwide in a rate higher than that of economic growth. For example, even in transportation efficient cities the demand on motorization and mobility is increasing.⁶² To solve the problem of transportation and to make the sector more sustainable, some changes should be done; these could be behavioral or technological changes. Behavioral changes mainly focus on reducing car use, promote carpooling and decreasing travel, and hence improve the environment and urban quality. On the other hand, technological changes are basically shifting to more energy- efficient cars and reducing noise pollution. When it comes to accepting these changes people are more with technological changes, since behavioral changes will affect their lifestyle directly, and people do not like to change easily. For example, in using energy-efficient cars people are still going where they want with less impact on the environment. But, what drawback the use of these kinds of cars is they are expensive, especially in low-income societies.⁶³

⁶¹ Zhou,2011

⁶² Goldman & Gorham,2006

⁶³Steg& Gifford,2005

A sustainable transport sector will have a beneficial foot-print on the economic sector. For example, in a sustainable transport system more than 3.8 million jobs will be generated globally due to the increase in production of low emission vehicles. Along with job generation, sustainable transportation system will help upgrade the quality of life and public health, especially in rural areas and for vulnerable groups. According to studies done in the Arab region, there are six groups of policies, measures and actions to be done to attain a sustainable transport system in the region. These options are:⁶⁴

- Abiding to an institutional framework,
- Encouraging safe transport,
- Improving gasoline and diesel specifications,
- Promote rural and road network transportation,
- Policies to enhance transport sector management,
- Implementation of advanced transport technologies.

It is evident that implementing sustainable transport is a complex task, which needs the collaboration of all stakeholders being government (national and local levels), NGOs, private sector, industry and international organizations.⁶⁵

Since focus of thesis is on sustainable transportation, it is important to discuss the discourse of sustainable development in Lebanon. The path of sustainable development in Lebanon started with the participation in the RIO-1992 World Summit and taking many actions after it. These actions are characterized by new policies, decrees and

⁶⁴ ESCWA,2009

⁶⁵ UNEP,2001

action plans set by the government, along with activities by certain organizations being local or international. The major start was with the establishment of the Ministry of Environment in 1993, under the Law 216/1993. Moreover, performing of several environmental regulations like the 14 protected areas assigned since 1992, covering around 2.3% of the Lebanese territories.

The course of implementing sustainable development in a country like Lebanon is not an easy task. The country has passed from 1992 till now in many difficult times, both on the politically and security levels. Three wars with Israel have left the countries resources weak as well as its infrastructure. The last war of 2006, witnessed the largest environmental crisis in the history of the country due to the oil spill from the Jyieh plant. The spill carried with it around US\$200 million in oil-related damages. Moreover, damages didn't stop there but it affected poverty and social reform programs along with devastating economic losses. According to the report submitted by the Government of Lebanon (GoL) to the RIO+20 summit, the Arab Springs have also affected development in Lebanon. Although, the country is not involved in a revolution, but the presence of many refugees that fled the situations in their home land has affected the country social, economically and environmentally.

C. Research Question and Framework

Sustainable transportation cannot be achieved without a proper policy implementation. In Lebanon, policies and laws related to transport are generally outdated and not effectively enforced. The sector is not-well managed, due to the wide scope of stakeholders running it. Moreover, political problems and patron-client relation made the government hopeless in some cases. The policy process today is no longer seen to be in the hands of the government only, but includes international donors, political parties, media, NGOs and others. NGOs have played an important role in delivering the idea of sustainable development to different countries over the past years. Therefore, this thesis chooses to study the role of ENGOs in sustainable transport policy process in Lebanon. The main research question to be answered is: How are ENGOs shaping the sustainable transport policy process in Lebanon?

Few policy institutions hold the power and ability to carry out policies without the help of other institutions. As a result, advocacy coalition framework (ACF) is widely used since it is based on the idea of policy networks (i.e.: coalitions).⁶⁶

Scholars view it as one of the frameworks that are most involved and useful when it comes to theoretical viewing of policy process. The framework is seen as the most successful compared to the other theoretical frameworks in explaining change and policy development.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Kim & Roh, 2008

⁶⁷ Sotriov & Memmler, 2012

ACF was made to look into complex, permanent public policy processes including multiple stakeholders. Basic strategy followed by this framework is the believe structure in the related policy subsystems to forecast changes in the shared beliefs that lead to policy change with time.⁶⁸ The framework is based on four premises, first is to understand policy change a decade or more is needed. Second, the best unit of analysis is no longer the specific government institutions but rather the policy subsystems. The third premise indicates that a policy subsystem includes actors form different levels of the government. Finally, the belief subsystem is considered to be the central system in the ACF.⁶⁹

As indicated in the literature review section, the government is no longer seen as the only entity for public policy making. But rather the process is now and integration between different collations.

The framework defines four mechanisms that lead to policy change.⁷⁰

- Change in system events
- Change in events on policy subsystems (i.e.: catastrophes, disasters...)
- Policy-oriented learning
- Agreement among collations

The ACF indicates that public policy is a reflection of the dominant coalitions.

Thus, it differentiates between major (substantial change) and minor (instrumental change) policy changes. According to the fourth premises, ACF analyzes public policy

⁶⁸ Stich & Miller,2008

⁶⁹ Elliot & Schlarpfer,2001

⁷⁰Sotriov& Memmler,2012

making according to policy subsystems. These subsystems are defined based on geographic and substantive characteristics. Policy subsystems are viewed as an area of completion between advocacy coalitions.⁷¹ Policy subsystems involve various individuals from governments, businesses, civil society and others from various levels being local, regional and international.⁷² Advocacy collations tend to transform believes to policies by strategies and instruments like lobbying officials, appointing research, litigation, targeting the public opinion and others.⁷³

ACF and according to Sabatier deals with “wicked” problems and obtain a significant goal. It is used in many cases that involve environmental issues, like forestry policy, water, oil and others. Moreover, it was used in 1999 in the UK to develop roads and transport policy and later in 2004, also in UK, in transport and mineral policy.⁷⁴ Wicked problems are those that go beyond one organization capacity and understanding. Disagreement about the reason of the problem and how to solve it are also characteristics of a wicked problem, to solve such problems, innovation and comprehensive solutions are required. As well, engagement of internal and external stakeholders along with citizens is important to solve the problem. One example of a wicked problem is climate change, were involvement of all levels of NGOs and government are need to solve this problem.⁷⁵ The transport problem in Lebanon is considered to be a wicked problem, since it has many consequences on the economy,

⁷¹Sotirov& Memmler,2012

⁷²Marfoa& Mckeown,2013

⁷³Elliot & Schlaepfer,2001

⁷⁴ Sabatier,2007

⁷⁵ Briggs, 2007

society, health and environment. As a result, the ACF was consulted to deal with the transportation policy process in Lebanon. Since, it presents two collations the government and NGOs.

Another model that was consulted is the patron-client relationship. Clientelism is mainly defined to be as “lying at the far end of the institutional spectrum from democracy”. It mainly takes many forms in the cultural setting. Patron-Client relation is based on the interests of the patron. The Patron gives money and help in services; in return the client is bounded to be in disposal. This is considered to be one forum of clientelism in cultural settings. It could also be a relation only based on public law or community norms. Martz (1977) has defined the clientelism as “an enduring mechanism of control in society...identifiable in all times and settings”.⁷⁶

Clientelism is characterized to hold many forms based in the cultural setting of the country. According to Kaufman (1974), clientelism always includes a relation between actors of different power and status. Moreover, it is a relation where services and goods are exchanged between actors. Finally it is private and fixed to a roughly public law and norms.⁷⁷ Clientelism can affect the society/country in many different ways. It can damage the role of the state, the image of democracy in the country and keeps authority in the hands of the elite people.

⁷⁶Brinkerhoff & Goldsmith,2002

⁷⁷ Kaufman,1974

D. Methodology

In order to identify the relation between the government and NGOs (environmental in specific), a qualitative research was conducted. A thorough analysis of the available literature is conducted. Content analysis was made up publications and official reports. Content analysis is referred to by researchers as a flexible method to analysis of text data.⁷⁸ It has been defined to be a technique that enables researches to study large volumes of data with a relatively easy symmetric way.⁷⁹

Before going into the next chapter, some terminologies are presented that shape main ideas tackled below. The most common and used definition of NGOs is non-governmental and non-profit organizations working on issues like charity, helping the poor and became involved more and more in promoting sustainable development. As for the definition of sustainable development, it is meeting the needs of today's generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Of course these needs should be met in a way that does not affect the society, environment and economy. Sustainable transportation, it is a system where people needs are met through a well-organized and modern public transport, use of hybrid cars and other cleaner technologies, carpooling and other modes. This system minimizes the negative effects of transportation on economy, society and environment.

⁷⁸ Hsieh&Shannon,2005

⁷⁹ Stemler,2001

E. Structure of Thesis

The thesis is made up of three main chapters and a conclusion. Chapter I, introduced the problem statement, highlighted in the poor public transport sector in Lebanon. A literature review of the main debates on public policy process, NGOs and their role in this policy process was presented. As well, the idea of sustainable transportation and how will it help in solving the problem. Finally, the research question, consulted framework and methodology were presented. Chapter II will present an overview of both the transport sector in Lebanon and NGOs/ENGOS history. It starts with the Lebanese context, to give an overview of how the political setting is done. Then it presents the transportation sector with all its actors (state or non-state), current situation, effects and role of government. As for the NGOs and ENGOS, it presents the history of both in Lebanon and role in the policy process. Chapter III presents the role of ENGOS in the actual transportation sector and their activities and lobbying to make it a sustainable one. As well, an analysis section of the work of these NGOs in relation to consulted framework, in order to answer the research question. Conclusion, basically presents the way forward in the research of public policy, NGOs and sustainable transportation.

CHAPTER II

SETTING THE CONTEXT FOR LEBANON'S TRANSPORT SECTOR: PLAYERS, PROBLEMS AND POLICIES

The transport sector can constrain the social and economic development if it was unsafe and ineffective, especially in developing countries. United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (UNESCWA) (2009), relates the poor transportation to population growth and urbanism.⁸⁰ The number of cars globally used has increased throughout the years, from 53 million in 1950 to over 430 million, four decades later.⁸¹ This increase has and will have many consequences that fall under the following parameters: social, economic, environmental and health. For example, it is estimated that 1.2 million people die per year due to transport-related accidents, while 50 million get injured, and more than 80% of these accidents occur in middle income countries.⁸²

In Lebanon the transport sector is characterized to be to be a wicked problem in all its measures. It is described to be very old in terms of vehicles and laws that govern this sector. The following section will present the profile of the transport sector, including main actors involved, and the effects it puts on environment, society and economy; but before a brief presentation of the countries profile. The following chapter will also present the role/work of the government done in the transport sector.

⁸⁰ ESCWA,2009

⁸¹Hmaidan,nd

⁸²Choueiriet'al, 2010

A. Lebanese Context

Lebanon has passed over the years and is still passing through very rough situations, The problems started with 1958 conflicts, and then a fifteen year civil war (1975-1990), followed by the Israeli invasion of 1982 that lasted till 2000. Moreover, political assassinations have happened over the years (especially assassinations of Prime Minister Hariri). Not to forget the 2006 war and its devastating effects on the environment, society and economy. Problems continued with the 2007 civil unrest till now and with many governments resigning and persistent closure of the parliament.

Today the population of Lebanon has increased drastically. Especially after the revolution in Syria; where around a million and a half Syrians are reported to have moved to Lebanon, added to these the large number of Palestinians already present since 1948. The Lebanese population is mostly concentrated in its coastal zone; from north to south where 87% of the population resides and performs the bulk of its economic activity, and thus putting more pressure on the environment.⁸³

Lebanon's political power is based on three branches: legislative, executive and judiciary. The people of the country elect every four years the members of the parliament (MP), makes up the legislative branch. In return the MPs elect the president of the country for six years. After consultation between MPs and the president assigns the Prime Minister, therefore the president and GoL make up the executive branch. As for the last one, it is independent from the above two; it includes all levels of

⁸³ World Bank, 2011

jurisdiction.⁸⁴ The society is composed of a confessional system, where political parties work is organized with sectarian issues. These parties are represented by individuals that follow their own agenda based on religious, clan and economic concerns.⁸⁵ The Lebanese economy is characterized to be a free-market and service-based one.⁸⁶ Lebanon is considered to have a medium-high income with a GDP that ranged between USD16.3 billion (2000) to a USD 22.7 billion (2006). The main sectors that make up the services in the country are: financial services, higher education, market and non-market services, communication, trade, commerce, tourism and transport.⁸⁷

B. Transportation Sector: An overview

The transportation sector in Lebanon consists of land, marine and air transport systems. Along with the roads and what is left of the rail networks, the country includes four main ports- Beirut, Tripoli, Tyre and Saida. The air transport system is carried out by the only airport, Beirut Rafic-Hariri International Airport.

⁸⁴ The Republic of Lebanon "الدستور اللبناني" available from <http://www.lp.gov.lb/doustour/default.htm>; Internet. accessed November 27, 2013.

⁸⁵ 2003 CIA World Factbook, accessed June 2004, available from <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/>; Internet

⁸⁶ Marktanner & Makdisi, 2008

⁸⁷ MOE, 2011

1. Main actors in the sector

a. Governmental Units

The main authority running the sector is the Ministry of Public Works and Transportation (MPWT). It is composed of four main Directorate General (DG); Land & Marine Transport, Roads & Buildings, and Civil Aviation and Urban Planning.⁸⁸ Other authorities are involved as well, like Ministry of Energy and Water (fuel), Ministry of Interior (licensing and road safety), and Ministry of Environment (standards for environment protection) and of course local authorities like municipalities.⁸⁹ Councils are also involved, Council of Development and Reconstruction (CDR), Council for Execution of Development Projects (CEDP) and Council for Execution of Major Projects for the City of Beirut (CEMPCB).⁹⁰ Moreover, there is the parliamentary committee (parliamentary Public Works, Transportation, Energy and Water Committee) responsible for transportation made up of the current MPs to study the laws and policies, advocate new ones and present them to the parliament.

b. Non-governmental Stakeholders

Private entities have an effect on the sector and community. These include the privately- owned buses (including mini-vans) and taxis that make up a big part of the sector today, and they are run privately by individuals. The major petroleum companies

⁸⁸MoPWT,2007

⁸⁹ UN,2002

⁹⁰Zeinati,2001

have significant responsible for setting the prices of fuel oil also affect the transport sector. One last type of the private sector incorporates in it the non-governmental organization and the work of the civil society. The organizations are a vital partner in solving and overcoming issues like transportation.

2. Current Situation: The Problem

The current Lebanese transport system mainly relies on vehicles as a mode of transport, where private passenger cars share the highest number. In 2007, 80% of the total 1.55million vehicles operating were private passenger cars. As for car ownership, it was 3 people for every car in 2002, but expected to increase by 1.5% each year. These passenger cars are characterized by being old, exceeding the age of 13 years as an average, and poorly maintained. Engine displacement (engine size) is considered to be another problem, were it exceeds 2 liters in 60% of the cars; with only 8% cars have 1.4 liters displacement (Figure 1).⁹¹Numbers of vehicles in Lebanon exceed the 1.2 million, from which at least 350,000 vehicles enter and exit daily in GBA alone.⁹²

Passenger cars in Lebanon make up 60% of the total road transport, while trucks and buses make up 28% and 3% respectively.⁹³ As for the other 9%, they are distributed along the other modes of transport. This high ownership leads to a weak public transport system, since people no longer need to use it in presence of these private cars. It also

⁹¹ Mansour,2012

⁹² El-Jisr&Chabarekh, 2012

⁹³ Waked & Afif,2012

affects the urban practices of the people, raises socio-cultural stigma relation to use of public modes of transport.⁹⁴

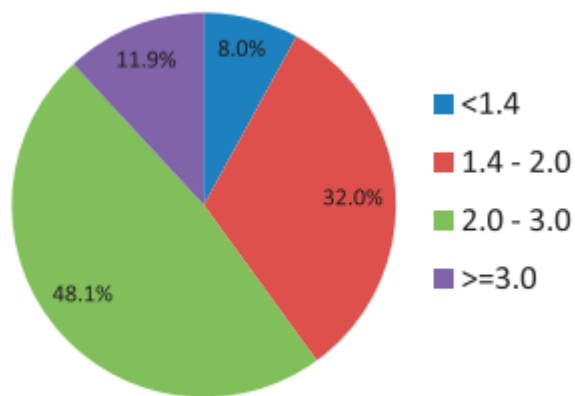


Figure 1: Engine Displacement Distribution of the Lebanese Car Fleet in 2007

In 2001 the road network consisted of 22,000 km of roads, were only 30% of them are classified and the other 70% are un-classified ones overseen by municipalities. Classified roads are roads that fall under the authority of MoPWT and are characterized to be international, primary, secondary and local roads.⁹⁵The roads in Lebanon are poorly maintained and below standards in terms of quality and safety. Low maintenance

⁹⁴ MoE,2011

⁹⁵ MoE,2011

is due to the lack of any responsible entity or company to perform the job, and if present incentives are not there. Also, roads are jeopardized by the unsafe driving practices of the people, high speed along with ignoring traffic lights all put pressure on the status of roads and on the safety of the users. Moreover, lack of enforcement of laws is also responsible for these practices; people tend to drive with no responsibility for other cars or even for pedestrians.⁹⁶

The profile of transportation in GBA in 2011 was characterized by the following features. The average trip distance was 9.6km. In terms of stops while driving 25% were below 2 seconds, while 75% were below 10 seconds, implies that continuous stops correspond to more than 15% delay.⁹⁷

The transportation sector nowadays faces many challenges that prevent it from becoming a green sector. First of all the demand for transport activity has been increasing rapidly over the years and is expected to double between 2005 and 2050. Besides the global vehicle fleet is expected to increase in the next few decades by three or four folds, especially in developing countries. All of these increases will have a negative draw back not only on the environment, but also on the economy and society. Some of these problems are GHG emissions, loss of biodiversity, accidents and noise.⁹⁸ Other challenges are the absence of any regulatory body to check on the driving license or practice of the people. As indicated by Ziad Akl, interviewed by NOW Lebanon in 2009, 50,000 driving licenses are issued each year, with 50\$ million bribe paid to avoid

⁹⁶Perry,2000

⁹⁷ Mansour,2012

⁹⁸ UNEP,2011

undergoing the driving exam, thus making the roads more dangerous.⁹⁹ This is a reflection that inspection tests and even though introduced they are not being implemented properly by the responsible bodies.

Lebanon faces a problem in lack of traffic police personnel. According to MP Kabani the number of these officers should be 2800, while in 2008 they were only 800. Moreover, there is a shortage in the vehicles and supplies needed by these officers. According to international standards, the traffic officers should have around 3500 vehicles; while in Lebanon were only 1400 in 2008.¹⁰⁰ All of the above transport-related problems have a direct effect on the economy, society and of course the environment.

3. Effects of the Transport Sector

a. Socio-Economic Effects

The transportation sector comes in the second place after the electric-power sector, as a sector that affects the people on daily basis.¹⁰¹ It is estimated that every year more than 1.2 million people die globally from car accidents, where 91% of these accidents occur in middle and low income countries. These people are mostly pedestrians or cyclists (either on bikes or motorcycles), due to the poor infrastructure for these kinds of modes. In 2008, the majority of deaths occurred were individuals

⁹⁹NOW Lebanon,2009

¹⁰⁰ Al-Akhbar,2008

¹⁰¹ Sharkani,2010

between 15 and 25 years old. To reduce these accidents a couple of activities or steps should be made: better infrastructure, awareness campaigns, better vehicle inspection, more strict law enforcement, and others. If these steps are done the economic impact of these accidents will decrease especially that they account for about US\$518 billion, representing 2% of the GDP in high income countries and 1-1.5% in middle and low income ones.¹⁰²

Economic growth can never be achieved without transportation. It is responsible for the delivery of raw materials, fuel, labor and other factors that affect the economic growth. The transport sector is considered to be the largest when it comes to financial turnovers; it contributes to 3-5% of the global GDP. It is the largest employee worldwide, with 5-8% of total paid employment per country and the main user of resources.¹⁰³ A well- organized sector will not only help the economy, but also leads to social integration, through the connection it provides between rural and urban areas.¹⁰⁴

According to WHO, Lebanon comes in the 43rd place out of 178 countries in the Road Traffic Deaths Index.¹⁰⁵ Road accidents also have an economic effect, according to the MoPWT, fatality and injury costs along with property damage accounted to 4.75% of GDP in 2003.¹⁰⁶ MP Kabani states that injuries from car accidents in Lebanon are more than the ones resulting from crime.¹⁰⁷ Noise pollution in Lebanon is mainly

¹⁰² UNEP,2011

¹⁰³ ESCWA, 2009

¹⁰⁴ Kaysi & Chaaban,2011

¹⁰⁵ WHO,2009

¹⁰⁶ Abi Fares,2011

¹⁰⁷ Al-Akhbar,2008

due to the continuous traffic congestions that major cities in Lebanon (GBA, Tripoli, and Saida) suffer from. Old engines, excessive honking, along with stop and go traffic add to the noise pollution problem.¹⁰⁸

In past years the demand for the transport sector has been increasing steadily; thus the demand for private passenger cars and energy has also increased. This resulted in more oil imports, more fuel combustion, along with the environmental affects it holds.¹⁰⁹ To add to this problem, Lebanon is a country that lacks resources, importing 70% of its food production and almost 99% of its fuel demand. Therefore, everything from passenger cars and oil is imported adding more pressure on the Lebanese Balance of Payment. For example, 13.5% of a Lebanese family income is spent on cars.¹¹⁰

b. Environmental Effects

The main air pollutants are carbon monoxide (CO), carbon dioxide (CO₂), hydrocarbons (HC), nitrogen oxides (NO_x), particulate matter (PM₁₀), sulfur oxides (SO_x), and lead.¹¹¹ The sector alone consumes more than half of the global liquid fuel, and expected to account between 2007 and 2030 to 97% increase in use of primary oil. The land transport sector is believed to produce around 73% of the total CO₂ emissions, while aviation and shipping account to 11% and 9% respectively.¹¹² The transport

¹⁰⁸MoE, LEDO,2001

¹⁰⁹MoPWT,2007

¹¹⁰Perry,2000

¹¹¹ Chaaban,2012

¹¹² UNEP,2011

accounts to total of 15% of GHG emissions, where developing countries have an increase of 3-5% per year, while developed countries have 1-2%.¹¹³ Moreover, through the construction of roads, rail ways and airports the water tables get affected from the drilling, change course of rivers or even pollute them along the way. The most dangerous way that transportation effects water is in the sea and beaches, due to oil spill and grease discharge. These activities are not only limited to water pollution, but land and habitat loss is also a consequence. The uncontrolled discharge of waste oil, batteries and tires as well as building infrastructure all lead to habitat loss.¹¹⁴

Lebanon's Second National Communication to the UNFCCC has considered the transportation sector as, is a major contributor to GHG emissions (Figure 2). The total nation GHG emissions from transportation were 21% in 2000, which is equal to 3,962.64 Gg CO₂.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ BLOMINVEST BANK,2011

¹¹⁴ ESCWA,2009

¹¹⁵ MoE,2011

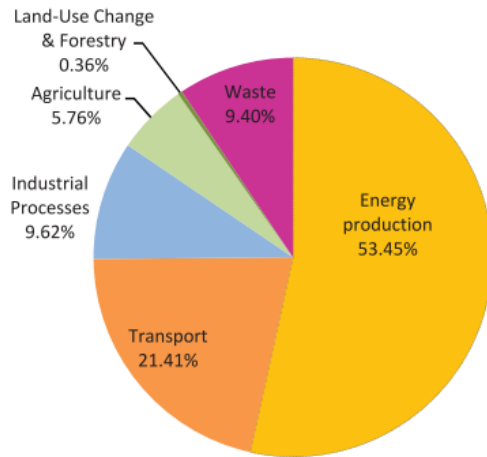


Figure 2: GHG emissions by source of energy production and energy production in 2011

Although the GOL has issued in 2001 a law to ban diesel use for transport (Law 341/2001), to reduce the emissions, this law, however, did not include buses and trucks above certain capacities, therefore these continue on polluting the atmosphere with PM, NOX, CO and other harmful pollutants.¹¹⁶ In a study done by Waked and Afif (2012), a comparison was conducted between emissions per capita in three Mediterranean cities, Beirut, Barcelona and Athens. In the result of the study, Beirut had the highest emissions per capita of both CO and SO₂. Moreover the study showed that in winter emissions increase by 11%, while in summer traffic intensity decreases by 10%. It should be noted that emissions per capita in Lebanon are high in comparison with many

¹¹⁶ El-Jisr&Chabarekh, 2012

other countries in the region.¹¹⁷ Today Beirut's air pollution concentrations are more than the air quality standards and guidelines (

Table 3). The percentage of non-methane VOC emissions originated from road transport is 67%, since the majority of the cars run on gasoline.¹¹⁸

Table 3: Pollution levels in Beirut compared to NAAQS-Standards (2004)¹¹⁹

Pollutant Type	Levels in Beirut	NAAQS Standards
Particulates	200 µg/m ³	50 µg/m ³ (annual avg.)
Ozone	400 µg/m ³	235 µg/m ³ (1-hr avg.)
Carbon Monoxide	30 µg/m ³	10 µg/m ³ (8-hrs avg.)
Lead	14 µg/m ³	1.5 µg/m ³ (quarterly avg.)

The transport sector alone is responsible for 94% and 40% of CO and CO₂ emissions, respectively. The impacts of air pollution from the transport sector differ from those of the noise pollution. The pollutants emitted by the vehicles stay in the atmosphere and

¹¹⁷ Waked & Afif, 2012

¹¹⁸ Borgieet' al, 2013

¹¹⁹ Chaaban, 2004

travel from place to place; it results in high level of these pollutants in certain areas.

Moreover, 21,000 tons of used oil is generated per year in Lebanon, while 1,875,000 of tires are stockpiled or discarded in dumps or directly in sea.¹²⁰

4. Government Role in the Sector

Transportation laws in Lebanon are present, and they are efficient, but the authorities do not know how to implement them effectively and consistently.¹²¹

According to Mr. Mohamad Fawaz (late DG of urban planning), the transportation laws in Lebanon are present but not sufficient, and the new laws that are being issued do not solve the problem. But what does, is the proper implementation of these laws that will help in overcoming most of the transportation issues.¹²² A perfect example of this is what happened in 2001. The law number 341 was issued in order to reduce air pollution and promote the use of less polluting fuels. Nevertheless, this law didn't have a wider vision; it only focused on the short-term solutions rather than tackling the whole problem. Therefore, it was refused from the service-taxi drivers, who already have shifted to diesel engines. Moreover, most of its articles were not even implemented, like the mandatory inspection. As a result, this law is an easy way to get out of the current

¹²⁰MoE, LEDO 2001

¹²¹Hmaidan,nd

¹²²Fawaz,2011

situation, but the authority lacks the vision on how to manage the transport sector for the years to come.¹²³

Other examples on how the government issues laws or decrees or conduct studies that are never used, or used after a long time is that in august 2004, the cabinet agreed on buying 250 buses for the capital city of Beirut and other areas. Wehbe (2003) has mentioned that politicians were all interested to personally benefit from this situation. As a result of substantial intervention, it took them 10 years to finally operate only 45 buses. In addition, the ministry started to apply a plan that contains 900 bus stops, also in the capital and its suburbs. But this plan is outdated, since it has been written eight years ago, and these stops are not respected by other drivers.¹²⁴ Another example on the inefficiency of the government in following up plans or laws is with the seat-belt law, although the law has been indicated as an article that dates back June 1967 (48 years ago). In May 2001 the Minister of Interior enacted a law related to seatbelts and enforcement began in June of that year. The application of this law started but didn't continue, like much other stuff. After eight years in 2008, the enforcement agencies started to apply the law all over again.¹²⁵ Finally in a press release by the president of union of road transport, Mr. Abdula Amir Najdat, he stated that in February, 28, 2013, the GOL asked from the related officials and associations to stop the work to implement the new transport law.¹²⁶ Therefore, today the transport sector follows a law that dates

¹²³ Hmaidan, nd

¹²⁴ Wehbe, 2013

¹²⁵ KhouriAkl, 2009

¹²⁶ Al-Ajam, 2013

back to years ago in light of a very weak system. And as indicated above the government has failed to achieve any positive actions in this state.

Table 4 represents the major decrees and laws that have been issued over the years related to the transport sector.¹²⁷¹²⁸

Table 4 shows a summary of laws and decrees established by GOL over the past 3 decades.

Table 4: Rules/Policies/Regulations in Lebanon related to the Transport Sector

Rules/policies/Regulations	Description
Decree 6603/1995	It defines standards for operating diesel trucks and buses, as well as the implementation of a monitoring plan and permissible levels of exhaust fumes and exhaust quality (particularly for CO, NOx ,hydrocarbons and TSP)
Decree No. 7858/2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incentives to renew the fleet such as exempting new cars, 5 years old cars, public transport cars, and buses of no more than 24 passengers from import tax, and registration, and inspection fees • Compensate owners of private cars, public transport cars, and buses which would convert to gasoline engines with

¹²⁷ Mansour,2012

¹²⁸Hmaidan,nd

	<p>amounts ranging from 1,000,000 to 13,000,000 L.L depending on the year of manufacture.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ban the use of private and public cars of diesel engines starting from 15/6/2002. • Ban the use of private and public transport autobuses of diesel engines starting from 15/7/2002 • Ban the use of public buses of 16 to 24 passengers of diesel engines starting from 31/10/2002 • Designate the port of Beirut and Tripoli for collecting the replaced engines until they are exported outside Lebanon
Decree No. 8442/2002	Specifications of fuel motor vehicle; diesel oil and gasoline 92, 95 and 98 octane
Decree No. 124/2003	Specifications of motorcycles and engines, and allowed time to drive, applied in all areas of Lebanon
Decree No. 8243/2003	Mandatory Annual vehicle inspection
Decree No. 11244/2003	Set up Traffic Management Organization (TMO) which has yet to carry out a technical traffic management role rather than just an administrative one
Decision 138 of MOT,1998	Establishment of the transport regulation unit in the ministry. Its job is to develop the land public transport reform and overlook its implementation
Decision 9 of Council of Ministers, 5/4/2000	The decision calls for the reform and reorganization of the Land Public Transport Sector in Lebanon and the reduction of the number of public transport vehicles from 39,761 to 27,061 vehicles.
Law No. 384/1994	Licenses the MoI to issue and sell 12,000 license plates for taxi, 7000 for trucks, 4000 for mini-buses and 1000 for buses
Law No. 368/1994	Imports of pick-ups, trucks and buses of age less than 5 years old function on diesel engines
Law No. 432/1995	Amends Law 368/1994. It remove age restriction on imported diesel vehicles that were shipped before law 368

Law No. 341/2001)	The law lays the legal framework for reducing air pollution from the transport sector and encouraging the use of cleaner sources of fuel. Specifically, the law bans the import of minivans operating on diesel engines, as well as old and new diesel engines for private passenger cars and minivans. The law empowered the GoL to retrieve 10,000 public license plates operating on diesel
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Several plans have been proposed by the CDR throughout the years, and these plans started in 1993 by commissioning a specific team to propose a plan to solve the issue of transport. The three main plans proposed were as follows:¹²⁹

- Greater Beirut Transportation Plan (1993-1995): the objective of this plan was to deal with the increasing numbers of vehicles, without putting additional pressure on the cost of infrastructure.
 - Beirut Urban Transport Project (1998): it came to implement the above plan. Its objective was also to find a solution the urban transport management. The plan has three main goals; implement the paid street parking, traffic management and grade separation in areas dealing with problems.
- (1) Beirut Suburban Mass Transit Corridor Facility Study (2002-2003): the study mainly proposed a mass transit plan from Jounieh till Jiyeh along the coast, therefore connecting the north with south. This study, as the previous

¹²⁹Koleilat,2013

one, was a conclusion from the above two plans and verified the need of the mass transit system. The study concludes by the importance of establishing a new rail-transport system.

The GBT plan was divided into two segments:

- Immediate and Medium Term Action Plan: or what is referred to as emergency plan. It was based on dealing with the increase in vehicle use without adding any cost on the infrastructure.
- Long Term Plan: to enhance Beirut role as a regional Metropolitan city, along with have a long-scale infrastructure investment

In the Beirut Urban Transport Project, an Immediate Action Plan was present; its objective mainly falls into facilitating traffic and accommodating the demand for private car usage. The plan is divided into three phases: traffic management, plan and improve the public sector and organize parking spaces. The mass transit network plan and dominance of automobile resulted in many devastated effects on both pedestrian and public. These disadvantages are clearly shown in the different sections of society, from poor, disabled, elderly, young and others. Taking example the poor, if this mass transit is implemented, more private cars are used and the poor cannot afford it. Therefore, their problem of accommodation to work or any basic activity is not solved. Similarly, but at a different level, the young generation cannot access private cars, simply because of their age. With a poor public sector, their movement will be restricted more and they will become even more dependent on their parents or guardians to be able to move. This

does not only restrict the freedom of the individual, but if every parent has to drop his/her kids to school this will add more to the congestion problem.¹³⁰

The Directorate General of Land and Maritime Transport and in an attempt to solve the transportation problem issued in 2002 a draft transport policy. This draft policy was made up of seven objectives. The transport system should be affordable for all Lebanese population; citizens should be able to use a variety of modes of transport (including sustainable ones) and better management of traffic flow. Moreover, the draft included the importance of improving the technical status of the fleet through periodic inspections for cars. Finally, it states the issues of proper urban planning and management of vehicles parings.¹³¹

Despite all these plans, laws and decrees issued by the government over the years, the transport sector is still considered to be a non-organized and non-sustainable one. It does not meet the needs of the population. Therefore, the next section will look into the history of both NGOs and ENGOs and role in the policy making process.

C. Overview of NGOs and ENGOs in Lebanon

1. NGOs in Lebanon: A History Overview

¹³⁰Kolielat,2013

¹³¹ El-Jisr&Chabarekh, 2012

Lebanon's civil society is one of the biggest, most active and enjoys best conditions related to freedom of speech in the region. The capital city Beirut only contains more than 1000 NGOs. According to the Ministry of Public Health, 60% of the health centers in Lebanon are run by NGOs.¹³² The work of NGOs ranges from welfare of women, to health, environment and others. Figure 3, gives a general view of the main work of NGOs in Lebanon. Social Services share the biggest percentage (29%), followed by cultural, scientific, educational and agriculture (20%) and local development comes in third with 15%. On the other hand, the rest of the 64% is shared between human right (1%), environment and culture (3%) and others.¹³³ In the times of war, civil society organizations played an important role in helping the government in relief activities, especially in 1975 civil war. These organizations became or replaced the government in delivering services, due to the difficult times the country was passing through. After the war these organizations didn't stop working, but rather became a very important entity of the Lebanese society, and shifted work from social services into human sustainable activities. Today around 5000 organizations listed as non-profit, with around 200 established and registered each year.¹³⁴ The range of NGOs formation in Lebanon is related sometimes to the current situation of the country. For example, in 2006 the number of environmental NGOs increases from 331(2005) to 536

¹³²Elbayar, 2005

¹³³Aoude, 2011

¹³⁴ Abou Assi, 2006

organizations, as a result of the July war and all the environmental disasters that came with it, i.e.: oil spill.¹³⁵

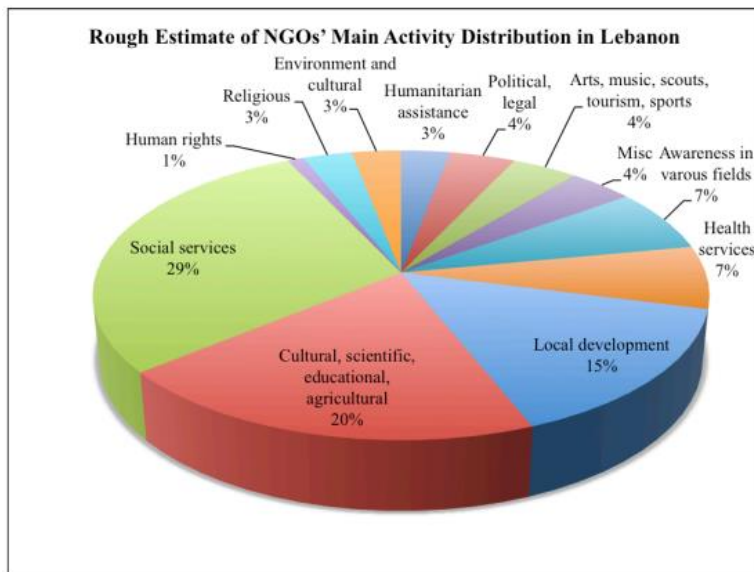


Figure 3: Lebanon NGOs Main Activity Distribution

NGOs in Lebanon fall under a law that goes back to the Ottoman period and dates back to 1909, even before the creation of the Lebanese constitution in 1926. But in reality the Lebanese government follows a laissez-faire approach in dealing with NGOs and ignores the 1909 law.¹³⁶ Developing an NGO in Lebanon only requires informing the MoIM through a statement. This statement should include the following: address, headquarters, and names of members, goals and two copies of its statutes. The work of

¹³⁵AbouDaye,2008

¹³⁶Elbayar, 2005

NGOs in Lebanon is guided by major legal instruments that shape its work and formation.¹³⁷ Table 5 contains some of these legal instruments.

Table 5: Major Legal instruments for NGOs in Lebanon

Law/Article/Section/Decree	Description
Law 911	Public Assemblies
Article 13	Lebanese Constitution
Section II	Penal Code
Decree number 87/1977	Public Utility Organizations
Decree number 3855/1972	International Convention on Civil and Political Rights
Decree number 10830/1966	Documents that should be submitted annually by organization
Decree number 396	Foreign Associations

According to the UNDP, there are six types of civil society organizations in Lebanon. The first two are national organization, with or without external affiliations. As for the third, it could be a national affiliation with an international organization. The fourth type is considered to be community organization without external afflictions. The final two types are international organizations and regional organizations operating in the country.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Al Haraka, 2004

¹³⁸ AbouAssi, 2006

The history of civil society in Lebanon can be documented in five eras. The development came as a result of the growth that took place in the sixteenth century in the time of the Princedom of Mount Lebanon:¹³⁹

- From 1900 to 1930: this period witnessed the establishment of 1909 law dealing with the organization of civil society, due to the increase in their numbers. These organizations were mainly religious or follow a religious vision in the work they do. Moreover, this period included the World War I; it generated more organizations in order to respond to the population social, health and economic problems at that time.
- From 1940s to late 1950s: Lebanon gained its independence, and as a result, civil society witnessed the establishment of sectarian associations, strong neighborhood leagues, strong Sunni families, women leagues, and social welfare and culture associations.
- From 1960 to 1975: this period witnessed the establishment of non-sectarian associations that do not have a political agenda.
- From 1975 to 1990: 15 year civil war paralyzed all the government agencies, therefore civil society became the active pillar in society to help reimburse the government role.
- After 1990: the civil society like the whole country was faced with new challenges, in the presence of a shattered economy, society and ruptured government. Therefore, the role of civil society was looked at as a substitute

¹³⁹ Abou Assi, 2006

to the government. These challenges didn't stop at that time, but Lebanon experienced a lot of challenges over the past 24 years. But civil society was present and helped in overcoming them, as well as introducing new ideas into the society, like globalization, sustainable development, good governance and transparency.

As the civil society evolved through the years, their relation with the government evolved as well. At first and before the war the relation was a neutral – laissez faire-relationship. Since, charitable activities were allowed with involvement of members of political sphere. As the war started, the civil society interfered more and created its own identity. As a result, both civil society and government became dependent on each other, as to maintain equilibrium in the country. After the war, the relationship became complementary and cooperative one. The Lebanese population in general trusts the civil society more than their government and politicians. Therefore, the work of civil society is more effective than that of the government, and people tend to follow them more.¹⁴⁰

2. History of ENGOs in Lebanon

NGOs, especially environmental, are characterized to hold a very unique knowledge of domestic issues. Moreover, they are well-known for their international debates, reflecting on national level and influencing agenda-setting in the country.¹⁴¹ The early movements towards environmental protection came from individual initiatives, academics, MPs (ex. Kamal Jumblate) and some ministers. But,

¹⁴⁰ Abou Assi, 2006

¹⁴¹ Hasbini, 2009

the movement first started in 1950's with the pioneer Faysal Bou Ezzedine, consultant an environmental activist.¹⁴²

NGOs in Lebanon started in the 1980's as organized campaigns related to tree planting and solving issues of solid waste management.¹⁴³ In the 1990s and with establishment of MoE things changed and NGOs had to start cooperating with the new ministry. This cooperation was also beneficial for the MoE that benefitted from the experience of these organizations in environment- related fields.¹⁴⁴ It should be noted that information on NGOs in Lebanon is very scarce. As the case of all NGOs their work and establishment got really affected in the civil war. But after the war, the number of these NGOs grew substantially. The type of environmental NGOs can mainly be classified as organizations dealing with the protection and preservation of natural resources, like the Arez Shouf organization. Others that deal with problems affecting the citizens in Lebanon, like solving problems from open dumping of wastes and others. Moreover, many ENGO were formed after the 2006 July war to help in dealing with environmental disaster like the oil spill. Finally NGOs that deal with sustainable development and are advocating for new policies to reform the way the Lebanese people live.

NGOs in Lebanon have different interests; some are related to pollution prevention, water issues, reforestation and other issues. The main activity of these organizations is forming awareness campaigns to the public on health and environment. Major achievements of NGOs in Lebanon can be characterized by the cleaning

¹⁴² MOE,2004

¹⁴³ Kingston, 2001

¹⁴⁴Hasbini, 2009

campaigns they had (especially along the beaches), encouraging the establishment of environmental clubs in schools and universities across the country, and encouraging and promoting recycling.¹⁴⁵

The role of NGOs in the country, especially when it comes to environmental issues has been present for a long time. Many NGOs have been the sole initiators of laws and regulations in all fields, example water, solid waste management and others. Three of the most successful stories done were in the fields of forests, solid waste management and natural resources. In the case of natural reserves and loss of biodiversity, the issue was being discussed on international level at that time. Therefore, the government and ENGOs found themselves obliged to deal with the issue. The problem and solution was delivered to the developing world coated in financial incentives and funds from international institutions to create these natural reserve areas. In Lebanon three natural reserves were established.

In the process of formulating the policy, clientelism was much present and taken into consideration by the NGOs. Almost every ENGO was allocated or was in premises controlled by political leaders (i.e. zaim). Moreover, the work of these organizations did not only end on the patron-client relation with politicians, but they moved on to work with academia to help in the policy process.¹⁴⁶

Another example of how patron-client relationship is integrated in the Lebanese society and environmental issues is in the water sector. According, to an article written

¹⁴⁵شامية وعيسى، ١٩٩٧

¹⁴⁶Hasbini, 2009

by Makhoul and Harrison (2002) it presents the story of two water projects in village of Dar El Lawz and Ain Zaitoun. The problems between the associations blocked any ability of progress from either locals or NGOs. In small brief of the situation, the zaim (leader) believed that NGOs are part of the wasta system. NGOs projects in this case are used as a tool to access money through donations or other income of the organization. The ministry of social affairs began the job but didn't finish it, where local politicians with help of an NGO continued the work on the sewer network. Even the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) participated, but no following up was done. An after four years and with a personal contact by three men from the village with minister of hydraulic and electric resources, the job was finally completed.¹⁴⁷

3. Role of NGOs in the Public Policy Process

NGOs in Lebanon started working or more specifically contributed to the policy-making process generally after 2005 (after Syrian troop retrieval). The initial work of these NGOs was not based on cooperation with the government. On the contrary it started due to the donations by international organizations that provided financial

¹⁴⁷ Makhoul & Harrison, 2002

support to NGOs.¹⁴⁸ One of the famous examples on how the international community and organizations can influence local NGOs to push for a certain law is the smoking ban law. The international community was very interested in banning smoking worldwide, and many countries in the region have already issued relevant laws. Thus, civil society in Lebanon found itself bound to start thinking and advocating this issue. Law 174 was issued to ban smoking in closed spaces, being restaurants, malls and any other closed façades. The lobbying for this law came from different entities, and this made it work. Academics were involved through AUB and the huge campaign and policy briefs written by members and institutes inside the university. Many NGOs were involved in the campaigns and raising awareness on negative effects of smoking, and not just a hand full of organizations. As well, the citizens themselves were involved and lobbying, through protests, sit-in and other activities. The involvement of citizens is very important to have unity in between all civil society entities to present to the government. And of course not to forget the huge role that the media played by focusing on this issue over the years and supporting the advocates and lobbyists. One main factor or the most important one actually, is that many MPs and people from the government backed up this law, for example MP Dr. Atef Majdalani. The work of these governmental representatives was very important, especially that in Lebanon policies and policy making is showed by the patron-client relationship. But in the case of Law 174, the perfect atmosphere was present from international donors, government, NGOs, academia and others that made this law in action today. Another example is the work of

¹⁴⁸ AbouDaye,2008

AFDC in policy through three main actions. First, the NGO opened a window of opportunity, then developed a common idea concerning the problem and finally framed the policy based on the research.¹⁴⁹

Change in the environmental policies in Lebanon is bounded by some challenges. Since environmental issues are somehow neutral to the political issues, but when it comes to management and ownership, special interest groups come into the picture. Decision making is solely limited to the COM, and no other entity can take any decision.¹⁵⁰ And in a country where governments are rapidly changed, decisions are always forgotten. Therefore, it is important to describe the presence of patron-client relation in policy making process in Lebanon, especially since its present in the transport sector. According to Wehbe (2013) he describes the public transport sector in the country as a “mirror image” of the government corruption.¹⁵¹

CHAPTER III

ENVIRONMENTAL NGOS PROFILE AND SUSTAINABLE TRANSPORTATION IN LEBANON

¹⁴⁹ El-Jisr&Chabarekh, 2012

¹⁵⁰ World Bank, 2011

¹⁵¹ Wehbe, 2013

A. Environmental NGOs and Sustainable Transportation in Lebanon

The transportation sector in Lebanon is considered to be in a hectic status. Standards and rules are not followed by the operators, being public or private (citizens). The number of red-plates exceeds the amount needed for a country like Lebanon. Even if the road law has decided or imposed on drives restrictions on practice, but this doesn't mean it is an organized transport sector. As such, the sector is mandated to change and become a sustainable one for this generation and the coming generations. The main cause of an unsustainable transport sector in Lebanon is its deteriorated public transport sector, as indicated in Chapter I. The public transport sector is considered to be the main characterization of a sustainable transport sector, along with other types like hybrid cars, walking and cycling.

In the absence of a proper and effective role for the government, i.e.: centralized official bodies responsible for issuing/implementing policies and laws, the transport sector will stay a serious problem for the country. The sector will stay a burden on the economy and society with persistent increase in number of accidents and death. Moreover, it will put more pressure on the environment and health of the Lebanese citizens. By saying this, it does not eliminate the presence of laws, regulations and policies that govern this sector. On the contrary laws, regulations, and various activities were presented in details in Chapter II but these laws are not being implemented in a proper matter, therefore the work of the government is considered to be an unsustainable one. Therefore, the raise of NGOs, especially environmental, has increased to solve this problem.

NGOs in Lebanon, as shown in Chapter II, are now more involved in the policy process, their role has changed from being spectators to being active members in the policy process itself. As a result, NGOs shifted this process from a traditional and political policy process into a rational and critical process. In other words, NGOs have changed the understanding of a policy process as being a top-bottom approach to becoming a bottom-top one. NGOs in Lebanon, especially in transport sector, are doing what the government will not or cannot do.

NGOs in Lebanon, and based on the information analyzed, views the transportation problem as a social, cultural and environmental problem. The focus of these organizations over the years was on how to solve the transport problem in order to make the life of the Lebanese citizens a better and safer one. Their scope of work was mainly targeted into campaigns and protests to pressure the policy makers into changing the system. This trend or approach of NGOs has continued over the years and not just from a cultural view but they touched upon the environmental effects of the sector as the following section will present.

NGOs view and understand that public policy is an act that can be targeted to both the public and government. Therefore, this is a confirmation on what was mentioned in Chapter I, and assuring that public policy is no longer in the hands of the government only. Therefore, NGOs lobbied for a new traffic law and got to issue it breaking all the borders of *wasta* i.e. patron-client relationship. Moreover, NGOs (example: YASA) work didn't stop at lobbying for the new laws but also went further in

highlighting major problems in the previous laws. Major gaps in the Lebanese Traffic Law, can be summarized by the following seven points:¹⁵²

- Carelessness of the drivers,
- Taking sides in terms of applying the law (wasta-system),
- Lack of centralized decision-making (absence of a specific governing body for law application and improvements),
- No specific articles to regulate road safety,
- No records of traffic violations for drivers in order to be taxed accordingly,
- Pedestrian access is not sufficient,
- No safety measures on highways and international roads.

Nevertheless, their work didn't stop here but continued on in targeting the people as a new base for shaping public policy as presented below as well. In August of 2011, the National Campaign for Sustainable Transportation was established including fourteen NGOs. The campaign was launched in September of that year and includes environmental and non-environmental organizations with the same vision of having a well-organized transport sector. For example, Train Train is an organization promoting the use of trains and tramways in Lebanon as a substitute to car usage. While, Fast Forward is an NGO aiming at transforming public transportation to bikes. Therefore, each NGO works differently or has a different mission, but they all fall under the importance of have a sustainable transport sector.

¹⁵²YASA,nd

The role of these ENGOs can make a change in the transportation sector, as the case in Hungary. The Clean Air Act Group (CAAG) was successful in pushing laws in the Hungarian parliament in order to generate environmental fuel tax to finance environmental friendly modes of transport.¹⁵³ Besides, many NGOs have been working for a longtime like YASA and Kunhadi to increase people's awareness on using the seat belt while driving, including campaigns in media, schools, universities and advertisements on roads. Most recently mobile networks have joined and are more integrated in the sector. For example, the Touch Company has launched a campaign to aware people not to text and drive.

One of the largest movements done in 2010, were 150 cyclists moved around the capital city Beirut. This initiative was done by Fast Forward Lebanon, aiming at transforming public transport to bicycles. It started on its Facebook page, by asking the public which is the best public transport mode in Lebanon. The answers came to focus on increasing tax and using low-budget modes, like buses, bicycles as well as improving sidewalks for pedestrians.¹⁵⁴

Fast Forward and with help of Roter-act Beirut and in collaboration with the Kingdom of Netherlands, organized a conference in 2010 under the name of "Public Transportation, Public Concern". The conference aimed at to raise awareness and propose solutions for the present traffic situation.¹⁵⁵ Most recently a campaign was released on 2102 on Facebook under the name of "Lawen Ray7in" run by civil society.

¹⁵³Lukcas, 1998

¹⁵⁴ <http://www.greenprophet.com/2010/07/public-transportation-lebanon/>

¹⁵⁵ <http://www.placenetwork.info/blog/post/jbaaklini/2010/12/publictransport-dec4/>

It targets the elevation public transportation as a way to solve the traffic congestion problem.¹⁵⁶ Presence of awareness campaigns is very important when it comes to issues related to transport problems. Campaigns are significant to highlight the negative consequences of emissions and to encourage citizens to use more environmental friendly transport modes like walking, cycling, public transport, hybrid cars and others. Public awareness and educational policy is vital tool to use for accepting new regulations and policies.¹⁵⁷

As for major laws that were advocated or lobbied for by civil society, there is the example of Law 341/2000 and the new transport law issued in 2012. To start with Law 341/2000 is the law to ban the use of diesel in the transport sector. As in the case of the smoking law, presented in the section above, the whole community lead by NGOs was involved in lobbying and pushing for this new law. Workshops were done that included energy companies, different ministries, NGOs, academics and unions (car importer and taxi drivers). At the same time, the citizens were involved in the process by making a green belt covering the area of the parliament. And as the case of smoking the media was present, covered and extensively highlighted on the issue. Therefore in this case, the civil society worked as a whole block with all its components being NGOs, unions, academics and media to the law to ban diesel use.

On the other hand, the new transport law 243/2012 had a different case, citizens were not involved to greater extend, although they are the main people affected.

¹⁵⁶Koleilat, 2013

¹⁵⁷Chaabanet'al, 2001

Lobbying for the new law was done by the NGO YASA. YASA main goals are to raise awareness from traffic accidents and promote safe driving practices among citizens. But recently it has gone more in to the policy making process, through advocating for the new transport law. YASA as an NGO was called upon by the government to help fitting and amending the traffic law to the current environment. This act is considered to be a very rare case, in other words it may be the only time where government calls upon the civil society to help or be part of the policy change. After meeting with different communities, project managers, legal experts and other professionals in the field, a traffic law was drafted by YASA. The law included remarks and comparison with the old one. The main goal of the “New Traffic Legislation in Lebanon” is to increase transparency and accountability. This will help in implementing the traffic law successfully in the coming years. The work of YASA was backed up with the help of MP Kabani (Chair of the Parliamentarian Committee on Energy and Public Works). In time when YASA was following upon lobbying and discussions to modify the law, MP Kabani on the other had dealt with formal parliamentary procedures. MP Kabani was dedicated to push the proposed draft.¹⁵⁸ Through this example it presents the case where the government knew of the existing problem and wanted the help of NGOs, being an active actor in the policy making process and having the ability to advocate and push for new laws. This new act by YASA is what can be reflected from the adopted AFC for this thesis, and it shows how both the NGOs and responsible agencies in the government made coalitions in order to shape a new policy.

¹⁵⁸ AbouDaye,2008

B. Analysis of the Role of ENGOs

In Lebanon, both the people and government are draining the transportation sector downwards. The transport infrastructure and policies are both outdated. The sector is run by different stakeholders (ministries, councils, agencies...), resulting in mismanagement and lack of coordination between the responsible bodies. In contrast, the citizens of the country hold responsibility in this problem. Drivers do not abide by the laws, especially the ones related to seat belt and traffic lights, putting them and others under risk. The transportation sector in Lebanon needs to be redefined in terms of both infrastructure and policies to become more sustainable development.

The transport problem in Lebanon is considered to be a wicked problem, since it has many consequences on the economy, society, health and environment. It is a sector that does not fulfill the needs of the citizens, and is in need of a reformation. The public transport sector is the most in need of reformation and upgrading to become more sustainable, and to be able to cover all the needs of the population. In a time when the country is facing many political problems, the government is almost paralyzed. Therefore, NGOs are playing a vital role in policy process through lobbying and advocating for new laws.

The transportation sector is under the management of different stakeholders, and is affected by actors from outside the government. The public policy process is also based on the work of different actors, being in or outside the government. Therefore, the thesis

used the ACF, to understand the policy process related to sustainable transportation in the country.

The application of ACF to the problem of transportation in Lebanon (Figure 4) can be described as follows. It includes the government as being the stable parameter in framework, responsible for delivering a well-organized and sustainable transport sector, through issuing laws. And as part of the stable parameter, the actors are involved in the sector, such as citizens. It includes the non-state actors, as the external parameter effecting the policy process, through lobbying for new laws and being part of the policy making process. Therefore, the government through its responsible bodies for transport sector (MoPWT, CDR and others) forms the first policy subsystem. As for the ENGOS, they make up the other subsystem dealing with transport policy process in Lebanon.

According to the ACF, policy subsystems work together and produce a policy output. In this case the policy output is a law or strategy for the transport sector to become more sustainable. As mentioned above, the government is no longer the only entity in the policy process, it is important to look into the other institutions working in the field (i.e.: ENGOS). Therefore, this framework will help in understanding the mechanism of how the government and ENGOS are working to produce this policy output and whether their work is in accordance, or if one them is promoting the issue of sustainable transportation more than the other.

As a result, this framework presents the wicked problem at hand in two collations. One being in the government, although issuing new laws but these laws are not improving the sector (as presented below), due to many reasons (i.e. clientelism). The second collations is in the NGOs (i.e. ENGOS) trying to become an entity that is

lobbying for the new laws and not just issuing laws but also implementing them, which is more important.

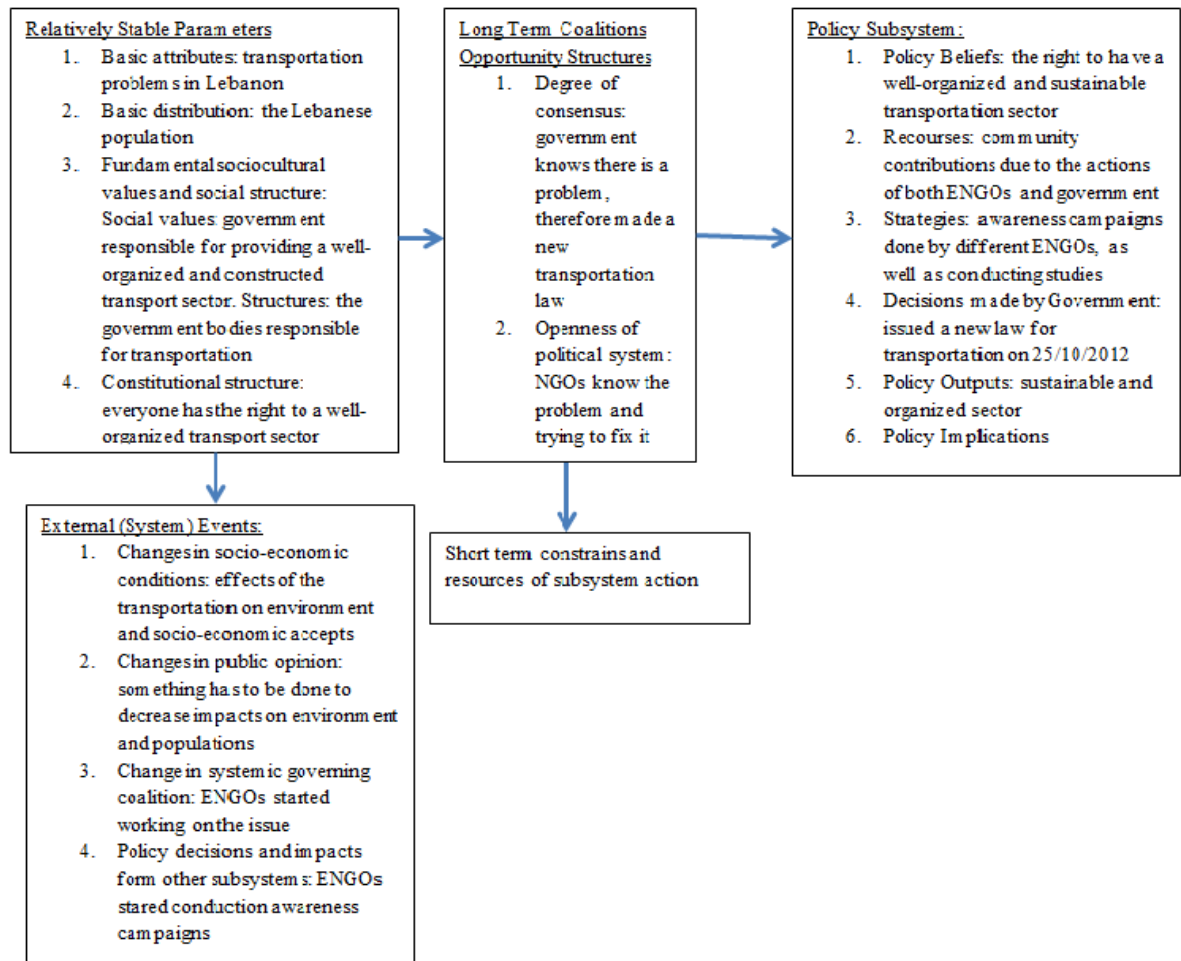


Figure 4: Application of the ACF on the Transport Policy Process in Lebanon

In order to reach sustainable transportation the government should acquire the major role among all players. In this the top-to bottom approach taken by the government as being the only entity being related to transportation (especially in issuing laws and reports) is described.

The government must initiate a strategic plan for the transport sector under the umbrella of sustainability. However, the role of the government does not stop here it is also responsible for the following:¹⁵⁹

- Managing activities between stakeholders like NGOs, fuel producers/importers, international organizations and car users and dealers.
- Carry out and support capacity building in the area of sustainable transportation, as well as raise awareness for decision makers (in government) and industry.
- Produce financial scheme and incentives that are appropriate for promoting sustainable transportation.
- Back up the work of both the private sector and NGOs.

Upon reviewing the records of the parliament committee for the past 14 years (2001-2014), the following points can be concluded:¹⁶⁰

- Reduction of air pollution from the transportation sector, which was discussed throughout the years, with major decisions taken into consideration. These discussions were done in the presence of union of public drivers, government officials, NGOs and union of private car importers and discussing each of their point of views.

¹⁵⁹ ESCWA,2009

¹⁶⁰ Parliament Committee on Public Works and Transportation

- Examination and maintenance of cars, especially in 2001 to 2003 and importance of awareness in schools. The inspection of cars was based on a draft report presented to the committee by YASA.
- In 2004 new traffic law was presented by YASA (as discussed in details above). The final draft was given to joint committees in 2011, but at the time government was facing some problems and the draft was not discussed. The discussions were re-conducted in 2012, and the law was issued. Nevertheless, in 2014, the committee re-discussed the importance of implementing it with the presence of NGOs.

From the above main point, it can be concluded that the role of NGOs has been present throughout the steps of the policy process. In sometimes, especially before 2006 the impact of these NGOs is very well seen. However, after this period and with the many political conflicts that the country faced, the role of these NGOs got affected. This is clearly seen in the new traffic law, were it stayed in the circle of discussion for nine years. Although, the law has been issued but implementation till now is not done. Besides, the committee/NGOs are still discussing the importance of its implementation.

Therefore, to be able to answer the research question above using what the literature has presented in terms of policy process and its different types, being rational or political, and what has been presented in the ACF of how the policy process in divided between the two collations to form a policy outcome. The following points have been concluded. First, the policy process in Lebanon is no longer seen to a top-bottom approach and the government is no longer seen as the only entity to influence the public

sphere. This is mainly shown by the increase of number of NGOs and the activities they have done over the years. As discussed in the above section the number of NGOs in Lebanon has increased drastically. The freedom these organizations have in a country like Lebanon helps them more in conducting campaigns and lobbying for policies. This was mainly shown in the banning smoking in public places, as mentioned in the above section. Policy is no longer looked at as the old fashioned view that it's in the hands of the government only. A new rational idea has evolved throughout the years and is much presented in Lebanon.

Second, NGOs have entered this process and shifted it to a bottom-top approach with major influence. The influence of NGOs is not only seen in transportation but also in other issues like public smoking, women issues and other. The two factors of the framework are forming these coalitions to try meeting the sustainable transport sector, but as discussed in the above section, NGOs are faced with what the whole Lebanese society is suffering from, i.e.: clientelism.

Clientelism is main cause of the break of the coalition between government and NGOs, as mentioned above. Civil Society in the Middle East, according to Gellner (2009), is weak due to the presence of clientelism.¹⁶¹ An unsustainability transport sector is mainly a result of the patron-client relationship, where clients do not change their practices not to influence the patrons work. These patrons are not always government entities, but they could be officials, oil companies and other institutions that are benefiting from this deteriorated sector

¹⁶¹Gellner, 1990

Clientelism limits the work of NGOs and it limits it from building collations with other organizations or even government in order to shape public policy. Many examples have been listed above, on how the wasta system has affected the role of NGOs in public policy. And the transportation sector is no exception from this. Patron-client relationship is found on all level in the sector and this is what is leading to this decrease of influence of the NGOs.

The public policy process is considered to be rational one today, or in other words a bottom-up approach. It is no longer seen as a process restricted only to the work of the government agencies, being ministries or local entities. The policy process today, and according to the literature presented is becoming more in the hands of the NGOs. This concept is highly reflected in Lebanon, as presented above section. NGOs have been in relation to all accepts of the society, especially major problems like transportation. The above section has presented what actually these NGOs/ENGOS have done to this transport sector. These NGOs have done many activities and have lobbied very effective laws, especially the ban of leaded oil. As well, the issuing of the new transportation law and all the work these NGOs have done to deliver to the people and government the message of sustainable transportation.

The transport sector is still suffering from the problems it had before issuing of the law. Although, the work of NGOs have affected a portion of the citizens but no real effect has been shown either in implementing laws or on another level.

The thesis has tackled the patron-client relationship many times throughout the paper. This is the main reason, and in a county like Lebanon, clientelism much affects the policy process. As it is shown today in the transpiration sector, the problem is still

present with all the efforts NGOs are doing. ENGOs are promoting the concept of sustainable transportation through policy process but nothing has been implemented for the reason of patron-client relationship.

The transportation problem in Lebanon will always be a wicked one. It is in the hands of both the government and NGOs to try to fix it through proper policy making process. Although, the policy process in Lebanon is very important, but more serious implementation is needed. The thesis shows how policies, laws and regulations are found and issued by government. On the other hand, implementation is not being done fully. NGOs are promoting the sustainable transportation, through intensive awareness campaigns, but when it comes to implementation, clientelism is always blocking it in so many ways.

Patrons, even if they push for a certain policy, and when it comes to implementation nothing is being done. Lebanese citizens (clients) are often not willing to change, if this change will conflict the interest of their patron, and this may endanger or stop benefiting from his political power.

After discussing the problem, from a policy point of view, it very important at the end to talk about one more issue. Although, the problem of transportation is not being solved due to lack of policy/policy implementation, but the citizens have a major impact on this as well. Citizens in Lebanon, do not abide by laws or regulations, they don't mind if any of the authorities (policemen) saw them breaking the law. Here again, comes clientelism and the idea that everything can be solved politically.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The transportation problem in Lebanon does not only have to be tackled from a policy level, but research has to be done on how to change the citizen's behavior and

mentality to become more aware on the importance of achieving a sustainable transportation sector in the real sense, by adopting certain measures including public transportation, cycling and walking.

Citizens need to be more aware of regulations and existing bylaws in the country. Awareness should start from the school level on the best practices to drive, for a new population to grow and become more aware. Proper implementation of the examination for driving license and mechanical inspection must be conducted by the relevant authorities. This way people with legible driving will be on the roads with properly maintained cars, and will cause decrease in the number of accidents and road death.

Citizens should start by themselves and implement laws and regulations. It's not always the fault of the government that the sector is wicked. Many policies and reports have been issued by the government and if implemented they will improve the status of the sector drastically. Laws and regulations, and as presented in Chapter II, are many and tackle a wide range of accepts that effect the transportation positively. Nothing, however, has been actually done to improve these issues. The thesis has presented that NGOs work is properly done but clientelism is not allowing these activities to effect the improvement of the sector.

Consequently, three main things should be done in the next stage in order to promote the issue of sustainable transportation in Lebanon. Laws and regulations should be properly implemented. Therefore, proper strategies should be studied and

formulated in order to apply the laws and regulations already set and issued by the government. As such, a new plans and strategies could be studied on how and what are the proper ways for the current laws to be implemented. These strategies are mainly based on the role of the government in implementing them.

This issue brings us to the next issue that needs to be furthers assessed. The issue mainly affects all of what has been discussed in terms of government and NGOs roles. Clientelism is a major drawback in a country like Lebanon. Especially, Lebanon has been built on these kinds of relations since a long time, and patron-client relations are incorporated in all the activities of the citizens. As such, research should be conducted on ways to eliminate or reduce this dependence and these kinds of relations. The objective will be to maintain the role of the government bodies without the effect of a person or clan.

The final issue to address is the introduction of the sustainable transportation methods. Today, trains and railway networks are coming back to the picture and many studies have been conducted on how to implement this kind of transport especially since the infrastructure already exists, and the governing units are still operating, though only one paper. But further research should be done on using other modes of transport. The major type of mode is public transportation. As presented in the introduction, Lebanon doesn't have a well oriented public transportation. That is why a research should be conducted on how to revive this sector, as the infrastructure is already present, but the sector got deteriorated throughout the years. On the other hand, a question comes to mind, do Lebanese people change their mentality and accept to use public

transportation, regarding all its social impacts. Public transportation today is looked through as low class way of transportation by a wide range of people. This may be due to the deterioration or bad status of this sector. However, will this mentality change if the sector got upgraded and became like the ones deployed in many foreign countries.

Further studies, especially in the role of NGOs in the sustainable transportation policy process, this can be based on a case-study analysis. The information presented in the thesis can be backed-up by a case study of one or more of these NGOs. Studying in depth the actions of these organizations in each stage of the policy process, as well their interaction with both the government and the people. In this way the policy process will be fully examined and studied to be able to conclude how actually the policy process became a bottom-top approach. The case-study will build a rough analysis on how clientelism in Lebanon is effecting the implementation of laws. Since, direct contact with the stakeholders will be conducted and concluding the core of the major presence of this relation in the polity and implementation.

This case study approach can also be done only on the parliament committee, going more into the details of how policy is actually done in Lebanon. How politicians deal with the problems and in parallel keep their interests safe. The records of the committee are very important documents to conduct analysis on, since in a country like Lebanon the COM is the only entity to issue laws through the work of these committees. Therefore, it presents the way policy is done in Lebanon, and if it is really becoming a bottom-top approach. As well, why implementation does never happens, as in the case of the new traffic law.

The transport sector is still a very serious and complex problem in Lebanon, and all the instability that the country is facing makes the problem much more complicated. The above three ideas are what is mainly missing in the scope of transforming the transport sector into a sustainable one in all its environmental, economic and social.

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