

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

LEBANESE NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS
ADVOCATING POLICY CHANGE: THE CASE OF CRTD-A
AND THE NATIONALITY LAW

by
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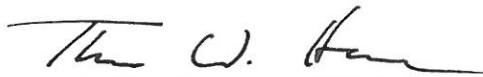
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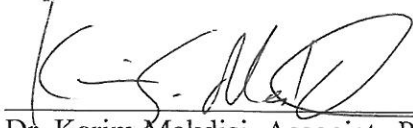
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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Ghenwa Marwan El Jurdy for Master of Arts
Major: Public Administration

Title: Lebanese nongovernmental organizations advocating policy change: the case of CRTD-A and the nationality law.

For non-governmental organizations trying to influence policy, advocacy is seen as the only way to achieve their organizational goals. In Lebanon, several feminist organizations have been advocating for legal changes in the nationality law. This thesis is a case study of CRTD-A, a Lebanese NGO, advocating for women's rights to nationality. It explores how this organization advocates to influence policy. Moreover, this research analyzes how CRTD-A employs communication as part of its advocacy strategies. The main question that guides this study is: how did CRTD-A advocate to influence the Nationality Law? To answer this question, the means and strategies employed by this organization, to achieve the observed changes, are identified. Moreover, a brief examination of the impact CRTD-A had on policy is presented.

This research provides an overview of the social and cultural environment in Lebanon to understand the context of the nationality law. Furthermore, a thorough understanding of how Lebanese NGOs and CRTD-A, in particular, advocate through a series of strategies to influence change. An explanation is provided on how policy is formed in Lebanon and the use of Kingdon's Multiple Stream Framework has been adopted to explain how advocating NGOs impact policy.

The research conducted a total of 21 interviews with experts in the field NGOs, policy, media and CRTD-A.

The contributions of this study would be of interest to non-governmental organizations and scholars of public administration and policy. In addition to the literature on non-governmental organizations, this study contributes to another area of research: policy

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
ABSTRACT	vi
LIST OF ILLUSTRATION.....	xi
LIST OF TABLES	xii
Chapter	
I. INTRODCUTION.....	1
A. The Study: Objectives and Significance	6
B. Structure of Thesis	8
II. LITERATURE REVIEW	10
A. The Lebanese Nationality Law: An Overview	10
1. Defining Nationality and Acquisition.....	11
2. Origin and Cause of Discrimination.....	13
3. Constitution and Nationality law.....	13
4. International Context.....	15
5. Lebanese Political Culture	15
6. Nationality Law and Ramifications.....	18
B. NGOs in advocacy: Global Overview.....	22
1. Defining NGOs and Advocacy	22
2. Advocacy as citizen empowerment (Transformational Objective).....	24
3. Advocacy as Strengthening Civil Society (Developmental Objective).....	24
4. Advocacy as influencing key policy outcomes and achieving reform agenda (Instrumental Objective)	26
C. Advocacy Strategies.....	27
1. NGOs and Media as a Tool	28
2. NGOs and Research	29
3. NGOs and Public Opinion.....	30
4. NGOs and Lobbying.....	32
5. NGOs and Campaigns.....	33

6. NGOs and Environment	36
7. NGOs and Social Movements	38
D. Civil Society in Lebanon	41
III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	44
A. NGOs and The Policy Making Process	44
B. Influence of NGOs on Policy	47
1. Factors external to the government	47
2. Factors internal to the government	48
3. Internal and External actors	48
4. Public opinion and social movements	48
5. Organizational capacity	49
6. Legitimacy	49
7. Media	49
C. The Multiple Stream Framework (Conceptual Model).....	50
1. Participants in the policy process.....	51
2. Individual citizens	52
3. Public opinion	52
4. The Media	52
5. Interest Groups	53
6. Academics, Researchers and Consultants	53
D. The Garbage Can Model	54
E. The Three Streams.....	54
1. Problem Stream	54
2. Policy Stream	55
3. Political Stream	56
4. The policy window: Coupling of the three streams	56
5. Coupling	57
IV. RESEARCH METHODS.....	59
A. Case Study	59
B. Unit of Analysis and Unit of Observation.....	60
C. Research Sampling.....	61
D. Data Collection	62
1. Interviews.....	63
2. Direct Observation.....	65

3. Documentation.....	65
4. Archival records.....	66
E. Data Coding and Analysis	67
F. Limitations of the study	69
V. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS	71
A. The nature of the nationality problem in Lebanon.....	71
B. The strategies adopted to bring change to the Lebanese nationality law	75
1. Research and Organizational capacity.....	75
2. Public Awareness	78
3. Lobbying	82
4. Protesting and Campaigning.....	85
5. Networking	89
6. COURTS.....	91
7. Media	92
C. To what extent has CRTD-A impacted policy in terms of the Nationality Law?..	94
1. How advocating NGOs can impact policy?.....	95
2. How is policy formed in Lebanon?.....	97
3. Multiple Streams Framework: the case of women’s right to nationality in Lebanon	99
VI. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	105
A. The nature of the nationality problem.....	105
B. The strategies adopted to bring change to the nationality law	107
C. To what extent has CRTD-A impacted policy and how is this change seen in the Nationality Law?.....	108
D. Recommendations.....	111
1. Academic Institutions.....	111
2. Non-governmental organizations and CRTD-A	112
3. Lebanese government.....	115
BIBLIOGRAPHY	118

APPENDIX I: CONSENT FORM.....	125
APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE.....	127
APPENDIX III: RESPONDENTS.....	131

LIST OF ILLUSTRATION

Figure	Page
1. Illustrates that through advocacy issues are placed on the agenda.	38

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Lebanese women married to foreigners.....	21
2. Summary of CRTD-A, the case study.....	106
3. Summary of factors and sub-factors that play a role in influencing policy.....	110

CHAPTER I

INTRODCUTION

The legal relationship that every individual has with a State refers to what is termed as Nationality. It provides individuals with a “sense of belonging and security” and offers them protection (U.N. 2002, P.2). Nationals are entitled to fully exercise their birthrights in all the different aspects of the state be it politics, economics, culture, civil, health and employment (UN, 2003;IJRC). The United Nations, through its convention on the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), stated that nationality is vital as it enables individuals to participate in society (U.N. 2003, P. 2). Moreover, “nationality is the legal basis for the exercise of citizenship”. (U.N. 2003, p.2; Mansour & Abou Aad 2012, p: 4). Citizenship rights, may vary from one country to another, but they entail a series of fundamental rights that permits the individual to enter, exit and move freely within the country of residency; to own property; to engage in politics and lastly to be eligible for nationality (Mansour & Abou Aad 2012, p.4). Even though the terms nationality and citizenship differ in their meanings, international human rights courts and activists still employ them interchangeably (Mansour & Abou Aad, 2012; U.N., 2003; IJRC).

According to international law, for nationality to be conferred there needs to be an authentic connection between an individual and a state. The acquisition of nationality rights slightly varies from one country to another (U.N., 2003), as it is the right of the state to lay down such laws (Abou-Habib, 2003). But it generally falls under two categories: Jus Soli and Jus Sanguinis.

Jus Soli, law of soil, states that nationality is to be acquired on the basis of birth or residency in a country. *Jus Sanguinis*, law of blood, through this bond of blood, an individual acquires nationality from both his natural parents (Beydoun, 2005-2006; el-Khoury and Jaulin, 2012; U.N., 2003).

Lebanon falls under the second category, the law of blood. But, it is only through the father that nationality is transmitted unto the children; thus, *Jus Sanguinis*, bond of blood, is patrilineal (el-Khoury and Jaulin, 2012; Charafeddine, 2009). Even though, there isn't a more intense and stronger bond than that of a mother and a child, the Lebanese legislation applies nationality to fathers, excluding mothers (Hamadeh, 2005-2006). In other words, the Lebanese Nationality Law does not grant women, on equal basis with men, the right to confer their nationality to either their children or their husbands (Charafeddine, 2009). This discrimination, in favor of men, is a violation of the most fundamental human rights. Hence, Lebanese women are not perceived to be fully-fledged citizens that are equal to men, but as second-degree citizens of the state.

To understand the conundrum of this gender blindness of nationality, and how it became entrenched in the Lebanese social context, an insight into Lebanon's historical background is necessary (Bridge; Kingston; Mansour & Abou Aad, 2012). The roots of this discrimination can be traced back to the French Mandate, when Lebanon was under the rule of the Napoleonic Code. The French High Commissioner issued "arête n15/S" translated as the Nationality Law, number 15 on the 19th of January 1925. Still valid to the present day, it is through this law that all matters vis-à-vis naturalization and transmission of citizenship is based on (Mansour & Abou Aad, 2012; Kingston, 2013; el-Khoury and Jaulin, 2012; khalifeh, 2005-2006).

A few amendments have been introduced over the years, as Lebanon signed international treaties on human rights. Lebanon is an active member in the United Nations and should therefore abide by and respect UN's charters including the Universal Declaration of human rights, which upholds women's rights to nationality the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which upholds women's rights to nationality. Moreover, Lebanon has signed the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), adopted by the UN in 1979, but had made many reservations on its articles, especially those pertaining to nationality rights. Lebanon failed to pass new legislations regulating citizenship where its neighboring Arab countries, once under the same French rule, succeeded in doing so (el-Khoury and Jaulin, 2012; Mansour & Abou Aad, 2012; Charafeddine, 2009).

After explaining the origin of discrimination that promulgated under the French Mandate and their decision to appoint leadership of family and personal status law to clerics (Kingston, 2013); and after signing International treaties on human rights, the question yet remains: why hasn't Lebanon abolished all forms of discrimination against women (Charafeddine, 2009)? Culture is considered to be one of the greatest barriers. Lebanon is a patriarchal society where men are privileged over women. Hence, the discriminatory legislation against women favoring men, especially in nationality (Hatem, 2005; Charafeddine, 2009; Mansour & Abou Aad, 2012; Karam and Catusse, 2009; Beydoun, 2005-2005). Moreover, Lebanon is a mosaic of various religious factions, where eighteen religious groups are officially recognized. Religious laws govern the lives of Lebanese when it comes to matters relating to personal status (khalife, 2005-2006). The Personal Status Law (PSL) pertains to matters of family as marriage, divorce and custody of children in addition to other issues (Karam and

Catusse, 2009). This law is in the hands of sectarian groups rather than civil courts, forcing Lebanese to “pass through portals of religion” when it comes to personal status (Kingston, 2013, P.88). Moreover, because Lebanon is a kin-based patriarchy, children belong to their fathers. It is only the father who has full rights of transferring his nationality to his children and having custody over them (Kingston, 2013).

Even though there have been some callings in the past few years to relegate the Personal Status Law to civil courts and transform Lebanon into a civil country, but religious and sectarian leaders waged a fearsome war against such demands. First, they do not want to loose the power that has been bestowed upon them. Second, they generate a huge income through the personal status law, and third, they have a direct clout on the demographic equilibrium, especially when it comes to marriage (Karam and Catusse, 2009; Charafeddine, 2009).

Since Lebanon is a mosaic of various religious factions, fear of demographic change can be virtually felt in all aspects of life. Based on such fears, Lebanese women have been denied the right of passing on their nationality to their foreign husbands and children alike. Moreover, the Lebanese government refuses to naturalize a huge number of Palestinian refugees fearing this might lead to a shift in the balance of political power. In connection with the religious demographic shift topped with the culture of patriarchy, sectarians fear that Lebanese women marrying Palestinian men will endanger such a balance (charafeddine, 2009; Mansour & Abou Aad, 2012; El-Khoury and Jaulin, 2012).

Discrimination against women in Lebanon is purely a cultural problem (Hourani, 2010).Lebanese women married to foreigners are denied transmitting their nationality to both their children and spouses alike. But when a Lebanese man marries a

foreigner, he is entitled to transmit his nationality to his wife and children (Beydoun, 2005-2006; Khalifeh, 2005-2006; Charafeddine, 2009). This right extends to include Lebanese men married to Palestinian women; hence, the double standards of the Lebanese nationality law (khalife, 2005-2006). In other words, Lebanese women do not receive equal rights as their male counterparts for their rights are hampered by a dominant patriarchal culture and social standards.

Many problems and ramifications emanated from withholding back nationality to the spouses and children of Lebanese mothers. Such problems are signified in the fact that these spouses and children, considered foreigners, are not eligible for the free of charge treatment in public hospitals nor are the children eligible for public schools. In addition, huge fees for work and residency permits are expected to be paid by such foreigners (Charafeddine, 2009; Mansour & Abou Aad, 2012; Beydoun, 2005-2006).

In light of this gender discrimination and its consequences that have lingered over Lebanese women and their families, a deep sense of justice and a call for action have been awakened in many activists across Lebanon. These activists, on behalf of their civil societies, have been demanding to eradicate all forms of discrimination against Lebanese women, especially the modification of the nationality and its mode of acquisition (Karam and Catusse, 2009; Charafeddine, 2009; UNDP, 2006).

Many Lebanese civil society organizations have taken it upon themselves to address the discriminatory nationality law and be the voice of those affected by its ramifications. This step was taken since the Lebanese government, whose duty is to ensure equality amongst all its citizens, has been absent. Civil society organizations have been advocating for change through means of action as raising awareness, lobbying and campaigning (Nae, Grigore and Grigore, 2008). These organizations

called on the Lebanese government to abide by the international conventions that Lebanon has signed and lift all reservations on CEDAW (Mansour & Abou Aad, 2012).

One non-governmental organization to advocate for women's rights to nationality is the Collective for Research and Training on Development-Action (CRTD-A). Since its inception in 2003, CRTD-A has been working with partners in many Arab countries on issues relating to social justice, gender equity and citizenship ("CRTD-A"). CRTD-A and an association of women's network formed a coalition titled 'Equality without reservations' and campaigned for their rights as sanctioned in CEDAW (Kingston, 2013). 'My nationality is a right for me and my family' is the campaign's slogan that CRTD-A launched in 2006 (karam and Catusse, 2009).

Given these efforts, an important question remains: why are Lebanese women still being discriminated against in nationality and why is progress so limited?

A. The Study: Objectives and Significance

This thesis is a case study of CRTD-A, a Lebanese NGO, advocating for women's rights to nationality. It explores how this organization advocates to influence policy in Lebanon. Moreover this research analyzes how CRTD-A employs communication as part of its advocacy strategies.

The main question that guides this study is: how did CRTD-A advocate to influence the Nationality Law? To answer this question, the means and strategies employed by this organization, to achieve the observed changes, are identified. Moreover, a brief examination of the impact CRTD-A had on policy is presented.

The contributions of this study would be of interest to non-governmental organizations and scholars of public administration and policy. In addition to the literature on non-governmental organizations, this study contributes to another area of research: policy.

In the literature review on NGOs, this study explores how such organizations advocate employing different strategies to affect policy. It takes a Lebanese organization, as a case study, advocating to influence the Lebanese nationality law. Moreover, this literature section explores how communication (as in media and public relations) is vital in the above process.

There is a very limited amount of information on Lebanese civil society, let alone their advocacy skills and strategies. Moreover, there have been some academic publications in the field of women's rights, but there is no evidence of any academic research (to the best of the researcher's knowledge) on women's rights to nationality in strategies and techniques are almost absent in the Lebanese academic research. Thus, the significance of this study lies in coalescing all of the above elements.

In Lebanon, research on policy formation and the policy process is very limited. Only in the past few years, did policy institutes start tackling the issue of policy in Lebanon and it is constantly limited to a specific issue rather than discussing the general picture; how policy is formulated or even influenced. Hence, the policy section of this paper, will contribute to improve the understanding of the Lebanese public policy process, in addition to, the ways advocating NGOs can impact policy in general and the nationality law in particular. Hence, this research fills a gap in the Lebanese literature.

From a practice standpoint, this research will add to NGOs' knowledge on the various tools and strategies of advocacy. Moreover, it represents NGOs with a set of factors including advocacy strategies as means of impacting policy.

In conclusion, this research will provide a set of recommendations, congregated in the last chapter, addressed to three groups: academic institutions, non-governmental organizations and CRTD-A, and Lebanese government. These recommendations are the aftermath of multiple interviews conducted with key interviewees where this study gets its bulk of information.

B. Structure of Thesis

This thesis is structured into six chapters. The next chapter presents an overview of the Lebanese nationality law in addition to the international context. A brief view is presented on the Lebanese political culture, a context significantly hindering the amendment of this law. The bulk of this chapter answers how NGOs advocate to create change by presenting the general strategies and techniques that such organizations employ to address a problem in society.

Chapter three reviews how NGOs, through advocacy, create change in a policy area. The chapter initiates by exploring agenda setting and the policy making process followed by a section on how NGOs impact policy. The last section concludes with a conceptual framework represented by the Multiple Stream Framework, to be applied on CRTD-A and the nationality law.

Chapter four presents the methods employed to gather information needed to answer the main question that guides this research. This chapter describes the 'case

study' methodology followed by the means of collecting information and the analysis tools. The last section of this chapter provides the limitations of such a study.

Chapter five reveals the findings generated by this study. These findings represent the current situation of Lebanese NGOs on advocacy in general and that of CRTD-A in particular. Furthermore, the findings on how advocating NGOs can impact policy are addressed followed by a section on policy formation in Lebanon. This chapter ends by applying the Multiple Streams Framework on CRTD-A and the nationality law. Chapter five opens with a brief summary, a conclusion of this research's main question, followed by a set of recommendations proposed to improve the advocacy status of Lebanese NGOs. The recommendations are directed toward three groups: academic institutions, NGOs and CRTD-A, and the Lebanese government.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

When it comes to gendered citizenship, Lebanon presents itself as a curious and enigmatic case. Located in the Middle East region, Lebanon has the highest percentages when it comes to women's literacy rates; life expectancies; and higher education. In comparison with other Arab countries, Lebanon ranked the highest with the number of females enrolled in both primary and secondary education. As for university education, half of the students enrolled are women. But despite these high rates, Lebanese women have been struggling for their basic rights in modern day Lebanon (Kingston, 2013).

A. The Lebanese Nationality Law: An Overview

Up to our present time, women in the Arab world have not yet attained their full rights as men, specifically the rights of transmitting their nationality to their foreign husbands and children (Sensenig-Dabbous, 2010). But there has been some progress in modifying nationality laws in countries as Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Iraq, Morocco, Yemen, Libya, Palestine, United Arab Emirates, and Saudi Arabia. Some of these countries equated women with men in granting nationality rights, while others stipulated certain conditions for conferring nationality (Fact Sheet Nationality, 2010; Mansour & Abou Aad, 2012).

In comparison with these Arab countries, Lebanon still lags behind when it comes to women's rights to nationality. But Lebanon cannot be compared to its

neighboring countries (ESCWA, 2010), since it encompasses 18 sects with religion as the dominant law. The complexity of this situation lies in the interest of each religious group and their perspective on nationality rights. Given this, naturalization is considered as a main cause of demographic shift in power. Finally, and as a result of patriarchy, nationality is considered a threat on behalf of women not men. The Lebanese legal system discriminates against women on matters of nationality. This discrimination of citizenship remains in favor of Lebanese fathers who upon marrying foreign women are entitled to full rights of conferring their nationality to their spouse and children alike. Whereas, Lebanese women upon marrying non-nationals are not entitled to this basic right of conferring nationality to their husbands or children (Mansour & Abou Aad, 2012; Fact Sheet-Nationality Law, 2010; Charafeddine, 2009; Karam and Catusse, 2009; Hamadeh, 2005-2006;Khalifeh, 2005-2006; Beydoun, 2005-2006).

Gender-blindness citizenship in the case of Lebanon is a direct breach of international human rights. According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 1 stipulates that all human beings are equal in their rights; article 15 states that everyone is entitled to the right of nationality; and article 2 affirms that every individual regardless of race, color, sex and language are entitled to all the rights set forth in this declaration (Zein, 2005-2006; Mansour and Abou Aad, 2012; U.N).

1. Defining Nationality and Acquisition

As defined by the United Nations, nationality is the “legal relationship between an individual and a state; hence, a strong sense of commitment and belonging is established between the two. Moreover a legal link is created entitling the individual for security and protection rights on behalf of the state. Being a national entitles the

individual to enjoy and exercise full rights and entitlements of the state (UN, 2003, Abou-Habib, 2001). Furthermore, “nationality is the legal basis for the exercise of citizenship” (UN, 2003, p. 2). According to Suad Joseph (2010, p.8), “citizenship consists of the legal process by which subjects of a state are defined.” Each state has its own set of regulations that defines who is entitled to citizenship and what rights to enjoy.

Moreover, citizenship and nationality are terms that are used interchangeably even though the latter is the legal basis for the first (Mansour & Abou Aad, 2012; U.N., 2003; IJRC, Joseph, 2010). There are two different modes of acquisition for nationality or citizenship: land and blood (Joseph, 2010).

As stated earlier in the introduction chapter, Lebanon falls under the category of *Jus Sanguinis*, law of blood. It is through this bond that an individual acquires nationality from both his natural parents (Beydoun, 2005-2006; el-Khoury and Jaulin, 2012; U.N., 2003). But Lebanon, as most Arab countries, privileged men over women by allowing fathers and excluding mothers to nationality rights. Thus, law of blood is masculine (Joseph, 2010; Beydoun, 2005-2006; el-Khoury and Jaulin, 2012; U.N., 2003).

Joseph (2010, p. 8), states: “Citizenship constructs the subject of law”. The word ‘law’ is a powerful word, which secures the rights of innocent people and provides justice to all. But is this really the case with Lebanese women? There is a story of discrimination and sexism with women in the Lebanese legislation (Hamadeh, 2005-2006).

How did this blatant transgression befall Lebanese women and what is the root of such discrimination?

2. Origin and Cause of Discrimination

The origin of gender discrimination is the holdover from European colonialism. Lebanon was first under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. During this period, Lebanese citizens, including women, enjoyed full equal rights especially those pertaining to nationality. But when the Ottoman Empire dissolved, the French had mandate over Lebanon. They inaugurated a new constitution for Lebanon that modeled that of the French. It was during this period, that Lebanese women lost many of their rights including the rights of nationality. Ever since, Lebanon kept the French Napoleonic Code and remains governed by it (Kazzi, 2012; Mansour and Abou Aad 2010; el-Khoury and Jaulin, 2012).

3. Constitution and Nationality law

Decree No15 on Lebanese Nationality was promulgated on the 19th of January 1925. A few amendments have been introduced on January 11, 1960 but Lebanon failed to pass new legislations regulating nationality laws. Neighboring Arab states that have been under the same mandate with similar nationality laws succeeded in amending such laws (El Khoury and Thibaut, 2012; Mansour and Abou Aad, 2010).

Who is considered Lebanese and how is the Lebanese nationality acquired as stated in Decree 15, article 1:

“ Is considered Lebanese:

- Every person born of a Lebanese father.
- Every person born in the Greater Lebanon territory and did not acquire a foreign nationality, upon birth, by affiliation.

- Every person born in Greater Lebanon territory of unknown parents or parents of unknown nationality” (Khalifeh, 2005-2006, P. 15).

Nationality is patrilineage as defined in the above article as it disregards the Lebanese mother. But there are two exceptions to the above. Article 2, states if an illegitimate child is born to a Lebanese mother, from an unknown father, then this child is granted nationality. Moreover, in accordance with Article 4, a foreign mother married to a Lebanese man, who has been naturalized through her marriage, is allowed to transmit her new Lebanese nationality to her under-aged children from previous marriages. Moreover, according to Article 5, a foreign woman acquires the Lebanese nationality one year after she has been married to a Lebanese man. Even her children from previous marriages, residing in Lebanon or abroad, are entitled for full civil and political rights. Given this, the nationality law not only discriminates between Lebanese men and women but between foreign and Lebanese women (Khalifeh, 2005-2006).

Lebanese women have been plagued by gender discrimination since the French mandate up till the present. Even though Paragraph C, of the Lebanese Constitution asserts “Lebanon is a parliamentary democratic republic based on respect for public liberties, especially the freedom of opinion and belief, and respect for social justice and equality of rights and duties among all citizens without discrimination” (Mansour and AbouAad, 2010; Khalifeh, 2005-2006). Moreover, Paragraph B of the Constitution states that Lebanon is “an active member of the UN”; therefore, should abide by and respect the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which asserts that “everyone has the right to nationality,” Article 15 (The Lebanese Constitution).

4. International Context

Under the auspices of the UN, many international conventions have been clinched, especially those pertaining to women's rights and eliminating all forms of discrimination against women. On January 18, 1979 the UN adopted the convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The CEDAW is significant as it calls all member states to eliminate discrimination in its various forms against women.

The CEDAW convention in its first article defines discrimination against women as “any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex...”(UN Women CEDAW). Indeed, Lebanon signed the CEDAW, but ratified it on July 26, 1996 with multiple reservations on its articles. For example, the Lebanese government reserved Article 9, as it asserts that in matters of nationality, both men and women are equal. Moreover, reservations were made on Article 16 as it declares that both sexes have equal rights in marriage and its dissolution; towards custody; and personal rights. Last, Paragraph 1 of Article 29 deals with the issue of dispute between state members that might arise from such a convention (Khalifeh, 2005-2006; UN Women CEDAW).

5. Lebanese Political Culture

Discrimination against women is not only found in the Nationality Act and in the reservations of the international treaties that Lebanon has signed. But it is deeply rooted in the Lebanese culture and across all its legal levels. There are 18 officially recognized sects in this small country, each being governed by its own Personal Status Law (PSL). This law regulates family matters that are singlehandedly governed by religious officials and community leaders by virtue of Resolution no. 60 in 1936

(Mansour and Abou Aad, 2012; Clark and Salloukh, 2013; Atiya, 2005-2006). This is best explained by Kingston (2013, p.88) who stated that Lebanese are forced “to pass through portals of religion” when it come to matters of personal status as marriage and its dissolution, custody of children, and inheritance. Moreover, since Lebanon is labeled as a patriarchal state, even PSL discriminates and favor men over women applying same rules as that of the nationality act. Moreover, the main cause of discrimination between men and women in nationality is the government’s fear of a religious shift in the demographic balance of Lebanon. Following this idea, Lebanese fear demographic weight between Muslims and Christians; hence, refuse the idea of naturalizing Palestinian refugees (Karam and Catusse, 2009; Mansour and Abou Aad, 2012). But this fear is based towards one sex. Women married to any foreign national, including Palestinians, are denied nationality rights; whereas, Lebanese men married to foreigners as well as Palestinians confer their nationality. Hence, discrimination between the sexes is rooted in patriarchal religious society (el-Khoury and Jaulin, 2012; Beydoun, 2005-2006).

Sectarianism hasn’t always existed in Lebanon. It was rather created, in the second half of the 19 Century in Mount Lebanon, from the “interlay between” local, regional and international political conversions that conspired to form a “modern culture of sectarianism” (Clark and Salloukh, 2013, P. 731). But this culture of sectarianism remained well preserved up to the present day. In postwar Lebanon, sectarianism infiltrated some of the small civil society organizations through sectarian elites. These latter impacted the goals and efficacy of the former and thwarted their achievements of any political and social change on the national level. Furthermore, some NGOs

voluntarily invited sectarian elites into their organizations for personal advantage (Clark and Salloukh, 2013).

Sectarian elites not only infiltrated and influenced the activities of some NGOs, but have direct control on some the local media as well. It is though the media, that politicians pressure or criticize NGOs or simply decide not to cover their events and campaigns. By doing so, NGOs loose their vehicle in raising public awareness; thus, limited in their public impact (Clark and Salloukh, 2013).

In the past few years, and with the calling for reform in Lebanon, there has been an absence of such demand in the justice system which itself is not independent of political affiliations. Since 1991, the Justice system has never played a major role in Lebanon. Despite of some individual and group efforts to claim more independency to the system, these attempts have failed since members of the judicial system lack assemblage efforts in forming into pressure groups and lobbying for the reformation of their system (Karam and Catusse, 2009).

The civil code for personal status has been called for since the year 1998. But despite the many groups and associations that defended and called for such a code, a resistant confrontation was led against them by religious and political authorities who succeeded in blocking this issue towards the parliament (Karam and Catusse, 2009).

Lebanon faced in its last two decades a wave of different mobilizations that can be grouped under three phases of mobilization: civil mobilization from 1995 to 2000; sovereignty mobilization around 2000 to 2005; and partisan mobilization around the end of 2005. During these phases, the voices of journalists, upper-middle class lawyers and academics “rehabilitate citizen’s actions and mobilize the Lebanese”, when politicians attempted to deactivate the voices of such opposition. Such movements called for an

end of sectarianism in the Lebanese political system (Karam and Catusse, 2009, P. 8). It should be noted that amongst the educated and intellectual circles of Beirut, activism germinated. Activism then turned into movements, which in turn grew into civil associations asking for different rights and placing laws on the politicians' agenda for amendments (Karam and Catusse, 2009).

6. Nationality Law and Ramifications

The negative ramifications of holding back nationality rights do not only affect the Lebanese mother but her family, as a unit. These negative ramifications extend from residency and work permits to education and health care and ends in psychological dilemmas.

Residency and Work Problems: When the wife is a national, but her husband and children are foreigners, residency becomes a major hurdle. If the husband cannot find a job to attain a residency permit, he faces the threat of deportation along with his children, if they are below a certain age (Abou-Habib, 2003).

Residency permits are expensive and expected to be paid on an annual basis, not to mention the endless nightmare of appointments and standing in line (Charafeddine, 2010; Mansour and Abou Aad, 2012). Similarly, are the work permits but with an additional burden. For a Lebanese employer to hire foreign employees, a sum of fees has to be paid to the Lebanese government. Moreover, Lebanese women voiced their own concerns when it came to their own employment, as they were forced to succumb to their employer's conditions as a result of their husbands' unemployment. They felt exploited (Charafeddine, 2010; Mansour and Abou Aad, 2012; Abou-Habib, 2003).

Education and Health:

For middle-class families, education and health are paramount problems. Neither the foreign father nor his children are entitled to public health care. In addition, foreign children aren't considered eligible to enjoy low fees at public schools or universities (Charafeddine, 2010; Mansour and Abou Aad, 2012).

Traveling and inheritance:

Traveling is another issue that Lebanese mothers face. Her children have different passports than hers making it a difficult process for obtaining visas, which usually is an easy process since the mother and her children have the same nationality (Abou-Habib, 2003). As for inheritance, non-nationals are forbidden to own property in Lebanon. Even the children cannot inherit from their mothers (Mansour and Abou Aad, 2012).

Social and Psychological Problems:

Foreign children of Lebanese mothers, living in Lebanon, feel discriminated against as they are not eligible for free public education or public health care. They do not feel a sense of belonging to Lebanon. Thus, the psychological impact resonates with these children and continues as they grow older (Mansour and Abou Aad, 2012).

As for Lebanese women themselves, having to register their children was the first shock many of them experienced. Registration needed to take place at their husband's embassy or consulate. Moreover, registration at consulate is only done through the husband (Abou-Habib, 2003). At times, the Lebanese mother feels regretful of her marriage and is in constant fear that her husband might take her children back to

his country of origin (Beydoun, 2005-2006). Moreover, children complain from being alienated in their schools and communities especially when it comes to social integration with other children. Sometimes, it is the opposite way around. Foreign children feel that “they belong in Lebanon more than their country of citizenship” (Charafeddine, 2012, P. 23).

Despite the problems that Lebanese women and their families have to endure, fears of demographic balance and shift in power blinded political elites from reforming the Lebanese nationality law. This same fear restrained the government from conducting a general census that was avoided since 1932. This resulted resulting in a lack of statistics and data on the Lebanese population (Charafeddine, 2009; Mansour &AbouAad, 2012; karam and Catusse, 2009). Hence, obtaining data and statistics on the number of Lebanese women married to foreigners was an ordeal. But the Collective Research for Training and Development Action (CRTD-A), a Lebanese women Non-governmental organization, conducted research estimating the number of Lebanese women married to foreigners. This study was conducted in 2002, it is said to be incomplete as many Lebanese women after their marriage to foreigners left the country and some didn't even bother to register their marriage.

The numbers listed below are significant and problematic when compared to the Lebanese population that does not exceed four million (Abou-Habib, 2003).

Table 1: Lebanese women married to foreigners.

Nationality	Number	Percentage
Arabs	515	61.3%
European	210	25.0%
American	54	6.4%
Asian	50	6.0%
African	11	1.3%
Total	840	100%

Source: Collective Research and Training Development Action (CRTD-A) reports on Nationality in Lebanon (Feghali, 2002).

The above report indicates that the largest number of foreign husbands were Arabs. Egyptians topped the list with 23% followed by Jordanians with an 18% while Palestinians accounted for only 2% (Abou-Habib, 2003). These numbers confirm that Palestinians are not the problem behind amending the nationality law, but rather the patriarchal religious dominant culture (Charafeddine, 2009).

In conclusion, the Lebanese nationality law discriminates between males and females and does not view them as equals due to the patriarchal religious community. Moreover, this law breaches the principle of equality established in the Lebanese constitutions and the international conventions that Lebanon has ratified. The ramifications of such a law have an extremely negative effect on Lebanese society as a macrocosm, and the family as a microcosm. Not only are women in the middle of this debacle but also the whole family.

As a result, many activists in the Lebanese civil society have called for the amendment of this law as well as abolishing all forms of discrimination against women.

Many non-governmental organizations, particularly women's organizations, have advocated as citizenship is one of the issues that drive women to activism (Charafeddine, 2009; UNDP, 2006).

B. NGOs in advocacy: Global Overview

Due to the effect of globalization, the scope of civil society or the "third sector" has increased as many non-profit and non-governmental organizations as well as social movements have joined the society.

Providing a sufficient definition for Civil Society is impossible (ESCWA, 2010; Dakman). It is the arena where people share similar interests and beliefs. Its institutions differ from those of the state and the market. Unlike the market, its organizations are non-profit and unlike the state, it does not run after political positions (ESCWA, 2010; Srinivas, 2009). The purport of civil society is explained by the anthropologist and sociologist, Ernest Gellner, as "a bridge between the state's power and societal needs" (Dakman, P.5). Throughout this paper, the term civil society will be used interchangeably at times with NGOs.

1. Defining NGOs and Advocacy

Given the topic of the study, this section will commence to provide a clear definition of two terms that will be frequently employed throughout this research: NGOs and advocacy.

What are organizations commonly termed as non-governmental organizations (NGOs)? In 1945, the United Nations employed the term NGO for the first time to describe those who do not belong to national governments but take the role of

consultants aiding the UN in its various activities. But the UN kept the term (NGO) open for interpretation; hence, it acquired its present image as a third sector organization. NGOs have witnessed an increase in their size, scope, and influence in many spheres around the globe.

Defining NGOs depend on their potential as they differ in their roles, scope of work and lifecycles (Srinivas, 2009).

There are different roles and functions to NGOs. They are a “delivery vehicle” capable of delivering services and social needs when the government fails to do so (Srinivas, 2009, P.615). Their role does not end here; it extends to comprise an array of functions ranging from fighting corruption, defending rights, advocating, raising awareness, influencing policy to implementing laws (ESCWA, 2010).

The researcher employs the term NGOs throughout this study indicating a non-governmental organization advocating for policy change. Advocating NGOs are “change agents” who take it upon themselves to influence the government and create change in policies “ which will benefit a broader range of society than just its own members” (Hall and Taplin, 2007).

The policy advocacy process influencing policy starts with choosing a social, economic or political pressing issue for reform enabling both citizens and civil society organizations to take part in producing change (Fox and Helweg, 1997; Hoodfar and Pazira, 2000;Nae, Grigore and Grigore, 2008). Then it is followed by a wide variety of advocacy strategies initiating with research, public awareness, lobbying and campaigning. Depending on their pursuit of a policy issue, NGOs choose one or more accordingly.

This is advocacy strategy in a nutshell. The above concept presents the idea of advocacy as a vitreous circle with three various components that takes off at the citizen empowerment level (transformational) to strengthening civil society (developmental) and ends with influencing policy (instrumental). This framework summarizes advocacy as a circular rather than a linear framework to study advocacy strategies since the “interrelationship” between the three components are dynamic and in a continuous reinforcement of each other (Fox and Helweg, 1997, p.8).

2. Advocacy as citizen empowerment (Transformational Objective)

Is the very first step of advocacy and is defined as “the ability of the marginalized or disadvantaged- the powerless or poor majority- to challenge the status-quo by gaining a sense of their own power, including the capacity to define and prioritize their problems, and then acting to address and resolve them”(Fox and Helweg, 1997, p. 9). In other words, citizens as part of a democratic system have the ability of choice to pursue interests (issues) and play a part in the policy process. Doing so, such individuals are transformed into informed citizens (Fox and Helweg, 1997; Hall and Taplin, 2007).

3. Advocacy as Strengthening Civil Society (Developmental Objective)

The second stage of advocacy is defined when citizens become informed individuals deciding to cooperate with each other and join an institution, which identifies and fights for their demands. In other words, civil society, symbol of volunteering and civic principles, advocates and fights for the public “-vis-à-vis the state...and the market” (Fox and Helweg, 1997, P.11). Society in general, is a group of

politically unorganized people facing the politically organized: politicians. Therefore, the role of civil society organizations lies in hosting such immobilized individuals transforming them into organized members and providing them with a chance of making their voices heard as a group.

Each NGO, as an individual of civil society, needs to have the following developmental strategies to plan an affective advocacy strategy. An established NGO needs to have a stated mission, vision along with a strategic plan of defined and clear objectives (Fox and Helweg, 1997; Hoodfar and Pazira, 2000; Baer, et al, 2012). A set of resources extending from human, financial to information should be existent. An NGO must secure its financial resources to be able to cover office space, staff, advertising and campaign costs (Royston, 2010). Information ranges from collecting data and research on the issue from other NGOs, academia, the government or international organizations (Baer, et al, 2012). In addition, to being equipped with knowledge on the issue, it needs to obtain knowledge on advocacy strategies, legislation, policy process and get familiar with politicians who oppose and support their issue (Royston, 2010, Baer, et al, 2012; Fox and Helweg, 1997).

More features include: establishing strong ties with its environment; the ability to form alliances and networking with other NGOs; and the knowledge to affectively employ the media as a key resource in its advocacy strategies (Baer, et al, 2012; Fox and Helweg, 2012; Nae, et al, 2008; Hall and Taplin, 2007; Royston, 2010). Last but not least, an NGO needs to strengthen itself by going through a series of training sessions to ensure its capability of “undertaking effective advocacy” (Fox and Helweg, 1997, P.11).

NGOs need to sustain the above features to initiate the third step of advocacy: advocacy means.

4. Advocacy as influencing key policy outcomes and achieving reform agenda

(Instrumental Objective)

To influence the decision-making process with an end result of reforming or changing policy is what advocacy is all about. An advocacy strategy “is a set of tools, tactics or techniques...an instrumentalist objective to achieve the policy outcome desired” (Fox and Helweg, 1997, P. 13).

The following section will examine the tools and strategies that NGOs need to employ to influence policy and achieve reform. But “lasting reform or policy change is dependent on the attainment of some degree of the other two component advocacy objectives discussed above...the interrelatedness of the three component objectives and the necessity to work on them all simultaneously” (Fox and Helweg, 1997, P.15).

The policy advocacy process starts with choosing a social, economic or political pressing issue for reform enabling both citizens and civil society organizations to take part in producing change (Fox and Helweg, 1997; Hoodfar and Pazira, 2000; Nae, Grigore and Grigore, 2008). For NGOs willing to bring social and political change, they need to be equipped with strategies and skills along with a deep passionate commitment. Moreover, since countries differ in their political and historical background and environments there isn't a single fixed method for change and advocacy but there are “basic guidelines”(Hoodfar and Pazira, 2000, P.41).

C. Advocacy Strategies

Depending on their pursuit of a policy issue reformation, NGOs choose one or more of the wide variety of advocacy strategies accordingly, which include:

- a- *Collaborating with the state*: If agreement exists on a policy issue, to deliver public services.
- b- *Modeling strategy*: When an NGO provides a pilot program, if deemed successful, it is then established on a national level where both the government and the organization take part in.
- c- *Educational Strategy*: Where an NGO conducts research on a specific policy issue and provides it along with draft legislations to the government.
- d- *Persuasion Strategy*: As in Lobbying and negotiating with politicians
- e- *Litigation strategy*: Where NGOs resort to courts to challenge policies.
- f- *Contestation Strategy*: The final step is to form protests and demonstrations to highlight the negative effects of a specific policy issue.

The above guide has been designed by the Civil Society Advisor of the democracy and Governance (D/G) Center to provide accessible information regarding advocacy for non-governmental organizations (Fox and Helweg, 1997).

The Following section will explore the current literature regarding how NGOs advocate. Through a review of the literature body of non-governmental organizations, the literature highlighted in unison and in chronological order: research, public awareness, lobbying and campaigns as the most employed and efficient strategies by NGOs. Hence, a critical perspective is presented. The researcher will adopt the following strategies as a conceptual model to apply to the case study, CRTD-A.

Before indulging into a depth examination of the advocacy strategies stated above, a brief introduction on a strategy, deemed indispensable, will be presented. Media strategies and Public Relation campaigns have become increasingly evident, on their vital role, in the literature review on the strategies of advocating NGOs.

No matter what type of pressing problem an NGO is trying to reform, media needs to be integrated in its advocacy cycle for it to be successful (Fox and Helweg, 1997).

1. NGOs and Media as a Tool

Taylor (2000) expressed the importance of public relations in civil society building process. He explains how advocating organizations, through public relations, employ media as a tool to: address civilians on issues that need attention; pressure political figures; and present the needs of interest groups. He then defines public relations as “ a relationship-building tool and, as a mediated communication activity, it has a central role to play in civil society initiatives” (Taylor, 2000, P.2). Moreover, media supports the interests of civil society organizations by highlighting their issues and broadcasting their messages affecting, in turn, the publics’ opinion (Abu Assi, 2006; Hall and Taplin, 2007; Lipsky, 2007). For organizations to communicate their ideas to other organizations and the public alike, a media system needs to be developed. Thus, Media relations are the essence of public relations in civil society (Taylor, 2000).

What is meant by a ‘media system or communication strategy’ is establishing NGO relations with the media. Researching the media that might be of interest in and supportive of their issue is the very first step NGOs should take in a multiple step strategy. Following is the importance of having and preserving a media list of contacts.

It is more effective when NGOs assign one individual to act as a media liaison or a spokesperson between themselves and the media. This strengthens the relationship and build trusts. Moreover, knowing when and how to write press releases as well as how to make newsworthy events that will capture the media's attention are vital in NGO-media relation (Taylor, 2000; Hoodfar and Pazira, 2000; CICC, 2003; Baer, et all, 2012; Royston, 2012). Concluding this section, media is considered to be part of an NGO's advocacy strategy or campaign and based on the above information, successful communication can be conducted (Baer, et all, 2012).

After briefly introducing how NGOs establish relations with the media as a first step of the communication strategy, The following section will continue to tackle the other advocacy strategies that initiate after research while examining the role that media plays in each stage.

2. NGOs and Research

The first step for amplifying an NGO's voice after choosing a pressing social, economical or political issue for reform is research.

Research should start off by reviewing the literature review produced locally on the pressing issue, the problem (Abou-Habib, 2011). Data can be collected from the government, academia, NGOs and international organizations (Baer, et all, 2012). Moreover, regional or international literature on the subject would generate different perspectives and challenges that will aid an NGO in its task (Abou-Habib, 2011).

Social indicators, fall under research, and are employed to measure information in a population. Indicators ought to be used by researchers for they can influence public

policy by illustrating the problematic areas that need to be addressed (Baer, et all, 2012).

After gathering information, the following step would be producing written research as in reports and articles available for the public. Conferences are another portal for providing the research for the public. But for an NGO, the fastest and easiest way to disseminate information to a wider audience and highlight an issue is made possible through media (Hall and Taplin, 2007, Royston, 2010). Moreover, NGOs provide defensible information to policy makers along with policy alternatives after conducting policy research that in turn affects policy makers and produce effective protests. In conclusion, no matter what type of government, its politicians view research as an important initial step for policy (Baer, et all, 2012; Fox and Helweg, 1997).

An NGO's advocacy journey initiates with research, which later metamorphoses into an awareness-raising campaign targeting the public.

3. NGOs and Public Opinion

After choosing a problematic issue for reform, research is conducted to gather information and data on the subject. Thus, the next step for an NGO is knowledge that produces action. Action is gearing public opinion towards a particular issue and making certain that citizens (the public) clearly understand the problem and become concerned with it. Thus, the citizen becomes empowered and is transformed from an ordinary citizen to an informed citizen (Fox and Helweg, 1997; Hall and Taplin, 2007; Lipsky, 2007) pursuing "civic rights" (Fox and Helweg, 1997, p.10).

How does a citizen become aware of an issue? Since "the media are part of almost everyone's daily life. The mass media are key to raising awareness about an

issue and to mobilizing the crowd” (Hoodfar and Pazira, 2000, P.84). There are two types of media: paid and free media. The former is represented as billboards, posters and commercials; while, the latter includes press coverage and news stories as well as the wide world web.

It is important to keep in mind that the different kinds of media ranging from TV radio, newspapers and the Internet have different audiences. Other than targeting audiences, these different kinds of media channels are effective in many different ways. For instance, TV is the immediate response to covering events (Fox and Helweg, 1997). For NGOs to attract the attention of media, especially TV, they bring a famous or political figure to participate or talk about their issue (Hoodfar and Pazira, 2000; Taylor, 2000).

Radios on the other hand are effective, for a certain audience, especially on talk shows when discussing issues. Newspapers should be the focus of organizations even in our world of technology. News stories that are found in newspapers end up in TVs. Moreover, newspapers have certain areas and columns dedicated to social issues and culture where there again an audience is to be found. Newspapers are driven to cover an issue “out of a sense for improvement and accomplishment” (Ipsky, 2007, P.16).

The Internet is the space for ordinary people. Facebook, twitter and blogs are sources for news and they offer quick updates of what is happening. Based on an NGO’s targeted audience, a media channel(s) can be employed to disseminate information and raise the public’s awareness on an issue and its updates on the advocacy cycle.

An organization’s website is an excellent communication tool, if organized. It provides information on the organization’s objectives and goals and allows easy access

to its research. Reporters will check it for news as well. Given this, it is vital that an NGO keeps its website updated and clear.

Moreover, the choice of words in the media is important and depends on the culture. This is all part of the media communication strategy (Baer, et al, 2012). Communication strategy is how to communicate the media and how to communicate the information to the media itself. NGOs communicate their news and updates to the media to be disseminated to the people by writing a press release; inviting the media to a conference; sending an email or calling a journalist whom the NGO has strong ties with from previous communications (Baer, et al, 2012). In conclusion, media highlights an NGO's messages and issues and broadcast them to people on both national and international levels (Hall and Taplin, 2007). It is the media who decides which issues to highlight and disseminate or withhold from the public. Hence, the media "set the civic agenda"(Lipsky, 2007, P. 15).

4. NGOs and Lobbying

What has been discussed so far in the above paragraphs is considered to be lobbying. But direct lobbying is referred to when "delegates from an organization or group meet with governmental officials to discuss an issue or concern" (Hoodfar and Pazira, 2000, P. 94).

Political lobbying is another strategy NGOs need to engage in while advocating (Hall and Taplin, 2007). Lobbying requires NGOs to be familiar with legislation and how it works including knowledge in the various aspects of policy and governmental levels. Moreover, it is imperative that NGOs understand how politicians think and how they take decisions (Baer, et al, 2012). Successful lobbyists are those who go well

prepared after conducting research and have the capability of being diplomatic, persuasive as well as persistent and continually present in the public sphere (Hoodfar and Pazira, 2000; Nae, 2008). Advocating becomes more efficient when NGOs target various policy arenas as legislatures, political parties, courts and think tanks (Baer, et al, 2012). Lobbying targets the different political parties in a country. The first to target are the politicians who support their cause followed by those who oppose or are just skeptical (Hall and Taplin, 2007). In addition, part of lobbying, is writing a well-structured report to politicians with a set of recommendations (Baer, et al, 2012).

NGOs employ media for accountability with the politicians it lobbyists. It holds the politicians accountable and pressures them for everything they say and promise to do for the issue. If they oppose, the public is aware of this where politicians might fear the public's perception of them and how it will be manifested in voting (Nae, 2008; Taylor, 2000).

Lobbying does not only target politicians and influential figures but if it encompasses ordinary citizens it becomes more influential.

Lobbying targets long-term reforms. If the goals are not reached, the lobbyists' work does not end. It falls on them to monitor the reforms and push for further ones (Hoodfar and Pazira, 2000).

5. NGOs and Campaigns

According to Michael Lipsky (2007), protest is a tool commonly employed by minority groups. NGOs organize protests and campaigns mobilizing the public to show their disapproval towards a specific issue and a rejection of a policy (Lipsky, 2007; Nae, 2008; Della Porta, 2006). If media decides to support a cause by covering it, it is more

likely for a protest to succeed. Therefore, it is imperative for NGOs to establish good bonds and relation with media via communication strategy. But then again, it is the protest itself that captures the attention of the media and entices it to cover its action by employing tactics and news that seem significant to the media (Lipsky, 2007).

In general, people are called to join an organization's call for protest either by receiving an invitation via email or phone calls, by word of mouth from friends at such organizations, or by the mass media. The most efficient route indicated in the literature has proven to be by networking and direct contact where participants have been recruited (Klandermans and Oegema, 2007).

Campaigning is the last advocacy strategy for NGOs. According to Ed Miliband, the UK's third sector minister: "it is often the campaigns of the Third Sector Organizations that puts issues on the agenda, mobilize popular opinion, push the government to go further, change attitudes to make change possible" (Royston, 2010, P.13). Moreover, Royston (2010) explains campaigning as an organization's attempt to improve or affect a certain area in policy.

When an NGO campaigns, it employs the media to create awareness, legitimize its cause and force the government to take action (Royston, 2010). Mass media has a pivotal role when it comes to NGOs. The awareness and perceptiveness of the public to the NGO's issues and actions depend on the media. The media adopting the news is not enough; rather it should cover and present a detailed picture of what NGOs are doing specifically during their campaigns (Nae, 2008). "The media is enormously influential..it can challenge- or deepen prejudice; it can provide a forum for debate; and it can investigate, expose, advocate and campaign" (Royston, 2010, P.97). A media campaign to reform a certain policy can expose the flaws and discernment of such a

policy (Charafeddine, 2014) as well as expose the victims by showing their pictures or telling their stories (Hall and Taplin, 2007). Thus, when protests raise a certain issue, its concrete changes can be seen in policy (Della Porta, 2006).

Networking among NGOs is considered to be of high importance as it increases the legitimacy of the campaigns and exerts more pressure on politicians (Hall and Taplin, 2007). Hence, alliances, networks and coalition building with other sister NGOs must be established (UNDP, 2000). Forming coalitions and alliances with other NGOs is what the literature terms as social movements.

Social movements are organizations or a group of individuals sharing similar broad objectives aiming at changing a specific policy that people are dissatisfied with. They come together forming coalitions “involved in conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents; are linked by dense informal networks; [and they] share a distinct collective identity” (De la Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 20). Moreover, social movements are labeled as engines that create change.

Coalition and networking is another important fact in advocacy, which produces large numbers of people to advocate in the form of protests (Baer, et al, 2012). Alliances and networking results in swift action on behalf of an NGO to galvanize the public and generate immediate reaction towards discontent of a policy is (Hoodfar and Pazira, 2000). But NGOs should also be familiar with the history of other sister NGOs and their attempts and where they have failed. Being aware of limitations will be the essence to advocating NGOs directing them on how to move forward (Baer, et al, 2012).

Again, media plays an everlasting role with such movements. Protests are people coming from all social levels, political backgrounds and different walks of life.

Technology, as in media, is their tool to create a network and coordinate movements. Digital media paves the way for “restructuring social movement mobilization, civic participation in a very novel understanding” (Dakman). The Internet is being employed as an effective tool in the process of mobilization and networking in the culture of social movements. Recently, social movements have been integrating Internet communication technologies as part of their networking process. Where emails and websites were first used to diffuse information, Internet communication technologies (ICT) such as Facebook and Twitter have replaced them as faster channels for disseminating information (Krinsky and Crossley, 2014).

During time of protests and long side the campaign itself, a virtual campaign must be established (Royston, 2010). NGOs (as coalitions) employ digital media in their advocating process against political failure. Facebook is for scheduling the protest and providing information; twitter is for coordination and spreading the word and YouTube is for telling the world (Dakman). Many scholars have been studying the effects of virtual networks on mobilization such as Stefania Vicari and Mark Tremayne who explored the role of ICT in recent protests (Krinsky and Crossley, 2014).

Thus, the most practical way to join the network of advocacy is through digital media. It enables (open the doors) for middle class citizens and students of low income and marginal groups to participate (Dakman).

6. NGOs and Environment

In conclusion, the environment has been proved to be a salient element for movements and protests (Minkoff, 2007). There are different environments that foster the success of a campaign: the campaigning environment, the political environment, the

media environment, the technological environment, the economical environment and globalization.

The campaign environment refers to an NGO having successfully strengthened itself and empowered its citizens first and foremost. Then it has successfully employed the advocacy strategies ending up in launching a campaign to reform a specific policy. It is during this campaign, that NGO needs to take into consideration its media environment as in establishing good bonds with the media and employing it to disseminate information and mobilize the crowds. The technological environment falls under the media environment as well where a campaign needs to adapt to its new innovative technological environment and employ the traditional as well as the new digital media. The political environment (government and political figures) plays an important role when it comes to NGOs campaigning. There are two types of political environment: Open and closed political structure. The first refers to when politicians are supportive to an issue and are willing to help; whereas, the later indicates the politicians' lack of support to a cause. When politicians are flexible and tolerant with an issue, the policy process and campaigning easily achieves its policy proposals in comparison with other proposals that politicians hold a strong position against. Hence, some policy proposals for reform require more and constant attention and campaigning than others. Moreover, NGOs depend immensely on funds and financial resources to function and progress. If the country's environment is passing through a difficult economical times, this reflects badly and affects the funding that an NGO needs; hence, its campaign. Finally, living in a globalized world has its affect on the above environments highlighted, which in return have a direct influence on the campaigns of NGOs; thus, policy making. Moreover, with globalization, several of the international

organizations concerned with advocacy and policy making are able to transmit their experiences and tactics to national levels (Royston, 2012).



Figure 1: Illustrates that through advocacy issues are placed on the agenda.

7. NGOs and Social Movements

Donatella specifically stated that social movements, in particular NGOs, play a vital role in advocating and affecting decision-making where changes can be seen in policy (Della Porta, 2006). Social movements have a huge influence on the policy process. This influence is labeled as the five different levels of political responsiveness: access, agenda, policy, output and impact responsiveness.

When social movements advocate for a certain issue and attract the attention of political authorities then they have gained access responsiveness. If it is later placed on

their agenda, then they have achieved agenda responsiveness. The third level of policy responsiveness is attained only when new legislations are formed concerning the movement's issue. When such new laws are implemented, a new level of output responsiveness is achieved followed by impact responsiveness, labeled as the final level, where protests are no longer needed and demands of the people are satisfied (Della Porta, 2006).

Many scholars have struggled with the complex question of how to measure and determine whether a campaign has succeeded or failed in its attempt.

Hall and Taplin (2007) presented a number of developed methods derived by few scholars to answer such a question. The first method derived by Whelan and Hepburn suggests that for a campaign to be labeled as successful it must, and for multiple times, have re-captured this success. Others as Worth suggested examining the effectiveness of a campaign as in its attainment of goals. But Hall and Taplin (2007) suggested Bill Moyer's Movement Action Plan (MAP) as a model for measuring campaigns after it has been modeled analyzing many social movements.

The authors of "Doing Democracy: The MAP Model for Organizing Social Movements" address the social sciences' academicians about the importance of MAP and how it can be used for a better understanding of social movements and changes in society (Moyer, et all, 2005)

They define social movements as "collective actions in which the populace is altered, educated, and mobilized, sometimes over years and decades to challenge the power holders and the whole society to redress social problems or grievances and restore critical social values" (Moyer, et all, 2005, P.9). Moreover, they label such movements as non-violent protests that practice peaceful methods as love and tolerance

allowing people from all walks of life to partake in its process (Moyer, et all, 2005). Social movements are powerful and significant as they are tailored for ordinary citizens resisting politicians and getting involved in the decision making process in an attempt to create change in their society (Moyer, et all, 2005; The Change Agency, 1990)

Bill Moyer, an activist who worked closely with Martin Luther king, was involved in many non-violent social campaigns advocating for civil rights (The Change Agency, 1990). Moyer developed the Movement Action Plan (MAP) after recognizing the need of activists to know the various stages of their movement specifically how not to perceive their movement as failing when it is just passing through the normal phases of a movement's cycle (The Change Agency, 1990).

Activists who perceive their movement as failing often state that nothing has changed. Politicians are strong and refuse to listen to their demands; the media along with other experts view the movement as failing and losing its supporters; and the movement has not yet achieved its goals. Moyer addresses the above failure culture of activists and provides a list of logical explanations. He states, "social change takes time" and the politicians' role is to ignore the demands; whereas, the media is playing its role in depicting what is happening on the ground. He continues to explain that one of the most important achievements, though regarded by many activists as non-significant, is the movement's ability to place their issue on the politician's agenda (The Change Agency, 1990, P.3-4)

On another level, it should be noted that such movements achieve success after several years of struggle only after achieving several of the movement's sub-goals (PDF). It does not take place "overnight" (Moyer, et all, 2005, P.42)

MAP delineates a campaign's success as "societal consensus turns the tide of

power against power holders, launching an “endgame” process that eventually leads to the movement succeeding in reaching its goal” (Hall and Taplin, 2007, P. 101)

Such an understanding of the role of activism which does not only revolve around protests and demonstrations, as depicted mainly by the media, but stretches to encompass other forms of advocacy will allow the public to truly appreciate the work of civil society and enroll in them (Moyer, et all, 2005).

Moyer’s MAP is a practical strategic model that describes the eight stages any successful movement goes through over the passage of years (The Change Agency, 1990). Each stage has a specific set of goals and themes that a movement has to fulfill to be able to move on to the next stages (Moyer, et all, 2005). Succeeding in completing one stage and moving onto the second requires a strategic approach from activists and NGOs turning them into experts in movement’s strategies (Moyer, et all, 2005).

D. Civil Society in Lebanon

Civil society in Lebanon, as in other Arab countries, was confined to charitable, religious and educational roles in the nineteenth century. Such organizations evolved during the colonial period and grew stronger with their attempts to fight colonialism. But their importance and work regressed during the post-colonialism period as the result of new emerging governments. In the late 1980s, the Arab world became more appreciative of the role of civil society due to international factors as the breaking down of the Berlin wall, which had an affect of liberalism that spread all over the world. As to why civil society in the Arab region was unsuccessful as those in other parts of the

world? The answer to this question is related to the unstable situation and the increased levels of oppression by the governments onto their people (ESCWA, 2010).

Moreover, religious and political extremism is yet another factor that hinders civil society in this region. In addition, to the fact that civil society organizations remained “groups of individuals” (ESCWA, 2010, P. 5). Lack of research generation is yet another factor as to why such organizations lag behind. The Arab region has been placed in the lowest bottom, after Africa, since it comprises 3.99% of research and think tanks in the world.

Even though Lebanese civil society shares a similar background with its neighboring countries, but it differs as Lebanon passed through a period of civil war. It was during this time that Lebanese civil society was inactive; hence, a strong communal society was formed. This society or as it is known in Arabic “mujtama’ ahli” along with the vibrant sectarian roots consigned the matters of personal status “to the jurisdiction of sectarian rather than civil courts” (Clark and Salloukh, 2013, P. 738). This was established in 1936 and enforced in Decree 60 giving religious and community leaders the rights of the Personal Status Law. Thus, the seed of the major problem that Lebanon is facing now was fostered (Clark and Salloukh, 2013). But after the civil war, Lebanese civil society transformed into organizations that help rebuild the country and bring forth reform. Furthermore, it was during this time that associations for the rights of women and children were established as a result of international treaties (ESCWA, 2010).

In the 1990s, the Ministry of Interior, responsible for NGOs tried to restrict the freedom and activities of many of these organizations. But NGOs took their case to court and were successful enough to get rid of many restrictions. As a result, Lebanese NGOs bloomed in areas of the environment, civil peace and civil reform but kept

lagging in policy making as a result of the sectarian environment. Due to this environment, civil society has two different types of relation with the Lebanese government when it comes to social issues. One of collaboration and another of confrontation.

A huge obstacle facing Lebanese civil society is namely the absence of a volunteer culture topped with a weak culture of citizenship in a country that been plagued by instability (ESCWA, 2010).

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A. NGOs and The Policy Making Process

“Greater than the tread of mighty armies is an idea whose time has come”

An idea whose time has come is the product of continuous protests and advocacy on behalf of the activists resulting in a shift in the public’s opinion and in the persuasion of the politicians (Kingdon, 1995). This is professed as problem identification, the very first step of the public policy process. This process has multiple stages initiating with identification of problem; agenda setting; policy formulation (providing a set of alternatives); policy adoption (adopting one of the alternatives); policy implementation and policy evaluation (Kingdon, 1995). Throughout these stages, attention is required to the different actors who play important roles in the process.

But what is public policy? It is a complex process and a durable one to define. The literature review provides a set of definitions on policy but still fails to reach a unified definition. But the simplest explanation of policy is what the government “chooses to do or not to do” (Birkland, P.20). Moreover, this public policy offers knowledge and answers to those who want to know how decisions are formed that eventually affects their lives.

What is Agenda-Setting? An agenda is a place that holds a group of various issues placed in accordance to their importance. Moreover agendas are fluid where issues fall and rise at different points in time (Dearing Rogers). An issue is defined as when two or different parties disagree upon “procedural or substantive matters relating

to the distribution of positions or resources”(Dearing Rogers, P. 2). Moreover, to comprehend why issues climb or fall on the agenda, it is necessary to understand the reason behind the parties’ contention (Dearing Rogers).

According to Birkland (2001) “Agenda setting is the process by which problems and alternative solutions gain or loose public and elite attention” (P.106). There exists a fierce competition between the various groups trying to set the agenda by placing their issues in the forefront knowing that “no society or political system can address all issues” at a single time. Therefore these groups who need to succeed in doing so need to provide solutions to the problems they present. Hence, agenda is the combination of problems related to citizens, their solutions as well as symbols that have been recognized by both the public and the politicians (Birkland, 2001).

An important factor for issues to be placed on the agenda is media coverage. With the absence of public exposure, social problems fall far away from politician’s agenda. This is clearly seen in Roger and Dearings (1996) definition of issues as a problem facing society, stirring conflict amongst different parties and receiving the attention of the media. Moreover, they stated that agenda setting is part of the political process where issues raise and fall on their advocators. To sum up, agenda setting is a competitive process where the various advocates of issues compete for the rise of their issues by competing for the attention of the media, the people, and the political figures. The agenda-setting process is made up of three salient interchangeable modules: the media agenda, the public agenda and the policy agenda.

Advocators of an issue should struggle and compete with one another to place their social problem on the three agendas accordingly. Therefore, salience is the key word to describe agenda setting. If an issue successfully gains salience on the media

agenda, it is successfully transferred unto the public agenda for the media informs the public on what to think of, which in turn lands on policy agenda.

The policy agenda is the last stage of the agenda setting process and it symbolizes the outcome of the influence of both media and public agendas (Rogers and Dearings, 1996).

According to Birkland (2001), an agenda has different levels starting with Agenda universe, Systemic agenda, and Institutional agenda and Decision agenda. The first level is considered to be the largest of all levels where it contains the sum of all issues and problems suggested by the public. If such issues are to be accepted by politicians, they are thus transformed into the Systemic agenda. When decision makers start considering such issues they are instantly transferred unto the Institutional agenda. Finally, fewer issues are then approved and transferred unto the last level of an agenda for a decision.

Moving an issue from the Systemic to the Institutional agenda is the ultimate goal of many competitive groups as well as keeping other issues off the agenda (Birkland, 2001)

Similarly to Roger and Dearings (1996), Birkland (2001) asserts that policy change takes place at the last level: the decision agenda. For this particular reason, the different groups push their issues closer towards this level; whereas, the opposing groups of this same issue block it from advancing towards this stage (Birkland, 2001).

Non-governmental organizations play a pivotal role in the policy making process. As stated above, an issue is placed at the last levels of agenda as an outcome of both media and public agendas. But both agendas are the direct result of advocating NGOs.

“ Politicians and policy-makers rarely take action on their own account. They are subject to winds of change... the harder the wind blows, the more they change.” (Casey, 1988, P. 1).

This quote signifies the major role NGOs play in affecting politicians and the policy process. When these organizations succeed in transforming the public into informed citizens and mobilizing them, the more they affect policy (Casey, 19988).

B. Influence of NGOs on Policy

In this chapter, the researcher reviews the literature to answer how NGOs participate and influence the policy process. Many scholars indicated that NGOs impact policy only when they advocate. Many scholars have given many definitions to the term impact. The definitions vary from “improving the livelihoods of beneficiaries” to long-term changes induced by a certain kind of intervention. This intervention is in the form of a project or planned activity (INTRAC, 2001, p. 1).

For advocating NGOs to succeed in influencing policy on a national level, several factors have to be taken into consideration.

1. Factors external to the government

Governments are pressured by external factors to either change policy or hinder it. Some of these factors are culture, political system, socioeconomic environment and international obligations ‘declarations’. Hence, an analysis of such an environment is necessary to understand how much can NGOs impact policy (Spencer, 2006 and Casey, 1988).

2. Factors internal to the government

Predisposition of some ministers to the advocating NGO and its issue. Ministers can exert their influence when it comes to policy options and incremental change; thus, NGOs need to lobby ministers (Spencer, 2006; Casey, 1988).

3. Internal and External actors

Internal refers to governmental actors as the legislative and judicial branch as well as parliamentarians. External actors refer to Lobbyists, interest groups, powerful individuals and experts (those working behind scenes). Moreover, researchers, academics and consultants are considered experts in the field and are capable of influencing policy. NGOs have to target and work with these internal and external actors to succeed in impacting policy (Casey, 1988; Burstein and Linton, 2002 and Spencer, 2006).

4. Public opinion and social movements

Public opinion has the greatest effect on policy when the majority of the citizens are informed of and are interested about an issue (Casey, 1988 and Burstein and Linton). But when the public is unresponsive about an issue, the politicians no longer feel pressure and are left free to decide “on the basis of their ideologies” (Burstein and Linton, 2002, P. 384). Social movements or organized actions are viewed to have a certain impact on policy since they represent the people’s belief in change (Burstein and Linton, 2002). Hence, advocating NGOs need to raise public awareness targeting different audiences and build coalitions to have better chances in impacting policy.

5. Organizational capacity

Refers to an organization's skills, human resources, financial resources, leadership and status (Casey, 1988; Burstein and Linton; and INTRAC 2001). Moreover, a clear goal and management is required as well. As for status, NGOs are termed as 'insiders' when they are bestowed with a legitimate status and respect from politicians along with privileged access to committees. Other scholars suggest that research capabilities and knowledge in the field of policy and its practice equates NGOs as policy actors. Other scholars believe that conducting workshops, where other participants can provide effective information on an issue, along with self-evaluation yields better results for an NGO. When NGOs acquire such capacities along with the capacity of creating new activities that attract the attention of media and politicians will they impact policy (Casey, 1988; Burstein and Linton, 2002 and Spencer, 2006).

6. Legitimacy

It is vital for politicians to view an NGO as legitimate. An NGO is considered legitimate if it represents people who are affected by an issue. Moreover, an NGO must have an extensive knowledge on the issue it advocates. Finally, it needs to be labeled as a service provider. This is how an NGO is considered legitimate in the eyes of policy makers (Spencer, 2006).

7. Media

There have been different views on the media as an actor in the policy process. Some view it as having an independent agenda than others where they express their own thoughts on an issue. Others, view it as having the ability to influence the agenda

(public or policy). If media supports an NGO in advocating for a cause, the latter impacts policy. Furthermore, when NGOs

According to Burstein and Linton (2002), there isn't much information to validate which of the above has the greatest impact or at least "how much impact" is expected to have on policy (p. 383). INTRAC (2001) recommended NGOs to conduct frequent monitoring and evaluation of their systems and projects since no specific way exists to measure the impact of the NGO. The authors call for future research on the topic.

In the first half of this chapter, the researcher reviewed the literature that seeks to explain how NGOs advocate. In doing so, it became possible in this second half to explore how NGOs that advocate can impact policy as most of the information has been outlined earlier as separate elements. The researcher will explore how NGOs participate in the policy process through a framework analysis. This framework will integrate all the factors that need to be considered for NGOs to impact policy (explained above) and to have a better understanding of the policy process. The researcher chose Kingdon's Multiple Stream Framework as it embodies many of the factors the researcher wishes to explore as well as how is policy made under mysterious circumstances, as is the case of policy in Lebanon.

C. The Multiple Stream Framework (Conceptual Model)

According to Birkland (2001) public policy is best summarized as "what the government intends to do or not to do" (P. 132). When enough citizens and decision makers have been persuaded that a certain problem needs to be addressed, a policy is underway. Therefore, this policy will be created to serve a goal or a set of goals.

Birkland refers to John Kingdon's Multiple Stream Framework (MSF) as a model of policy process that describes how problems are introduced and pushed further into the agenda while Roger and Dearing referred to Kingdon's model as the best way to illustrate solutions to a certain problem through "window of opportunity" (Roger Dearing, 1996, p. 72).

One of the classical books in the field of policy is Kingdon's *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies*. In it he illustrates the streams metaphor in his Multiple Streams Framework- MSF (Birkland, 2001). The following section deals with three policy processes: problems, policies and politics. It will explain how issues land on the agenda while others do not and why they become prominent. Moreover, each stream is constituted of individuals, institutions and a group of people who have an impact on policy. The three streams run in parallel with each other, yet they are independent. When the streams meet, then a "window of opportunity" is created enhancing the chances for policy change (Birkland, 2001, p223).

1. Participants in the policy process

The participants (individuals or groups) are of two types: participants inside and outside the government.

Participants inside the government termed as "official players" refer to the legislative, executive and judicial branches of a government. Whereas the "unofficial" players or participants outside the government are those who have "no legal duty" and refers to many players as stated below (Kingdon, 1995; Birkland, 2001)

2. Individual citizens

Are amongst the list of unofficial actors. Citizens who either relate or feel threatened from an issue are easily mobilized to voice their concerns. Mobilization is regarded as the most significant and highest political participation for the individual citizen. Whereas, low rates of participation have been found when it comes to lobbying, attending hearings or even joining peaceful demonstrations. The reasons vary from indifference to the general belief that other citizens will interfere and solve the problem.

3. Public opinion

Is as important as elections when it comes to governmental agenda. “Public opinion may sometimes direct government to do something, but it more often constrains government from doing something” (Kingdon, 1995, P. 65). The public opinion (citizens’) agenda is being affected by the governmental agenda (politicians). The media sheds light on the politicians’ activities and what they have to say on an issue; hence, public opinion is affected (Kingdon, 1995).

4. The Media

Since media affects greatly the opinion of the public since it covers and reports rather than creates, it is considered to have far greater power when it comes to the public opinion agendas than governmental ones (Kingdon; 1995; Birkland, 2001). They either shed light on an issue, giving it importance or they simply ignore it. The media is employed by interest groups in “shaping the debate” (Birkland, 2001, P. 207).

It is viewed as an important tool for providing information and acting as a “watchdog” over the actions of government (Birkland, 2001, p, 50).

Politicians, like citizens, follow the media and are influenced by it. But the media has a less impact on the policy agenda due to the fact that it covers a story for a short period of time before moving to another. Moreover, media communicates those who are inside with those who are outside the government and vice versa (Kingdon, 1995).

5. Interest Groups

In the policy process, media is not the only vital participant but interest groups are considered major players as well. The influence of such groups lay in their efforts as an organized group rather than individuals (Birkland, 2001). There are different types of interest groups that vary from business, labor and professional groups to governmental officials who lobby. In agenda setting, these groups have either a positive or negative impact (Kingdon, 1995). Some groups are stronger than others varying on their knowledge, information and financial resources. Depending on such resources, interest groups initiate social movements and lobby politicians (Birkland, 2001). It takes more than interest groups to place an issue on the agenda, but these groups are renowned for their attempts on blocking issues away from the agenda or proposing amendments to issues already placed there. In other words, they either advocate for an issue or block it (Kingdon, 1995).

6. Academics, Researchers and Consultants

Directly after the influence of interest groups comes that of academics, researchers and consultants. Politicians and committees entrust consultants and prominent researchers to advise them in their meeting or “advisory panels” (Kingdon,

1995, p. 54). Independent research organizations (think tanks) with qualified researchers and experts on policy providing information to politicians are influential as well (Birkland, 2001).

After discussing the different players and their roles in the policy process, an in depth explanation of Kingdon's policy model is to be explained in the following section.

D. The Garbage Can Model

Kingdon based his masterpiece the Multiple Stream Framework on Michael Cohen, James March and Johan Olsen's "garbage can model of organizational choice". He altered and revised his model by adding some of his own ideas. He described the government as an organized anarchy similarly to what Cohen, March and Olsen described the university to be. But Kingdon's model differed from theirs as he added three independent streams that run through the government and are coupled together when a window opens signifying "the greatest agenda change" (Kingdon, 1995, P. 87). Moreover, he explained the streams as the problems recognized by producing proposals through their engagement in political activities as campaigns and lobbying (Kingdon, 1995).

E. The Three Streams

1. Problem Stream

Kingdon answers the question of why some problems get more recognition than others. He referred to indicators, focusing events, crisis and symbols as well as feedback.

Indicators: Are problems that are presented either by the government or non-governmental organizations through routine monitor of activities or due to conducting research. Indicators are very powerful straightforward facts, which can be either research or numbers.

Focusing events, crisis and symbols: Sometimes these problems, even though interpreted, need a little push to grab attention. Hence, focusing events are epitomized by crises, disaster a symbol or the experience of a policy official or important people. It is no accident that some problems receive attention more than others. It is the result of effortless work and time invested by activists.

Feedback: What brings attention to problems as well is feedback that politicians get after some programs or policies have been implemented.

Finally, a condition becomes a problem when the need to do something about it surfaces.

2. Policy Stream

Ideas are compared to soup, the policy primeval soup. An idea becomes prominent when activists push for it. Advocates of an issue are situated inside and outside of the government as research organizations, politicians and interest groups. They advocate out of the need to create solutions to a problem, which is labeled as a pet solution since it is their personal interest to advocate for personal gains.

In the policy community, politicians argue or agree with each other on the issue at hand after weighing its political costs and both its pros and cons. Based on this, some politicians keep the issue from moving up the governmental agenda. As such, ideas fail

to surface to the policy community because it opposes “ideological currents” (Kingdon, 1995, P. 127).

According to Kingdon “ideas fade in and fade out, they never go away”. (P. 141). He adds that issues rise from the governmental to the decision agenda only if alternatives are attached to it.

3. Political Stream

The political stream follows both the problem and policy streams. Public mood, pressure groups and elections are what compose this stream. These elements play a pivotal impact on the policy process.

National Mood: or “the anti-government mood” is also known as “changes in public opinion and social movements” (Kingdon, 1995, p.146). For social movements to have impact on policy, they need to be highly organized and be guided by strong leadership to affect the public’s mood.

Pressure groups: This term encompasses political elites and interest groups. What provides an issue with strength is the consensus or disagreement of politicians and interest groups. Furthermore, a vital change occurs on the agenda when changes of positions between politicians take place or when politicians have a change in priorities. This is what Kingdon termed as turnover, which is greatly influential with change with change of administration.

4. The policy window: Coupling of the three streams

“ People who are trying to advocate change are like surfers waiting for the big wave. You get out there, you have to be ready to go, you have to be ready to paddle. If

you're not ready to paddle when the big wave comes along, you're not going to ride it in" (Kingdon, 1995, P. 165).

This big wave is what Kingdon referred to as the policy window where advocates push forward their solutions for recognition. Sometimes, this window is either predictable or unpredictable. But one thing for sure is that this window does not stay open for long. In other words, the window presents a glimpse of hope where advocates launch their proposals and solutions.

In general, the problem and political streams affect the agenda whereas the policy stream affects the alternatives. When change occurs in the political stream (shift in national mood, change in administration, turnover, redistribution of seat) a window opens.

With the opening of a window, the time of "an idea has come" as stated at the very beginning of the chapter (Kingdon, 1995, P. 169). This window does not stay open for long; thus, if activists do not take advantage and act quickly they will fail to achieve success. This is seen in the case of turnover or change of personnel where activists "should strike while the iron is still hot" (Kingdon, 1995, P. 170).

5. Coupling

Coupling indicates to the coupling of the three streams. Policy entrepreneurs are those advocating their ideas in the primeval soup employing their time, energy, money and reputation to promote an issue. An entrepreneur can be a lobbyist, an academic or a senate but needs to be equipped with good communication skills as well as good connections with politicians. Finally, persuasion and persistency are significant

attributes for entrepreneurs and as Kingdon (1995, P. 181) said they should be able “to talk a dog off a meat wagon”.

Only then can an idea’s time come and be pushed forward into the agenda setting process.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

When conducting social science research, a case study is one of the various methods that can be employed. This method is to be used when a researcher poses the 'how' and 'why' questions; has little control over events being investigated or when describing modern-day phenomenon. Robert Yin describes case studies as an insightful method on providing immense information related to the various kinds of phenomenon whether social, political or organizational in nature targeting a person or a group. Moreover, Yin regards such a method as the most perplexing within social sciences (Yin, 2009).

A. Case Study

Linda Mabry defines the case study method as an investigation of an enclosed phenomenon. But adds that this form of method is employed to better understand a group of citizen's attempt to address a social problem in their society, to evaluate the effectiveness of a specific program, or to grasp the consequences of policy (Marby, 2008).

Yin compares case studies to that of history as in describing, reporting and exploring events and cases. The two major differences between the two lies in the fact that case studies examine modern-day events, with the ability of direct observation and interviewing key players as well as those involved (Yin, 2009).

After defining what a case study is, the following step would be to address how cases are selected. Mabry answers the following question by referring to the researcher's topic of interest and his capability of building an informative case. Moreover, she adds that when employing a case study, the researcher should keep in mind the importance of context for there exists a strong relationship between a context and a case.

A context is defined as the social, political, cultural and ideological elements that have shaped the case at hand. There are different kinds of case studies, but "a typical case study" has been selected for this thesis (Mabry, 2008, P. 217). When a portion of society is concerned with a social issue, this type of a case study is best employed to document a series of events taking place as well as analyzing its context and its participants' opinions (P, 217). Hence, atypical cases prove best instructive and applicable when a phenomenon demonstrate contrasting attitudes and advocate for alternatives and change.

Since case studies are explanatory, exploratory and descriptive, the researcher's form of questions starts with 'why' and 'how'. After identifying these questions, the researcher's next task is to establish a research design described as a logical plan or the "blue print" that will aid the researcher to go from one point to another (Yin, 2009, P. 27).

B. Unit of Analysis and Unit of Observation

Based on how the research questions that have been defined, the unit of analysis will be selected. Hence, this unit will define what the case 'problem' is and who or what will be taken as the unit of analysis. A unit of analysis may vary from taking an

individual(s), an organization(s), a decision(s), a community(s), or small groups as the subject being studied (Yin, 2009). This research will be taking the Collective for Research and Training on Development-Action (CRTD-A), a non-governmental organization, as the unit of analysis. The ‘why’ question behind taking CRTD-A as a case study is that it advocates to change the discriminatory Lebanese Nationality Law against women. ‘How’ CRTD-A is planning to affect policy and produce change in the nationality law is through advocating means and strategies. In addition, to CRTD-A as the unit of analysis, there are other individuals that constitute this unit as experts or those working in the field of women’s rights in Lebanon, specifically nationality rights, and policy-makers.

Since this research is focused on the nationality rights for Lebanese women, the researcher has adopted CRTD-A as a case study to explore how does this organization advocate to affect policy and how is this change seen in the nationality law. Silverman (2010) explains that the interview subjects can be purposively selected as well from those who have knowledge on the research. Therefore, Interview subjects have been selected from experts on the issue initiating with CRTD-A as the case study to experts on advocacy (organizations and media) as well as policy officials and institutes in Lebanon. The research questions were developed and face-to-face interviews were conducted with 21 interviewees.

C. Research Sampling

Since there lays a certain purpose behind selecting a case study, random selection will not facilitate for the collection of informative data. But purposive selection based on reputation, location, demographics or other selection criteria will

lead to information needed. Purposive selection does not lead to information that can be generalized; rather it contributes to a better knowledge of the problem and the results can be applicable beyond this given case (Mabry, 2008; Babbie, 1990). The selection of informants for this study was done through purposive sampling. Thus the interviewees who were chosen, and willingly participated in this research, included members of CRTD-A, other NGOs, politicians, policy institutes and researchers, as well as media personnel. The purpose of such a sample is to obtain information from informed participants on this research.

D. Data Collection

After choosing the unit of analysis and deciding on the sampling of the research, a set of research questions were developed and face-to-face interviews were conducted with 21 respondents. The names and contact information for the interview subjects were gathered from sources available in the public domain, for example, newspaper articles, official reports, and websites. An e-mail containing information of the researcher along with the consent form was sent to all the participants. It informed participants about the purpose of the research and had asked them whether they were willing to participate. They were also informed about the anonymous nature of the study, and their right to withdraw from the research at any point. The consent form can be found in Appendix I.

The researcher resorts to choosing the analytical techniques to start collecting data. This stage varies from a more experienced researcher to a less experienced one. In other words, the more experienced the researcher is, the more accurate he is in choosing his analytical techniques and the amount of data needed for his research (Yin, 2009). Several scholars in the field of social sciences agreed that when a researcher adopts a

case study with a qualitative approach, three main data collection methods are to be employed for gathering information: observation, interviews and analysis of information cited on websites or documents (Mabry, 2008).

1. Interviews

One of the most prominent sources of information comes from interviews (Yin, 2009).

Question Development: Successful data collection depends on having a comprehensive questionnaire covering the objectives of a research. A perfect questionnaire cannot be achieved by anyone. But researchers should keep in mind the basic guidelines of writing a sound questionnaire as having clear and simple terms. Writing the questions and structuring them is pivotal as it facilitates the flow of information given by the respondents (de Leeuw, 2008). The questions written for this study were directed towards three groups: CRTD-A and other NGOs, Policy institutes and politicians, and media personnel. The three list of questionnaires were developed to gather sufficient information needed to answer this study's main question. Furthermore, each list of questionnaire contained sub questions in addition to a 'yes' or 'no' questions to increase the clearness of the questions. The three list of questionnaires are in English and can be found in Appendix II.

Structured Interviews: There is a main difference between self-administered questions and structured interviews. The latter refers to an interview taking place with the presence of an interviewer. Moreover, structured interviews contain content and responses than that of self-administered. The main reason behind this increase is

attributed to the interviewer who encourages his respondents to cooperate and give data needed (de Leeuw, 2008).

Semi-structured interviews and open-ended questions allow the researcher to “follow up on questions and exploration of topics unanticipated by the interviewer”(Mabry, 2008, P. 218).

These methods assist the researcher in investigating and digging deeper into information through direct interviews rather than “jumping into interpretation” (Mabry, 2008, P. 218). During interviews, the investigator needs to be consistent to his questions especially that open-ended questions stimulate a fluid rather than a rigid conversation (Yin, 2009). This research adopted semi-structured interviews and open-ended questions to increase the intake of information.

Face-to-Face Interviews: “Are the most flexible form of data collection method” (de Leeuw, 2008, P. 317). They allow the interviewer to motivate the respondents and encourage their flow of information. But at certain instances when sensitive questions are asked, the respondent might be hesitant or feel pressured. Face-to-face interviews “are the Rolls Royce of data collection” (p.318). In other words, similar to the car these questions demand time and attention.

When interviewing, the researcher should keep in mind the interviewees’ schedule and ability for interviews, not his. The interviews for this study were conducted in the offices of the respondents and in accordance to their convenient time. The questions, found in Appendix II, targeted many areas. The first proposed list of questions collected data on the nationality problem in Lebanon and on the advocacy skills of civil society in general and that of CRTD-A in particular. The second list of

questions inquired about the role of media in advocacy and on the relationship between media and civil society in Lebanon. The last list of questions investigated the role of policy institutes and research in the policy making process. To understand how policy is formed in Lebanon, a set of questions targeted the policy process formation and how CRTD-A influenced the nationality law. The length of the interviews varied between forty minutes to an hour.

Moreover, the questions will be of an open-ended nature, but the researcher should make certain that the respondents stick to the “agenda set by the questions” (Yin, 2009). When interviewing respondents with open-ended questions, recording the responses is highly recommended for transcribing purposes (Babbie, 1990). For this study, the researcher acquired the respondents’ consent for recording the interview and on the same day a verbatim transcription was conducted.

2. Direct Observation

Another source of information is direct observation. This tactic allows the researcher to observe and look for evidence. Participant-observation allows the investigator not only to observe but also participate in the events of the case being scrutinized (Yin, 2009). The researcher attended two of the protests held by CRTD-A in Beirut, Lebanon to observe and gain knowledge on how protests are conducted by this organization.

3. Documentation

A case study’s pertinent source of information comes in many forms: administrative documents, progress reports, studies done on the same case study taken

by the researcher, or new clippings (Yin, 2009). For this study, the respondents provided the researcher with reports (statistical and legal) as well as studies conducted by CRTD-A and other local and international organizations on the nationality law and feminist organizations for a deeper understanding of the issue.

4. Archival records

Is information-retrieved form the Internet and includes statistical data provided by the government or records provided by an organization regarding its clients and services (Yin, 2009). The researcher accessed CRTD-A's website to collect information on its services that extends from electronic newsletters to monthly reports and ends with legal and empowerment programs for women.

After briefly exploring the multiple sources of data collection, investigators are encouraged to employ more than one of the above sources. But the researcher has to be very careful when taking multiple sources of data collection and needs to triangulate the data in order for the evidence to converge (Yin, 2009). Mabry (2008) emphasizes the importance of triangulation as well and suggest employing methodological triangulation which checks the compatibility of data collected via different methods.

The researcher employs methodological triangulation, which combines interviews, documents and observation to attain the best information and cross check them.

E. Data Coding and Analysis

When interviews are transcribed, the researcher is faced with sheer volume of texts loaded with information that cannot under any circumstance be understood. But with coding, a clear pattern of information is reached; thus, a theory can be developed. There isn't a "right way" when it comes to coding the texts. Researchers, especially beginners, feel paralyzed at this stage with the amount of information that lays before them not knowing which information to quote or leave out (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003, P. 32). Therefore, when coding, it is vital for the researcher to be able to document his interpretation with quotes and samples from the text itself. The researcher employed holistic coding, by reading the transcribed texts and "absorbing them as a whole", as a dominant theme rather than coding line by line (Saldans, 2010, P. 118).

At the early stages of coding, the researcher cannot form a link between the transcribed texts and the research questions. This is best described in the phase "swimming to shore: small steps to understand data" (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003, P. 35).

The first step in coding, known as relevant text, is to find relevant data to the research questions. The second step, termed repeating ideas, takes place after selecting the relevant texts where certain repetitive ideas and phrases are detected. Amongst these repetitive ideas, a recurring theme can be detected. When these themes are grouped together they form theoretical constructs (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003).

Similarly, Braun and Clarke (2006), during coding, refer to thematic analysis as well. They stated that it can be inductive, deductive or even both. In other words, the themes can originate from the researcher's "own theoretical understandings" or from the "respondent themselves" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, P. 18).

Moreover, themes are divided into semantic and latent levels. Semantic themes are explicit data directly identified by the researcher when coding. Whereas, latent themes are “underlying ideas” identified by the researcher after “looking beyond what a participant has said” (Braun and Clarke, 2006, P. 19). The researcher was able, after multiple readings of the transcribed texts, to detect three themes that answer the main question of this thesis. The themes revolved around the nationality law, advocacy skills and policy. Moreover, the researcher directly identified some themes especially those pertaining to advocacy strategies. While other themes, related to policy and how CRTD-A influenced the nationality law was both inductive and deductive.

When analyzing the themes, the researcher needs to be familiar with the content. This is the result of multiple readings of the data and keeping in mind the possibility of both semantic and latent themes. A researcher is then ready to form initial codes after being familiarized with the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

The last stage of coding is the theoretical narrative, which gaps the bridge between the questions of a researcher and the “subjective” experience and response from the participants (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003, P. 40).

Thematic analysis is defined as an approach or method employed in analyzing qualitative data. Thematic analysis is defined as “a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data.” (Braun and Clarke, 2006, P. 6). Moreover, it allows the researcher to organize, describe and interpret data. Some authors even consider it a tool to be employed by qualitative researchers (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Many scholars agree it is very common to have themes emerging while analyzing the data. Others refer to thematic analysis as an “exciting” process any researcher feels when analyzing interviews and reporting the information to the readers (Braun and

Clarke, 2006. P.7). Braun and Clarke (2006) define a theme as an idea that captures within it “something important in relation to the overall research question(s)” (P.10). As for the amount of information needed to constitute a theme, the literature suggests that there isn’t any specific proportion. It is sufficient to find information and evidence for themes while coding. Coding is a term that might insinuate “a routine mechanical process” (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003). But there is nothing mechanical when it comes to coding; rather it is the development of theory. Moreover, sub-themes may emerge as well. For this study, thematic analysis is the method employed by the researcher to identify, organize and group the huge amount of data disseminated by the interviews. It is considered an efficient process where the researcher initiated the coding process by the holistic method grouping the data into three groups: the nationality problem, advocating NGOs and NGOs’ influence on policy. This process facilitated the emergence of themes; thus, their analysis.

F. Limitations of the study

The NGOs that were included in this study do not represent the full population of the active NGOs advocating in Lebanon whether for nationality rights or other issues.

Access to participants as politicians and decision makers was a hard task. Some politicians never replied back while others were unavailable for interviews. Hence, the number of interviewees decreased for this thesis. The researcher was aiming to interview several politicians on the policy process and its mechanism in Lebanon, but the research institutes and think tanks interviewed were in the process of working on this topic and were unable to provide the researcher with clear answers.

But a sample of academicians, policy experts, non-governmental organizations (including CRTD-A) as well as media personnel provided sufficient answers for this research.

Since this research takes CRTD-A as a case study, the respondents of this organization may have been bias while providing information. But the researcher interviewed other participants in the different fields to check information provided.

But the researcher asked the other interviewees on the work of CRTD-A and stated the facts as they are.

All forms of empirical social research needs to be tested on the quality of their research design. There are four different kinds of tests summarized as: construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability. These extensively used tests are applicable to case studies and should be dealt with throughout a case study.

Internal validity is applicable to quasi-experimental case studies who intend to explain ‘how’ and ‘why’ some events /conditions might affect and lead to other events /conditions. To obtain internal validity is challenging. The researcher and while analyzing data should employ tactics as matching patterns, building a chain of explanatory information as well as using “logic models” (Yin, 2009, P. 43).

While, external validity lays in the design of a research where the findings are tested for generalizations and applicability.

The researcher succeeded in securing internal validity through employing multiple methods of gaining information but the following research is conducted on CRTD-A and thus cannot be generalized unto other Lebanese organizations.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The following chapter will present the results of the thematic analysis. Hence, it will be divided into three main sections guided by three main themes. Given this, the three themes are as follows: (1) The nature of the nationality problem in Lebanon, (2) the strategies adopted to bring change to the nationality law (3) to what extent has change been seen in this law in terms of policy? Moreover, these themes are based on the literature discussed earlier, answering the basic questions that guide this thesis, by applying advocacy strategies and policy process to the case study ‘CRTD-A’ that has advocated to change the nationality law in Lebanon.

A. The nature of the nationality problem in Lebanon

This section presents the viewpoints and facts on the nature of the nationality problem in Lebanon as presented by those who advocate for and support women’s rights to nationality. In other words, it answers ‘why’ CRTD-A has advocated for change in Lebanon.

All the respondents unanimously agreed that the Lebanon is not a country that upholds women’s rights, as women do not have equal status to men. “Lebanon is incredibly backwards in terms of even recognizing equality as a concept,” emphasized Respondent 13, executive director of an NGO. Moreover, Respondent 20, a journalist with more than 15 years of experience, referred to women as marginalized groups in Lebanon similar to children and refugees. The respondent asserted that women are not

considered as equal citizens to men but are rather part of the family unit where women are still being viewed as those who belong to their fathers or husbands. With this attitude, women can never achieve their individual personal rights. Respondent 14, associate director of an institute dedicated to activism and citizenship, agreed to how women are perceived noting that they will never be regarded as equal citizens to their male counterparts. Hence, it is a matter of culture ingrained in the collective mentality of the Lebanese population. A culture fortified in a patriarchal society privileging men over women. In addition to the patriarchal culture, Respondent 20 referred to religion as the dominant law governing the lives of its citizens, which discriminates between the sexes as well. As a result, discriminatory legislation against women has been formed. This discrimination, in favor of men, is a violation of the most fundamental human rights as is the case with the Lebanese nationality law. Moreover, the respondent described this law as being both sexist and racist towards women.

As lawyer with more than 30 years of experience, Respondent 5 explained the nationality law as that which does not grant women, on equal basis with men, the rights to confer their nationality to both their children and husbands alike. The respondent continued to explain in legal terms that this law does not only differentiate between men and women but even between Lebanese and foreign women. Moreover, when a foreign mother is married to a Lebanese, she will be (1) naturalized after one year of her marriage, and (2) allowed to transmit her Lebanese nationality to her under-aged children from previous marriages.

As the aforementioned, men and women do not enjoy the same rights and privileges under the law, even though equality is one of the founding principles in the Lebanese constitution. Respondent 2, communication and legal unit officer at an NGO,

indicated that the constitution, the highest law in Lebanon, explicitly recognizes equality between men and women. In addition, Respondent 7, American activist married to a Lebanese woman, referred to Article 7 of the constitution that reads, “All Lebanese shall be equal before the law. They shall equally enjoy civil and political rights and shall equally be bound by public obligations and duties without any distinction.” If the constitution does not apply; hence, a legal system does not exist, added the respondent. In a similar vein, respondent 13 described equality as a non-binding principle since it is not being implemented. Despite the lingering fact of equality between the sexes, the reality remains that Lebanese women are being discriminated against in the nationality case.

As previously stated, discrimination against women is related to the patriarchal and religious structure in Lebanon. But the pivotal cause of discrimination against women in the nationality case is the government’s fear of a religious shift in the demographic balance as indicated by Respondent 20 and Respondent 2. This fear has been directly linked to the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon who are viewed as the main reason for tipping the sectarian balance. As a response to this idea, many respondents referred to the statistical report, conducted by CRTD-A, on the number of Lebanese women married to foreigners. These numbers verified that the percentage of women married to Palestinians is amongst the lower percentages. A tangible proof that these fears are not substantiated explained the respondents.

As a final note on the Palestinian issue, Respondent 13 concluded that equality, in the constitution, is not a binding principle since its implementation constitutes a threat to higher national interests in Lebanon.

Withholding nationality back from Lebanese women had serious ramifications on the family unit. These challenges include health, education, residency, work and even psychological dilemmas. Respondent 10, a political activist and founder of a feminist NGO, called for the cease of such suffering by granting women the right to nationality.

Some mothers resort to registering their children, from foreign husbands, as their own servants just to provide them with residency and work permits. This extreme ramification presented by Respondent 2 signifies the desperation of some Lebanese mothers in their attempt to keep their children close to them. In other cases, some Lebanese mothers register their children as their own siblings under their parent's name. A problem perceived by Respondent 6, a feminist lawyer.

According to the Lebanese nationality law, Article 2, only children out of wedlock to a Lebanese mother will be granted nationality rights. Hence, on the basis of this Article, many mothers are forced to falsify their claims by presenting their own children as those born out of wedlock, denoted Respondent 2.

A way to overcome and address these challenges is through advocating for women's rights to nationality. Many feminist NGOs have been calling for women's basic human rights in Lebanon as well as the right to nationality. CRTD-A is one of those NGOs that have launched "Lebanese Women's Right to Nationality and Full Citizenship" in 2005. According to CRTD-A's website the objectives of such a campaign: (1) is to raise public awareness, (2) mobilize both men and women in their demand to reform the current nationality law, (3) and lift all the reservations placed by the Lebanese government on CEDAW (CRTD-A, 2015).

In an interesting remark, Respondent 5 indicated that CRTD-A, and prior to the launch of their campaign, gathered many activists including fellow NGOs to join their struggle for gender equality. A struggle that is still going on demanding the right of full nationality and citizenship for Lebanese women and their families without any forms of exclusions and restrictions.

B. The strategies adopted to bring change to the Lebanese nationality law

Since the respondents came from diverse professional backgrounds, they presented multiple strategies and techniques on how Lebanese non-governmental organizations can induce change. Such strategies are grouped under the broad title of advocacy and will be presented in the following sections. The respondents shared a similar attitude when enquired about advocacy in Lebanon by describing it as a frustrating process, particularly in the presence of a weak government that is ingrained in religious laws and does not react to the culture of accountability.

1. Research and Organizational capacity

Research is viewed as the very first step of the advocacy process. One of the very first prevalent findings shared by the respondents, on this particular issue, is the scarcity of research and statistics on any given topic in Lebanon. Moreover, they highlighted the few numbers of think tanks and organizations that specialize in or provide research.

Respondent 2 stressed the importance of conducting research as the very first step for NGOs before choosing a particular cause to defend. Legal research, in particular, provides NGOs with a better understanding of an issue in terms of policy and

how to overcome future challenges. Respondent 1, advocacy and communication officer at a feminist NGO, stated that it is imperative to conduct research on the surrounding environment of an NGO including its political system. Respondent 4, a policy institute researcher, as well as Respondent 11, a member of a consulting firm in research policy and reform, revealed that the number of NGOs requesting their services in research is quite few in Lebanon.

In the case of CRTD-A, respondent 13 and respondent 2, asserted that this feminist organization conducted research prior to choosing their pressing nationality issue. Seeking professional advice, CRTD-A resorted to Mr. Ziad Baroud, Lebanon's ex-Minister of Interior and attorney, to conduct legal research on the nationality law. A legal report was the outcome of such a collaboration, which was then disseminated and made available. Another statistical study was then conducted on the number of Lebanese women married to foreign nationals. For this study, CRTD-A allocated a lawyer and succeeded in providing numerical numbers. This was proven to be a hard task since a general census of the Lebanese population hasn't been conducted in many years clarified the respondents.

Respondent 8, a consultant in a non-profit organization dedicated to assist organizations in building capacities, noted that some Lebanese organizations refuse to share their research publicly and resort to only providing the research's methodology and results. The respondent added that research should be published for others to benefit from rather than being kept in closed drawers.

Respondent 2 emphasized the importance of research, which enables an organization to select a cause and press for demands. After selecting a problematic issue for reform, an NGO is required to build a strategy enabling it to achieve its objectives,

added the respondent. Respondent 12, director of a non-profit organization dedicated to activism and freedom, agreed and added that many Lebanese NGOs have many goals and objectives. People get lost and fail to understand the NGO's main goal. Hence, clear goals and objectives are to be established. Respondent 14 indicated that clear objectives, building strong networks and solidarity are part of having a strategic planning.

Along side strategy, NGOs need to secure their organizational resources allocated to initiate their advocacy. Resources include finance, funds, staff, volunteers and time. With many years of experience in assisting Lebanese NGOs in building their capacities, respondent 8 described the three levels of training as: Managerial, Fund raising, and personal dynamic levels. The first, relates to strategic planning, management of projects and monitoring. While the second, refers to mobilizing financial resources and social marketing. The third indicates to communication skills, media and knowledge of the decision-making process. Organizations securing these levels upon establishment will have success in their advocacy process since proper advocacy is initiated only after achieving organizational development. Unfortunately, many Lebanese non-governmental organizations when seeking our aid are only interested in writing fund proposals to impress donors and rarely do they submit to the three level training workshops.

When asked about CRTD-A, respondent 8 replied that the organization must have secured most of the above-mentioned resources; hence, enabling them to conduct research, launch a nationality campaign, and build contacts with the media.

2. Public Awareness

Raising awareness is in need. It is imperative for NGOs to understand what they are raising awareness on, the type of audience they are targeting, and what do they want them to feel or think stated respondent 14.

Making the issue of nationality rights a public issue is of utmost importance. Such rights are part of human rights and if they are not made public no one will bother to talk about them. On another note, respondent 13 along with respondent 1 emphasized the importance of investing in knowledge generation. This is done through working with women on the ground and listening to their problems; publishing monthly newsletters; and issuing statements to the media concerning nationality rights. This is how proper awareness is done concluded both respondents. In the case of CRTD-A, Respondent 2 and Respondent 13 referred to the monthly newsletters that the organization issues including a public Library stationed at CRTD-A. The researcher, referred to CRTD-A's official website to obtain more information. The website is clear and organized and the newsletters along with other activities were posted on the first page. The five newsletters are: (1) Majal, an electronic newsletter, to document the social and economic policies related to civil society in Lebanon"; (2) Gender and Development, a monthly electronic bulletin, "on the news, events and research on gender and human rights;" (3) All for gender Equality, provides news on gender and human rights; (4) Nationality Campaign, to keep the public updated on the campaign; (5) Social Rights Watch, a monthly Arabic newsletter, "to raise awareness and mobilize interest and engagement with a special focus on of citizens rights to education, health and social safety" (CRTD-A, 2015).

Since, the audience constitutes a major role when raising awareness, respondent 11 pointed out that NGOs simply cannot employ the same presentations on women's rights and nationality across Lebanon. Each part of Lebanon has a specific audience that requires a different presentation and channels of communication. For instance, the women in Beirut are different than the women in the villages; thus, awareness is done in different channels.

Keeping in mind different audiences, NGOs resort to the different channels of media to reach out for the public. Many if not most of the respondents allocated media a vital role in raising awareness. When TV stations interview or host NGO members on TV to discuss their cause, the public is directly aware of its existence. Moreover, newspapers target a certain audience in the Lebanese population and raise awareness. At present, social media is considered the easiest way to access people and inform them on the issues being advocated for by NGOs.

Respondent 7 mentioned the fact that joining CRTD-A's campaigns and protests was an easy task since the organization created a special page on Facebook for all its events and news. Furthermore, the respondent pointed to twitter as the vehicle employed to galvanize the crowds. Respondent 2 agreed and mentioned the many followers CRTD-A has on its official twitter page.

Concerning women's rights to nationality, respondent 14 pointed that feminist NGOs are not personalizing the struggle. Lebanese women do not need nationality rights only because they are marrying foreigners; they are entitled to such rights, as they are their basic rights professed by international declarations. The respondent continued to state that NGOs advocating for such a cause have to believe in their capability of succeeding. In other words, you need to empower defeatism by believing in the cause

and spreading hope amongst activists and the public. Even if the issue of women's rights to nationality is a complex issue as it threatens national interest, activists need to keep trying and invoking hope in the public.

Other than patriarchy and religion being dominant factors hindering women's rights to nationality, women themselves are to be blamed for not placing much effort in demanding their rights. They are not enticed enough to stand up for their own rights. Lebanese society has categorized women as liberal enough to travel without their husbands, work in almost any field, but have placed too much effort on their beauty. The respondent concluded that even parents encourage their daughters to look beautiful rather than encouraging them to fight for their own rights. Hence, NGOs should target these young Lebanese women and raise their awareness on their own rights, especially those pertaining to nationality.

In a similar vein, respondent 10 critiqued Lebanese women as being submissive and undemanding for their rights.

Finally, the best way to raise awareness is through the younger generation. This obligation falls in the hands of NGOs and educational institutes to educate the younger minds on equality issues. When dealing with issues such as women's rights, culture and environment has been proven to be quite difficult to change. Agreeing with the above idea, Respondent 7 stated that people above 35 or 40 years of age, due to the patriarchal and religious environment, are already locked in. But CRTD-A and other NGOs stand a chance in affecting the young minds when it comes to women's rights.

Respondent 3, a member of a university research center for gender equality, applauded CRTD-A for conducting seminars and lectures in the university.

Furthermore, CRTD-A distributed CDs, containing short movies on real life stories

about women's personal struggle with the nationality law. This is how you raise awareness and gain new supporters by introducing the victims of the nationality law in order for people to sympathize and acknowledge that a problem exists.

Respondent 15, director of a civil service learning center, and Respondent 16, a civil attorney, emphasized that awareness should initiate in schools through curriculums dedicated to teach gender equality.

Respondent 17, a journalist with more than 20 years of experience in writing social issues, stated that it is not only the public who needs to be aware of a social issue but journalists as well. Some journalists go to protests and conferences without having a complete understanding of the topic. Hence, the responsibility of raising awareness and interest in journalists, for a particular issue, depends on the how much effort an NGO is willing to make. Awareness of the terms, concepts and history of an issue constitute an important factor, for if the media is aware, the public will be as well. It is imperative that media perceives nationality rights as basic human rights rather than sectarian dilemma pointed Respondent 16. Only then will the public respond to nationality as basic rights entitled to Lebanese women.

The respondents provided mixed responses when asked if CRTD-A conducts workshops for journalists to raise their awareness on the issue. Respondent 17 suggested that CRTD-A has to train journalists in the different regions of Lebanon. As a result, journalists will be better informed and more keen in following the case.

While Respondent 18, a journalist with many years of experience and a media lecturer, accredited CRTD-A for conducting useful workshops, as the respondent has been one of the trained journalists.

In conclusion, respondent 8 stressed that advocacy doesn't mean anything if the public is not prepared for a law. Preparing the public or making them aware on the importance of an issue is clearly needed especially if a law is to be formulated. If a law is formulated and the public is not ready or aware of it, they will simply not abide by it. Hence, the law must be formulated only after the public demands it.

3. Lobbying

In Lebanon and prior to 2005, there was one way to advocate: convincing the Syrian ruler stated respondent 12. Following 2005, and with the end of the Syrian dominance, Lebanon witnessed a new space for advocacy when international organizations invested in Lebanese civil society training them on modern advocacy skills. As a result, Lebanese organizations advocated following everything by the book. This was clearly seen in the period extending from 2005 till 2010. By 2010, advocating NGOs were overwhelmed by a sense of disappointment that despite all their efforts only a few legislations were modified. The respondent explained these results as culture and environment related. The environment of accountability does not exist in Lebanon. In other words, politicians and MPs do not feel accountable since at the end of the day Lebanese end up voting for them. Hence, fundamental leverage is lacking in Lebanon as the Lebanese vote for their politicians regardless of their promises and policy plans stressed the respondent.

Respondent 11 stated that advocacy in Lebanon is a hard task. The political system does not follow any rules or regulations; thus, it is hard for NGOs to create change following norms and rules. The whole point of lobbying is to threaten a

politician's interest in election. Since this situation does not apply to Lebanon, lobbying takes a different perspective as shaming and naming politicians.

NGOs engaged in shaming and naming politicians employ social media where thousands of their followers joined in placing so much pressure on politicians. The technique of shaming and naming might not be very effective, but at least citizens will realize the false promises of their politicians and how they have failed the public. Respondent 12 added that when you hammer the twitter accounts of the Lebanese president and vice president, ultimately they have to respond. Shaming and naming politicians on social media will make them realize that they are being watched and scrutinized. An interesting example of naming and shaming, continued the respondent, is when twitter activists mention Lebanese politicians along with other international media personnel as correspondents of ABC, CNN and BBC. This technique often works as it places immense pressure on local politicians.

Moreover, forced by the lack of accountability culture, some NGOs sought decision making positions rather than being activists in their community. They want to infiltrate the parliament by taking over some executive positions believing that they can introduce change from within explained respondent 12.

Respondent 1 admitted to the lack of accountability as well, but still deemed lobbying as a necessity. The fact remains that the majority of Lebanese NGOs are not lobbying efficiently as a result of knowledge or financial restraints. Furthermore, lobbying entails organizations to take firm positions against politicians without fearing the loss of their funding added respondents 12 and 16.

According to respondent 2, lobbying should initiate with those politicians who support a cause then moving on to the neutral ones and gaining their support. The final

stage of lobbying should be targeting politicians who oppose nationality rights and start pressuring them on a continual basis. For instance, Ziad Baroud, a fierce supporter of women's rights, was the first minister to be lobbied by CRTD-A. Together they issued a legal report on the nationality law and started working on enhancing the residency permits for foreign husbands and children of a Lebanese mother. Similarly, CRTD-A lobbied Charbel Nahas, ex-minister of Labor, and worked together to improve the status and fees of work permits imposed on foreign husbands and children. Respondent 2 indicated that CRTD-A lobbied their strong opposers as well and gave the example of Nehmatalla Abi Nasr, a deputy.

Lebanese NGOs resorted to different ways of lobbying. Respondent 12 explained that NGOs attending committee meetings inside the parliament is lobbying. In 2008, experts from civil societies were successful in attending committee meetings on the Lebanese electoral law having knowledge on these laws more than the MPs themselves. As for CRTD-A, Respondent 2 indicated that members of the organization were allowed, after pressuring the ministers, to attend the first committee ever to be formed for the nationality law. The respondent continued by explaining how CRTD-A responded to the questions raised and suggested a few alternatives.

Respondent 1 raised an interesting finding on lobbying concerning nationality issues termed as 'mapping'. In other words, women's departments across all political parties have to be contacted and indirectly empowered to impose nationality rights on their party, especially that political parties constitute the parliament. The most important fact on lobbying is conducting good research and building a strong case. Moreover, when politicians can't avoid NGOs any longer due to their persistent pursuit, only then will politicians sit down and listen to the demands. On this issue, respondent 2 indicated

to CRTD-A's continual pursuit of politicians and provided several examples. Every time a new government was formed, members of CRTD-A were quick to go and congratulate them. The respondent added, even on national holidays CRTD-A greeted them along with sending a preposition on how the nationality law needs to be reformed. CRTD-A took advantage of every occasion to remind them of the nationality law. But there is a lack of women parliamentary to voice women's needs in the parliament. This can be resolved by lobbying for women quota in Lebanon explained respondent 10 who views quota as a door for gender equity and nationality rights.

In conclusion, respondent 13 emphasized the importance of engaging with decision makers as they represent the state. Hence, when NGOs communicate with the state they are legitimizing and acknowledging its hegemony. Moreover, Lebanese NGOs need to recruit advocacy experts to seek best practices in advocacy.

4. Protesting and Campaigning

Campaigning is another strategy employed by Lebanese NGOs. Respondent 12 as well as respondent 16 shared similar views on recent campaigns in Lebanon. They found these campaigns interesting, but pointed out the danger of some campaigns since they promise more than they can deliver. This is why the public gets frustrated and disappointed. Moreover, when campaigns achieve a sub-goal, represented by a minor achievement, the public does not celebrate since they were promised higher goals. Lebanese civil society does not view minor changes as success, which is what they need to be doing. If NGOs loose hope and feel frustrated their supporters will follow in their footsteps.

Respondent 2 agreed to the above statement and emphasized that CRTD-A through its Nationality campaign “My Nationality is My Right and The Right of My Family” have been frustrated many times. Still, they gathered their activists around after every failing attempt, gave empowering speeches to their activists reminding them of their goals and organized new events or protests.

Others view campaign as an insignificant tool in Lebanon since they do not pressure politicians, added respondent 16. But these people are overlooking an important fact. The fact of what would happen if NGOs do not protests. In Lebanon, protesting is of utmost importance since it builds a new generation of young people who have not become politicized yet.

A third view on campaign is speaking power to power. As such was the suggestion of respondent 14 to Lebanese advocating NGOs. The respondent asserted that Lebanese politicians would feel threatened by large numbers of protesters campaigning for nationality rights. But marching in large numbers is not the answer in Lebanon. Feminist activists such as CRTD-A have adopted this strategy in previous years but failed to deter politicians. It is only when protestors perform civil disobedience, as closing the streets, do the politicians feel inconvenient and start listening to the demands. Moreover, for campaigns to succeed it is pivotal for NGOs to evaluate their previous protests and compare them.

As for campaigning on women’s nationality rights, the Lebanese public views such campaigns as out of context. This view is based on Lebanon’s turmoil situation, which varies from terrorist attacks to a worsening economical situation. Hence, the public is more eager for protests involving the above two explained respondent 4.

Respondent 12 pointed out to the importance of protestors as the backbone of a campaign. Therefore, prior to any campaign, close meetings and proper communication is to be established between the organization and its activists. This offers the supporters a sense of value and responsibility leading to a more organized protest. Moreover, NGOs work on the ground, at the grassroots level to mobilize people in demanding their rights. This will not happen by default stressed respondent 13. Respondent 2 explained how CRTD-A works on the ground level by meeting women inflicted by the nationality law and discuss their problems. In doing so, CRTD-A succeeded in raising awareness, reaching out to women and involving them in its campaign. Furthermore, through CRTD-A's program entitled "Women Economic Empowering Program" (WEEP), this NGO was able to empower impoverished women economically as a form of reaching out to them. By doing so, more empowered women stood by CRTD-A and supported their campaign.

Respondent 17, who wrote an article on CRTD-A's involvement with women suffering from the nationality law on the ground level, verified this fact.

Media, as previously seen, plays a role in raising awareness and lobbying. According to respondent 12, for campaigns to attract media they need to shift away from the traditional campaigns and create activities or events that would require the attention of the media. Before 2010, respondent 17 viewed campaigns and protests in Lebanon as unattractive and unprofessional. The only thing a protest signified was holding banners and shouting; i.e., the same thing over and over again. Journalists at some point lost interest in covering protests held by civil society, as there was nothing new. Suddenly after 2010, a huge shift took place in these protests and campaigns. CRTD-A, along with a network of feminist NGOs, took a coffin to the streets as a

symbol of where the politicians buried the nationality law. Such creative campaigns are in need as they capture attention and interest of journalists.

Another example on women's rights to nationality, provided by respondent 10, was when CRTD-A formed a network of feminist organizations, and declared a mourning day for the nationality law. Different kinds of media outlets covered this creative event as women wore black and pronounced the nationality law dead.

So far one of the greatest strengths of the nationality campaign has been the continued interest of media. It should be noted that media is politically divided but CRTD-A's nationality campaign received support from both sides. This continual support of the media is an indicative recognition of injustice towards women expressed respondent 17.

Respondent 18, an experienced journalist and media Lecturer, noted the interest of many journalists in improving their skills and knowledge on social issues. The main problem with newspapers in Lebanon is the scarcity of its staff and finance, especially those concerning social issues. Part of the Lebanese culture, is the fascination of young students in political journalism rather than social one. Moreover, and because of this scarcity, one journalist will be covering two or even three social issues per week without being able to investigate or understand the concepts and terms of each issue. Therefore, the respondent highlighted the importance and the role of NGOs in providing trainers to train journalists. As a result, empowered journalists cover protests and campaigns in a professional manner in addition to having a wide knowledge on an issue.

During a campaign, social media is the most important method. People interact with each other and are informed on the details of a campaign. Respondent 7 and

respondent 18 agreed on Facebook being a great tool for awareness and twitter for galvanizing the crowd.

Both respondents mentioned that they follow CRTD-A's news and events on Facebook. They concluded with the fact that the younger generations are the most active on social media as well as in protesting on the streets.

But still, the general fact remains that Lebanese are more prone to be active and make statements on social media when the media announces scandalous stories rather than social issues.

5. Networking

As reflected in most of the interviews, collaboration and networking is rarely a strategy adopted with Lebanese organizations added respondent 12.

Respondent 14 explained that networking is part of strategic planning. It is vital for NGOs to know who to work with and when. Only when a strong network of solidarity is built can an NGO influence and pressure decision makers. Moreover, organizational outreach is not an easy task. It requires time, effort and ego.

In an interesting remark, the respondent indicated that NGOs have to establish strong bonds with individual citizens and the community rather than spending time writing fund proposals.

The community support is yet another example of networking. Feminist NGOs need to get supported by their own Lebanese community through bake sales and café places. This model excels when individuals in a community are given a membership card to such places instilling in them the spirit of support and involvement. Hence, the

outcome of such networking is guaranteeing supportive citizens to participate in the protests and campaigns since they are already involved in supporting this cause.

CRTD-A has fulfilled the above criteria. In addition to its several programs on empowering women, CRTD-A established Namlieh, a space where rural women sell their healthy food products. This is a great example of building bonds with members of the community, and at the same time informing them on their main issue, i.e. the nationality cause.

According to respondent 1, there had been many attempts on behalf of feminist organizations to collaborate. But most of the time, these attempts were not successful.

University students are perceived as a vital component when it comes to networking. Respondent 16 indicated to the lack of interaction between feminist organizations and university students. It is imperative for NGOs to get in touch with the latter and involve them in their protests. Achieving this step will enable NGOs to collaborate with each other since their activists are students who communicate with each other and support one another.

Another problem perceived by respondent 7 is the competitiveness amongst feminist organizations on the nationality issue. Moreover, such organizations do not share similar views on nationality. Some organizations want to exclude the foreign husbands from nationality rights entitling only the children to such a right. Others call upon the Lebanese government to grant all foreign husbands, except Palestinians, nationality rights. CRTD-A is the only organization advocating for nationality rights to the mother, her children and foreign husbands including Palestinians. Due to these divisions, bitterness and lack of collaboration is found amongst NGOs advocating for nationality rights.

Respondent 13 indicated that CRTD-A has invited many sister NGOs to join their protests on nationality rights. Some organizations responded and became frequent supporters while others did not. A reciprocal collaboration was established between CRTD-A and those who supported it. Still CRTD-A communicates with other NGOs through, Majal, non-periodical newsletter, with a list of information on events, conferences and workshops.

Respondent 5 and respondent 2 shared a similar view on networking as being a major problem in Lebanon especially amongst organizations advocating for nationality rights. As a result, some research work and reports have been duplicated at a time when every piece of research is seen as vital. This has been the case of CRTD-A, who amongst its establishment collaborated with lawyers and ex-minister of interior, a lawyer himself, to produce statistics on the nationality dilemma. After a couple of years, other NGOs produced the same report rather than producing research in other areas of the law.

6. COURTS

Respondent 12 referred to other creative methods as strategic legislation being part of advocacy. The respondent encouraged NGOs to resort to courts and pressure judges into imposing jurisprudence (precedent) on social issues. Since public liberty courts in Lebanon have been more liberal and progressive than legislation when it comes to human rights issues. The respondent concluded by referring to courts as a major vector for change. Moreover, finding a loophole in the law will enable NGOs to take their cases to court.

As an example to the above suggestion, the respondent referred to Samira Sweidan' case a Lebanese mother married to an Egyptian. CRTD-A found a loophole in the nationality text stating that if the foreign father is deceased, the children are then entitled to their mother's nationality. CRTD-A took Sweidan's case to the cassation court where Judge Azzi ruled in her favor. Respondent 2 mentioned this small-lived success as a special gift dedicated by Azzi to CRTD-A. But this ruling did not last, as other judges ruled against it (vetoed it) in defense of protecting Lebanon's higher interests.

Justice in Lebanon, and the minister of Justice in particular, is viewed as unfair. Respondent 2 indicated that it is not only unprofessional but also unlawful for the minister of Justice to revoke Judge Azzi's decision, the highest decision in the Cassation courts in Lebanon.

7. Media

Forming bonds with the media is a step-by-step work. CRTD-A conducted a research on the background of many journalists and initiated to form bonds with those who wrote on civil and social issues. Forming bonds took the form of emailing journalists, inviting them to seminars, conferences and campaigns. As a result, CRTD-A formed a media database with the journalists to keep them posted on their latest news explained respondent 2. In line with this idea, respondent 15 suggested that NGOs develop good communication as well as Public Relation skills to communicate properly with the media and provide the latter with news clipping of their own stories.

Respondent 7 referred to CRTD-A as an organization with strong leadership. The executive director and communication officer of this feminist organization have their fingers on the pulse of media and are able to bring them to rally in 30seconds flat. The media is a strong ally especially when good bonds have been established between the two as the literature suggests. Respondent 1 and respondent 13 presented an example of this situation by sharing how journalists leaked information on women's issues on nationality from inside the parliament to some advocating NGOs including CRTD-A.

Respondent 8 indicated to the importance of media as placing an issue on the agenda. This is a turning point in Lebanese media who were initially involved in reporting scoops or political incidents. But throughout the past years, media transformed into an advocate of social issues facing the Lebanese society. Respondent 19, and 18 praised the Lebanese media on its significant transformation towards covering social issues in Lebanon. The respondent mentioned LBCI and MTV as Lebanese TV stations that have evolved drastically by broadcasting civil society issues early in their news. Moreover, newspapers have been publishing civil society issues on their first page, signifying their importance. Respondent 18 referred to CRTD-A's nationality campaign as an issue that was placed on the first page of Al-Akhbar newspaper.

Respondent 1 indicated that each media outlet is vital since each has its own audience. To respondent 15, all media outlets are important vehicles employed in raising awareness for an issue. Furthermore, Respondent 13 added to the importance of such media channels as they revolve around mobilizing the crowd. Respondent 7 mentioned the fact that joining

CRTD-A's campaigns and protests was an easy task since the organization created a special page on Facebook for all its events and news. In addition, the respondent pointed to twitter as the vehicle employed to galvanize the crowds. Respondent 2 agreed and mentioned the many followers CRTD-A has on its official twitter page.

Respondent 17 and respondent 18 portrayed an important problem in Lebanon that contextually affects the way journalists report social issues. Both respondents referred to the media curriculum across universities as being a curriculum that teaches media theoretically rather than practically. As a result, media students do not graduate as certified journalists.

Hence, respondent 18 pointed out to the smart efficient decision taken by CRTD-A to hold special workshops in educating journalists on the nationality issue. Respondent 14 urged other advocating NGOs to apply this strategy and turn it into a one-on-one meeting with journalists.

C. To what extent has CRTD-A impacted policy in terms of the Nationality Law?

The following section will be addressing three main ideas: how can advocating NGOs impact policy as in the case of CRTD-A, followed by an explanation of how policy is formed in Lebanon. The last part will be an application of Kingdon's Multiple Stream Framework on the nationality law to better comprehend the mechanisms of such impact.

1. How advocating NGOs can impact policy?

As the literature suggested in chapter 2 of this thesis, NGOs can have an impact on policy through their advocacy work. Since the advocacy strategies have been highlighted in the above section with the respondents, this section will quickly pass over some of the aforementioned concepts and introduce new ones. Moreover, this section is a reaffirmation that it is only through advocacy that NGOs can impact policy.

Most of the respondents indicated that the nationality law in Lebanon is a complex issue referring to the patriarchal religious culture and the Palestinian issue, which constitutes a great threat to the national interest. Despite all the above hindrances, CRTD-A has taken the International Human Rights Declaration as their framework in advocating for nationality rights in Lebanon. Respondent 12 added that CRTD-A based their demands to nationality on irrefutable universal rights.

As to CRTD-A's organizational capacity, respondent 7 referred to its executive director as a smart person and a leader who can bring the media to a rally in 30seconds. Moreover, respondents 2, 5 and 13 indicated the research CRTD-A has conducted with legal individuals to produce data and statistics. Attaining such knowledge, CRTD-A was permissible to attend the first committee meeting on the nationality law inside the parliament to answer all questions, elucidated respondent 2. The respondent continued to explain how CRTD-A conducts workshops to empower women economically through its WEEP (Women Economic Empowerment program); hence, developing its status as the literature suggested. As for public opinion, CRTD-A has raised awareness on the issue of nationality by knowledge generation. Respondent 13 referred to the monthly electronic newsletters CRTD-A publishes on their website; the reports conducted on policy; and the media clippings. Furthermore, a fair collection of

academic papers on gender equality and nationality rights is available in their on-line library.

When it comes to networking, CRTD-A is the only organization advocating for nationality rights that doesn't want to exclude the Palestinian fathers. This issue in addition to competitiveness over funding caused a friction between such organizations that resulted in a lack of networking and collaboration. But respondent 13 explained that despite this fact, some sister NGOs march with CRTD-A during their nationality campaign. Respondent 7 and respondent 12 asserted this weakness amongst Lebanese civil society and called for better collaboration.

On the issue of legitimacy, CRTD-A established a hot line to assist women in dealing with the ramifications of the nationality law in addition to providing them with free legal advice explained respondent 2.

Part of its advocacy strategy, CRTD-A resorted to internal actors as the legislative branch, by presenting the nationality draft to the parliament. And for the first time since the establishment of the nationality law, CRTD-A was able to advocate enough for the draft to be forwarded to a committee continued the respondent. Furthermore, CRTD-A lobbied its supporters in the parliament and was able to achieve small breakthroughs. Respondent 13 explained that CRTD-A, along with its supporters, was the reason behind lifting some restrictions off the nationality law. Lobbying ministers who are avid supporters of women's rights led CRTD-A and its supporters to impact the nationality law. This impact is seen in the restrictions lifted on residency and work permits for both foreign husbands and children. Again this is the first breakthrough in the nationality law since its inception in 1925 expressed respondent 2

and respondent 5. Moreover, CRTD-A resorted to the courts in the case of Samira Sweidan. But culture and religion hindered the outcome of this attempt.

In conclusion, a major problem resides in Lebanon when it comes to advocating NGOs. Despite all the hard advocacy work to impact policy, stated respondent 12 and respondent 10, the achievements have been extremely small. On the other hand, when organizations were successful enough to push the government and the parliament to adopt new legislations, implementation became a problem. Respondent 14 agreed to this general problem in Lebanon by stating that the government has a lack in manpower to follow up and make certain the law is being implemented properly.

2. How is policy formed in Lebanon?

This question is deemed important to answer, as it is a prerequisite for understanding the following section.

Respondent 15 answered this question by referring to policymaking as a tricky business in Lebanon, while others as respondent 14 and respondent 4, replied by referring to the literature gap on this topic while suggesting their own intent in conducting such a research.

According to respondent 20, MP and head of a political party, policy is formed in two ways in Lebanon. The first way is through a member of the parliament who presents an issue 'idea' as a draft law to the parliament. The parliament sends this draft to the specialized committees to study it where it will be voted on. If the committee votes for it, this draft will be sent to the general assembly to voted on one more time before being sent to the president. When the president signs it, it becomes a law. The second way is through a minister who sends a draft law to the council of ministers. The

council convenes to discuss the draft and if they vote in favor of this law, the draft is sent as a book to the parliament. The parliament then studies this draft law and sends it forward to the general assembly to be voted on. This process is termed as “policy from the government” stated respondent 21, an expert legal advisor to a Lebanese MP.

Respondent 20 and respondent 21 explained who are the specialized committees in Lebanon. The process initiates with a member of a parliament sending a draft law to these committees. Depending on the topic of this draft law it is sent to a specialized committee or committees to study or amend it. If the committee votes for it, the draft is sent to the general assembly. If there is more than one specialized committee and they fail to agree to vote, a new committee termed “Lijen Mushtarake” is formed with the members of the two committees including a judge to study the draft. If this new committee votes for this draft law, it is then sent to the general assembly.

Respondent 4 indicated that the role of civil society in Lebanon is still vague when it comes to the policy process. A written process does not exist on how the parliament should involve civil society in this process. But in some cases, the parliament asks for the opinion of civil society. Moreover, such organizations are sometimes entitled to attend committee meetings to provide information and at other times they are forbidden. In this regard, the respondent indicated that an interesting project is underway in Lebanon. This project is called Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) or gentleman’s agreement. MoU will be signed between parliamentarians and civil society to ensure the right of such organizations to be present during the early stages of policy. This tactic was the result of researching best practices in Croatia and other European countries on how to involve civil society in parliament. The respondent hopes that this strategy will

be voted for in Lebanon by the parliament, as it will involve NGOs in the policy process since the early stages rather than the very end.

3. Multiple Streams Framework: the case of women's right to nationality in Lebanon

The researcher intended to choose MS framework and apply it to the nationality law in Lebanon since it sheds light on agenda setting and decision-making. Moreover, MS has several factors and participants that are inline with the previous discussions on how NGOs advocate and impact policy. In other words, MS clearly illustrates how advocacy strategies play a part in shaping agendas and policy outcomes.

Prior to applying the MSF, a brief summary on the status of the Lebanese nationality law is presented.

In the case of the nationality law, two drafts were sent. The first was sent by, Minister of Interior, Ziad Baroud. But this draft only made it to the council of ministers as it was voted against explained respondent 21. The second nationality draft was signed by MP Gilbert Zwein and sent to the parliament. It was then submitted to the women and child committee in the parliament and was stuck there. The committee members did not vote as they were under pressure since nationality issues constitute a threat to higher interests. This is an achievement for as long as 1925, the nationality issue was never presented unto a committee, expressed respondent 2.

Problem Stream

Politicians' fear of a demographic shift has been refuted when CRTD-A conducted statistical research on the number of Lebanese women married to foreigners. The statistics indicated a low percentage of those married to Palestinians revoking the

claims of politicians, clarified respondent 2. The respondent continued to suggest that the nationality problem is an indication of patriarchy and religion favoring men over women. But another research on the ramifications of holding back nationality rights, conducted by CRTD-A as well, generated serious concerns for the family as a whole. These concerns protracted from difficulty in obtaining residency and work permits to not being able to profit from the educational and health benefits along with suffering from serious psychological dilemmas explained respondent 2 and respondent 13.

Such ‘indicators’ as Kingdon termed them led CRTD-A to resort to campaigning and protest to alert the public on the seriousness of the situation. Prior to these campaigns, the public was not aware of the existence of this problem in the Lebanese community. As respondent 14 explained, CRTD-A wanted the public to view this issue as a problem that needs to be placed on the politicians’ agenda to be discussed. The respondent asserted that Lebanese politicians would feel threatened by large numbers of protesters; hence, take the issue up for discussion. This best explains what Kingdon refers to as ‘load’ - an agenda floating with issues needing the right attention to float to the surface. This attention increased when the media covered the nationality campaign emphasizing the importance of the problem. Respondent 10 explained how CRTD-A’s creative campaigns lured the media, which in return affected the public by raising their awareness. As the literature suggests, citizens then became empowered; hence, are seen as participants in the policy process.

The nationality issue was transformed from a condition to a problem after CRTD-A raised public awareness, along with the media, on the existence of this problem.

Policy Stream:

As stated above, the nationality issue was transformed into ‘problem’ that needs addressing as a result of the advocacy efforts on behalf of CRTD-A.

The Lebanese politicians are divided into two big opposing political parties. The parties often do not agree on certain issues, which transformed Lebanon a while ago into a country without a government explained respondent 21. The political parties remained divided when it came to the nationality law leading CRTD-A into a long journey of lobbying those who oppose this law as indicated by respondent 2 and respondent 6.

In the case of the nationality law, even politicians within the same political party differed in their positions and were divided between those who support and oppose.

This was clearly seen during the first committee that was formed to discuss the nationality problem. Respondent 2 continued to explain that the committee couldn’t reach a final decision as a result of divided opinions. Hence, the Lebanese politicians failed to share an “accepting mode” according to Kingdon.

Politics Stream

As a result of CRTD-A’s continuous advocacy, the nationality issue became a problem that gained prominence in the Lebanese community as agreed upon the respondents.

A recurrent theme expressed in this section is the support of the public and the media to the nationality problem. This support was expressed in joining the campaigns of CRTD-A, mainly its “My nationality is my rights and the right of my family” campaign emphasized respondents 2 and respondent 13. Other sister NGOs joined the

protests in support of CRTD-A pointed respondent 14 who regarded them as pressure groups. Another pressure group, viewed as a strong supporter, is the media concluded respondents 12 and respondent 1.

CRTD-A was able to galvanize the crowd and create different activities as it achieved its organizational capacity.

The idea of legislative or administrative turnover was supported by respondents who referred to ex-Minister Ziad Baroud as an advocator of women's rights. Baroud who believed in women's rights to nationality lobbied in favor of CRTD-A. Through his lobbying, a draft was sent to the council of ministers as an attempt to engage politicians in discussing this problem. But they vetoed it.

Policy entrepreneurs

Many actors played important roles in advocating with CRTD-A for the rights of women to nationality. Some of these actors have been mentioned in the above section as the role of media in supporting CRTD-A; the role of research and legal experts in conducting research with CRTD-A to provide indicators; and the role of supporting politicians as in the case of Ziad Baroud and Charbel Nahas. These participants according to Kingdon are termed as policy entrepreneurs who advocate and push the problem forward.

Furthermore, respondent 7 referred to what Kingdon explained as symbols that evoke emotions. The respondent, an American activist married to a Lebanese woman with two children, shared a personal story. As an avid supporter continually present in the campaigns of CRTD-A, the respondent claimed that the children hold banners and pictures stating that when they grow up and achieve many successes, people will only

know them as Americans. Their pictures were posted on CRTD-A's website and the children had a big day with the media. What a shame the respondent concluded.

Coupling of streams and Policy window

The nationality law forced foreign husbands and children alike to pay costly residence and work permits. A \$1000 is the amount of residency fees to be renewed on an annual basis. While an \$800 is the amount of work permits that has to be paid on an annual basis as well. To make things worse, a Lebanese employer hiring foreign nationals is obligated to pay an amount of \$1000 as a deposit for the Lebanese government explained respondent 2 and respondent 6.

CRTD-A's relentless advocacy, coupled with the support of many governmental and non-governmental actors, succeeded in achieving minor changes in the nationality law. Mixed responses generated from the respondents who attributed this success to two individuals in power as Ziad Baroud and Charbel Nahas. Others referred to public opinion and the nationality campaign as direct factors to this success.

The above factors and participants are in both the problem and politics stream. Hence, the coupling of these two streams created a window opening for CRTD-A to push forward its pet solutions. As a result, success was achieved in creating minor changes.

Residency permits became free of charge for both foreign husbands and children to be renewed on an annual basis. While the fees of work permits were reduced to an insignificant amount stated respondent 2.

To conclude, all the respondents viewed the environment and culture in Lebanon as a hindrance to the nationality law. Lebanon has been referred to as a country where

success takes place in small stages according to respondent 1 and respondent 16. Respondent 17 emphasized the importance of instilling hope in feminist activists referring to the issue of marital rape. Never in Lebanon had women demonstrated for such rights especially since it is considered a taboo. Only recently, have women been encouraged to join protests and talk openly about this topic. No one ever imagined such a day would come especially since Lebanon is a somehow conservative environment. The respondent concluded by encouraging nationality activists to keep striving as women are becoming more aware of their rights and are demanding it.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The preceding chapters indicated that the nationality law is a problem in Lebanon. CRTD-A adopted this problem as its main cause and has been struggling to reform this law through the different strategies and techniques of advocacy. This chapter presents the concluding remarks on how NGOs through advocacy can influence policy and impact change. Moreover, a set of recommendations will be presented directed towards four actors: NGOs, the government, and academia in Lebanon.

A. The nature of the nationality problem

The nationality problem is a very complex issue in Lebanon. The roots of this discrimination can be traced back to the French mandate era, when Lebanon was under the rule of the Napoleonic Code. Lebanon signed many international treaties on Human Rights but made many reservations on articles pertaining to nationality rights.

Furthermore, Lebanon failed to pass new legislations regulating citizenship where its neighboring Arab countries, once under the same French rule, succeeded in doing so. Lebanon is a patriarchal religious society where men are privileged over women. As a result, legislation discriminates against women favoring men, especially in nationality. Lebanese women married to foreigners are denied transmitting their nationality to both their children and spouses alike. But when a Lebanese man marries a foreigner, he is entitled to transmit his nationality to both his wife and children. Moreover, the main cause of discrimination between men and women in nationality is

the government's fear of a religious shift in the demographic balance of Lebanon. This fear is seen when Lebanese women marry Palestinian men.

Many problems and ramifications emanated from withholding back nationality to the spouses and children of Lebanese mothers.

In light of this gender discrimination and its consequences on Lebanese women and their families, CRTD-A has been demanding to eradicate all forms of discrimination in nationality against Lebanese women.

Table 2: Summary of CRTD-A, the case study

NGO	Aim of Campaign	Focus of the NGO	Reasons for selecting CRTD-A
CRTD-A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Stop discrimination against women -Equality between men & women on nationality issues. -Raise awareness -Educate women on their national and international rights -Empower women -Informing the media on nationality -Lift constrictions on CEDAW -Amend the Nationality Law - Abide by Constitution -Form networks -Amend the law 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Public awareness and action towards citizenship. -Equality between men and women on nationality rights. -Range of Actions: Campaigns, Lobbying, And networking. -Research -Training women -Empowering women Economically 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Local and Regional -Gender equality (inclusive citizenship) -Women economic and socio-economic empowerment - Training and Capacity Building -Action oriented research -Legal advisors and a Hotline to assist women. -Policy approach (Amend and develop alternative policies) -Unwavering objectives and mission regarding nationality rights. -Professional approach. -Access to high-level politicians. -Well funded. - Status -Legitimacy -Nationality Campaign

B. The strategies adopted to bring change to the nationality law

Lebanese NGOs are adopting many of the advocacy strategies indicated in the literature. But advocacy in Lebanon has been described as a frustrating process, particularly in the presence of a weak government that is ingrained in religious laws. Moreover, the advocacy strategy of pressuring politicians into threatening them through elections is not applicable in Lebanon given the absence of accountability

Most forms of advocacy are applicable to a certain degree in Lebanese NGOs, especially as seen in the case of CRTD-A. The latter employed different advocacy strategies to impose change in the nationality law. As highlighted in the literature, CRTD-A conducted research with legal experts as a first stage of its advocacy process. Making the issue of nationality rights a public issue is of utmost importance. Such rights are part of human rights and if they are not made public, the community will not regard them as a problem. CRTD-A invested greatly in knowledge generation and dissemination by conducting research and generating newsletters posted on its website for the public. Furthermore, CRTD-A held many seminars across universities to raise awareness amongst the youth on the issue of nationality. Another strategic way of affecting the public and informing them on the issue was through the media. The organization built strong bonds with the media, through communications strategy, and offered them several workshops to explain the concept of nationality and how it discriminates against women. As a result, the public was informed, as they are the receptors of media.

As for lobbying, CRTD-A went according to the book by lobbying its supporters first then turning to those who opposed their cause. Moreover, after continually pressuring the ministers, members of CRTD-A were allowed to attend the first

committee ever to be formed for the nationality law. Not a single occasion passed by without CRTD-A sending the government a proposition on how the nationality law needs to be reformed.

‘My Nationality is My Right and The Right of My Family’ is the slogan CRTD-A launched for its nationality campaign. The campaigns on many occasions were creative enough to attract the media. Furthermore, CRTD-A worked on the ground level by meeting women inflicted by the nationality law and discuss their problems through their WEEP program. What seemed to be a difficult task for CRTD-A was collaborating with other organizations advocating for nationality as well. The reason behind this resulted from the different views and goals on nationality.

Courts as a vector for change was targeted by CRTD-A as in the case of Samira Sweidan- a Lebanese whose foreign husband died- who was struggling to transfer her Lebanese nationality to her children. Last but not least, CRTD-A succeeded in building strong bonds with the media who on many occasions leaked information from inside the parliament to this organization.

C. To what extent has CRTD-A impacted policy and how is this change seen in the Nationality Law?

NGOs influence policy through their advocacy strategies. But it is vital for such organizations to understand the policy process and its mechanisms for which they advocate to influence. Furthermore, Kingdon’s Multiple Stream Framework is applied to the case of CRTD-A and the nationality law to fully understand the mechanisms of such impact.

Other than the aforementioned advocacy strategies, features as organizational capacity legitimacy and resorting to internal and external actors enhances an organization's influence on policy. CRTD-A fulfilled its organizational capacities by recruiting skillful staff, planting a strategy system with defined goals and objectives. Furthermore, it established its status through its empowering programs as WEEP and its legitimacy through establishing a hotline to assist women in dealing with the negative ramifications of the nationality law in addition to offering them free legal advice.

CRTD-A resorted to internal actors as the legislative branch, by presenting the nationality draft to the parliament. And for the first time since the establishment of the nationality law, CRTD-A was able to advocate enough for the draft to be forwarded to a committee continued the respondent. Furthermore, CRTD-A lobbied its supporters in the parliament and was able to achieve small breakthroughs. In addition, CRTD-A lobbied ministers who are avid supporters of women's rights led CRTD-A and its supporters to impact the nationality law.

Since it is imperative for NGOs to understand the policy process for which they are advocating to influence and since this research takes CRTD-A as a case study advocating for the amendments of the nationality law. It is deemed vital that policy formation in Lebanon is understood. There are two ways through which policy is formed in Lebanon. The first path is through a member of the parliament who presents an issue 'idea' as a draft law to the parliament. While, the second is through a minister who sends a draft law to the council of ministers.

In conclusion, since MSF has several factors and participants that that are inline with the previous discussions on how NGOs advocate and impact policy, it has been

selected as a conceptual framework. In other words, MS clearly illustrates how advocacy strategies play a part in shaping agendas and policy outcomes.

Table 3: Summary of factors and sub-factors that play a role in influencing policy

Factors	Sub Factors	Possible Influences (negative or positive)
-Political & socioeconomic Environment -International Obligations and Declarations	-Culture / religion -Political system -Socioeconomic environment -Strength of political parties	-Patriarchal culture and religion impedes influence of CRTD-A. -Division among political parties on nationality law hindered its progress in the committees. -Lebanese citizens are more worried about inflation and terrorism. Hinders the progress of CRTD-A. - Politicians are empowered due to the lack of accountability. Hinders influence of CRTD-A -CRTD-A's framework is the International Declaration of Human Rights. Possible positive influence.
NGOs: Organizational and advocacy capacity	Strategy Objectives/goals Staff Leadership Research Legitimacy Status Public opinion Social movements Media	The more resources the better the chances of influence. CRTD-A has achieved the capacities. As a result, public opinion shifted in their support. Networking and collaboration is an important element that is lacking among Lebanese advocating NGOs. A fact that impedes CRTD-A
Internal Actors	Legislative and Judicial Branches Predisposition of a minister (lobby)	Influence is deemed faster when NGOs refer to internal actors or lobby supporting ministers. CRTD-A lobbied supporting ministers; went to court as a vector for change; and submitted a nationality draft to the parliament.
External Actors	Researchers, academics, consultants	When NGOs seek the assistance of internal actors, influence increases. CRTD-A referred to experts in the field of research and policy.
The policy in question	What is the nature of the policy conflict	A risk to higher interest. Strongly impedes the influence of CRTD-A.

Source: Doctoral thesis (Casey, 1988) with additional illustrations added by researcher

D. Recommendations

The following section introduces the different recommendations that can be done to Therefore, the recommendations are directed towards three groups: academic institutions, non-governmental organizations and CRTD-A, Lebanese government.

I. Academic Institutions

Universities have a pivotal role to play when it comes to NGOs since academia serves as an academic bridge between academics and activists in the field. Through this bridge, academia will provide activists with academic studies and networks that would empower them and at the same time activists will bring back to academia context and grounding; i.e. practical skills. If universities play this role, the problem of lack of statistics and research in Lebanon will be targeted. This bridge between academia and civil society can be done through faculty members assigning their students to topics relevant to civil society in their community. Hence, connecting individuals of the same community to work towards solving a problem.

Moreover, since the sector of NGOs have grown significantly in the past few years in Lebanon and are being active in the absence of the government, academia has a role to play in strengthening the field of NGOs. This can be achieved if universities begin to offer graduate courses and specialized degrees in management, communication and HR for NGOs. Two or three universities in Beirut have successfully started such programs enabling students to effectively take on NGO work.

Furthermore, enhanced media curriculum across the universities in Lebanon is much needed. This step would enable journalists to graduate as certified since universities offer media programs designed to introduce students to theory only. The

media curricula, across most of the universities in Lebanon, do not offer investigative journalism. This form of journalism is deemed important for reporters working on social issues as it will improve their skills in reporting non-governmental organizations' news to the public in a professional and clear manner. In different parts of the globe, universities offer their media students reformative and human rights journalism classes to provide them with a perspective of how to cover such stories.

2. Non-governmental organizations and CRTD-A

Lebanon's legal system is based on the French Civil code except for matters relating to personal status, which are governed by a religious set of laws tailored for the 18 sects of the Lebanese community. Civil society is strongly recommended to work collectively towards transforming personal laws as marriage and divorce into civil laws that are not exclusive to religion. For Lebanon, this debate is anything but new. But the importance of continuing the struggle is the only solution for several problems including nationality even though the Lebanese population has given up hope on this issue.

On the issue of Lebanese men transmitting their nationality to the children of their foreign wives from previous marriages, CRTD-A is encouraged to take action since, and after multiple investigation, this law was initially formulated for a specific case and then made legal to be applied to all Lebanese men. A demand for this law to be annulled should be in action.

Experiences have shown that the strategy of shaming the politicians and stirring their empathy might be effective. Lebanese civil society should invest more in this strategy. Moreover, politicians do not relate to the nationality problem; hence,

introducing the victims of the nationality law to the politicians is another strategy. An increased understanding of the victims' suffering might have a chance in impacting the decision makers into amending the law. A strategy yet to be adopted by CRTD-A.

Although the civil society sector is considered potent and has made considerable progress in Lebanon, it is still lacking many of the requirements needed for advocacy. The most pivotal strategy missing with Lebanese NGOs is networking and collaborating with each other. Moreover, networking has many forms. The first is research networking where it has been noted that some Lebanese organizations refuse to share their research with other NGOs for many reasons as competition or funding. This results, at certain times, to the duplication of the same work. Hence, lies the importance of research and its dissemination. Moreover, networking is part of strategic planning. It is vital for NGOs to know who to work with and when. Only when a strong network of solidarity is built can NGOs influence and pressure decision makers in Lebanon.

NGOs, including CRTD-A, striving to raising awareness have to secure the following strategies. Such organizations have to get in touch with university students and involve them in their protests. Achieving this step will enable NGOs to collaborate with each other since their activists are students who communicate with each other and support one another. As mentioned above in the academic institution recommendations, strengthening media will help out NGOs raise awareness through campaigns, publicity, and TV programs among others. But NGOs have to build firm bonds with the media through proper communication and professionalism. Another way of building rapport with the media is through public relations. For instance, when a journalist reports on the studious work of an NGO, regardless that it is the journalist's duty, but still a thank you

note from behalf of the NGO is encouraged. This is how NGOs build rapport and maintain the support of their allies, the media.

At the policy level, many respondents agreed that NGOs lack informative knowledge when it comes to policy and decision making process in Lebanon. The importance of NGOs engaging in understanding policy and the Lebanese context is pivotal. Lebanese NGOs, engaging in advocacy, should consider inaugurating policy labs to come up with policy recommendations and alternatives. A final recommendation on policy is for NGOs to take full advantage of policy loops in the system. This can only be done after an intensive knowledge of policy has been established by Lebanese NGOs. NGOs can simply recruit legal advisors as part of their staff.

While interviewing, some respondents mentioned the Social Economic Council in Lebanon. If NGOs form a coalition in Lebanon and demand the revamp of the Social Economic Council, this will lead to new ways in addressing the politicians. This council is an institution created in the TAIIF Agreement, which theoretically combines representatives of the public, private, and NGO sectors to be part of an advocacy cycle. The role of this council is to foresee what Lebanon needs in the future and come up with suggestions for reform.

Another possibility for NGOs to be involved in the early stages of advocacy is through an interesting project, which is currently underway in Lebanon. This project is called Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) or gentleman's agreement. MoU will be signed between parliamentarians and civil society to ensure the right of such organizations to be present during the early stages of policy. This tactic was the result of researching best practices in Croatia and other European countries on how to involve civil society in parliament. The respondent hopes that this strategy will be voted for in

Lebanon by the parliament, as it will involve NGOs in the policy process since the early stages rather than the very end. Hence, Lebanese NGOs are encouraged to be aware of this strategy and pressure politicians to vote for the enactment of such an agreement.

As a final recommendation for NGOs in Lebanon, they need to empower women and encourage them to enter the political arena. When women are present in the parliament, they stand a chance in pushing forward their rights and making their voices heard. Changing is inevitable, but it can be done through the voices of women in the Lebanese political branches.

In conclusion, NGOs are encouraged to keep struggling as success takes the form in baby steps in Lebanon.

3. Lebanese government

The government is being blamed for not taking steps in solving the nationality problem. Many suggestions directed towards the government are highlighted in the following recommendations.

Lebanon has signed many international treaties calling for equality between the sexes. Therefore, the government needs to take into account the international obligations set forth in the international declaration of human rights, one of the many treaties signed by Lebanon. Moreover, the reservations placed on CEDAW by the Lebanese government needs to be lifted.

The Lebanese Constitution, in particular article 7, declares equality to all Lebanese under the law. Hence, based on the constitution, both men and women have the rights of transferring Lebanese nationality to their spouses and children. The government has to abide by its constitution, as it is the highest legal document.

Based on practices from different parts of the world, unless the constitution speaks in terms of men and women, it will always be interpreted as the dominant sex, mainly men. Based on this, many Lebanese suggest that the Lebanese government amends the constitution to be read: Lebanese men and women are equal under the law. The respondent continued to explain that amending the constitution is a very slow procedure that might be ineffective. But another option exists. Amending the nationality law, Article 1, which appointed men as the sole providers of nationality. When the government amends this law, it will read 'every person born of a Lebanese father or mother is considered Lebanese'.

Since the literature review presented Lebanon as a country that lacks the culture of volunteerism and citizenship, the Ministry of Education introduce civic participation, as a subject, to the Lebanese curriculum to be taught across schools. Moreover, civic engagement activities across schools should be implemented as well. The impact of civil learning will develop Lebanese children into active citizens. This recommendation is for the longer run, but in Lebanon activists are employing all resources available to induce change.

The Ministry of Communication in 2004 addressed the Lebanese media and encouraged them to support NGOs by increasing their coverage on their stories and events. The ministry is encouraged to address media more often in its duty to raise awareness.

As a final recommendation, the Lebanese government should consider naturalizing the Palestinians in Lebanon making them equal to Lebanese excluding political representations. By doing so, the government will not have a reason to fear a demographic shift in its balance. Moreover, the government can place certain

restrictions on Palestinian men married to Lebanese women. For instance, Palestinians married to Lebanese women are to be granted nationality rights only after fulfilling certain conditions as being married for a certain period of time or having children. This is an applicable recommendation, since some countries offer naturalization excluding voting privileges.

In conclusion, future research is needed on more case studies in Lebanon, especially those pertaining to women's rights. There is a need for more articles on local women's movements where they can be compared for the purpose of learning. As some techniques are universal but others are culture based which differs from one place to another.

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APPENDIX I: CONSENT FORM

American University of Beirut

Faculty of Arts and Science- Department of Political Studies and Public Administration
Graduate Program in Public Administration

CRTD-A: A Lebanese Nongovernmental Organization Advocating Policy Change

Principle Investigator: Dr. HibaKhodr

Co-Investigator: Ghenwa El Jurdy

We are asking you to participate in a research study. Please read the information below and feel free to enquire about any question that you may have. This research is about how advocating NGOs, specifically CRTD-A, involved in possibly affecting and changing policy when it comes to the nationality law in Lebanon. You are invited to give information that will be valuable contribution to this research.

- 1- This research is being conducted with the goal of completing a Master's thesis by a student researcher Ghenwa El Jurdy, who can be reached at gme03@aub.edu.lb or via phone at 70- 954494. This research is under the supervision of the Primary Investigator (PI) Dr. Hiba Khodr, who can be reached at hk39@aub.edu.lb and 01-350000 ext 4348 her office is located at the AUB campus, Jessup- 209. For further details you can contact the Institutional Board of the AUB at irb@aub.edu.lb or 01-350000 ext 5445.
- 2- In this study, you will be asked to answer several questions in an interview that will be recorded on a digital recorder, transcribed and analyzed. The recorded interview will not exceed 45 minutes in length. The digital material will be destroyed after the completion of the analysis.
- 3- Your participation in this study does not involve any physical or emotional risk to you. You have the right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation

at any time for any reason. The study involves no benefits or risks to either your person or privacy. Your name or other identifiers will not be attached to your answers so that your confidentiality can be maintained. The key that links the interview subject to the data provided will be available to the PI only.

- 4- Your participation is voluntary and refusal to participate does not involve any penalty. You may discontinue participation at anytime without penalty. You may skip any question that you do not wish to answer. A copy of this consent document and the interview is available to you if you choose so. This document will be kept in the locked drawer of the PSPA department and will not be retrieved during the data analysis to avoid disclosure of your identity.
- 5- You have been recruited for this interview (via phone or email) depending on your displayed contact information available on the web. A private setting will be ensured when conducting the 21 interviews.

Do you voluntarily consent to take part in this study?

Yes () Date: _____ Time: _____

Do you agree for this interview to be digitally recorded?

Yes () Date: _____ Time: _____

Do you consent for having your name appear in this study?

Yes () No ()

Signature of the interviewee:

Signature of the researcher:

APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

Proposed Interview Questions for CRTD-A and NGOs:

- 1- Identify the reasons behind the establishment of the organization and what is the mission and vision?**
- 2- Is Lebanon considered a country that upholds and defends women's rights especially those pertaining to nationality?**
- 3- Please explain the risks/ problems that result from the nationality law itself.**
- 4- What is the role of feminist NGOs concerning the nationality issue and what can they do to change the situation?**
 - a- Using examples, please explain why you believe this to be the case?
- 5- Such NGOs are labeled as advocating organizations. What tools do they employ and which is considered to be more effective?**
 - a- Explain using examples to illustrate.
- 6- What can be done to get the national government to take nationality rights more seriously?**
- 7- What is the role of media? And is it considered to be a helpful tool in advocating?**

If yes:

 - a- What kind of media and on what basis is it selected?
 - b- Explain the NGO-media bond (how is media contacted and on what basis).
 - c- Is there a certain kind of media (newspaper, tv, social media) employed at different times of the campaign (before, during and after)?
 - d- Do you have a favorite media outlet and which is the most effective?

If No:

 - a- Why? And does this apply to all media outlets (Newspapers, TV, social media) or is there exclusion?
- 8- When it comes to funding, how do you allocate your resources?**
- 9- Do you conduct research on the nationality issue and the Lebanese environment before campaigning?**

- a- what is the most successive tool in advocating such an issue? Is awareness being raised and who is the targeted audience?

10- What elements are taken into consideration when advocating? (time, events, context)

11- How does CRTD-A evaluate if it achieved its goals and changed attitudes?

12- What is CRTD-A 's ultimate goal of advocating? Does it join forces with other NGOs?

13- Why is Lebanon still fighting the nationality Law with minimal progress? (what are some of the obstacles)

14- Do you believe the Lebanese government is ready/ prepared to pass the nationality policy?

If yes, then explain why?

If not, then explain why giving examples.

15- In the literature, NGOs are categorized into eight stages grouped into five broad phases: hidden problem, increasing tension, take off, waging the movement and success) which stage has CRTD-A successfully passed and where is it in the NGO cycle?

a- Explain each cycle it passed through by giving examples.

b- Have CRTD-A passed through the failure stage? If so, what did it do about it and how was it stopped?

16- What can be done to proceed to the next level and the final level of affecting policy?

Proposed questions for policy institutes and politicians:

- 1- How is policy formed in Lebanon and what are the followed steps? (from the Executive to the Legislative level)**
- 2- How can an issue be placed on the agenda setting?**
- 3- What do you think about the nationality law and Where do you stand when it comes to it?**
- 4- What role do NGOs play when it comes to policy in general and the nationality law in particular? (Awareness, mobilization, lobbying). Have they fulfilled these parts?**
- 5- If you are you a supporter, how do you support this law and its implementation?**
 - a- What are the effective ways (steps to be taken) of implementation?
 - b- What are the obstacles hindering its implementation and how can it be overcome?
 - c- Has this law been amended and is there any progress?
- 6- In the case of the nationality law, what is the most important asset that should be kept in mind and taken full advantage off here in Lebanon? (Window opening, politician in power, etc.).**
- 7- Does media play an important role in affecting policy?**

If yes, then in what ways? And can you provide an example.

If not, then why? And what are other alternatives?
- 8- If you do not support the implementation of the nationality law, why are you against it?**
 - a- What is the alternative and have you offered it?
 - b- Do NGOs support your views (alternative) and how can you describe your relations with these NGOs?

Proposed questions for Media personnel:

- 1- Specify your media field (journalist, Organization, activists) and what kind of stories do you usually cover or report?**
- 2- Why are you interested in the nationality law and women's issues?**
- 3- When did you start covering the feminist NGOs' news, activities and campaigns in general and CRTD-A in particular?**
 - a- Does the NGO contact you? What are the steps for forming such an NGO-Media relationship?
 - c- Do you have any favorites NGOs and why?
 - d- What kind of media/ social media do you employ? Does it depend on the situation (before campaigns, during campaigns.... raising awareness)
- 4- Do you receive support form your institution when it comes to covering women's issues and the nationality one in particular?**

If yes, explain how while providing examples?

If No, explain how and provide examples?
- 5- Why is it important to report and write on women's rights and issues? Do you have loyal readers and are they increasing?**
- 6- Is media considered to be a useful tool for advocating NGOs like CRTD-A?**

If yes, then explain why and how.

If no, explain why not providing examples.
- 7- What are the different roles of newspapers and social media in Lebanon? Which is more effective and more outreached in general and in the case of CRTD-A in particular?**

Kindly provide examples of these roles and explain how?
- 8- Does the media play an important role in the Lebanese society and has it ever affected policy or its implementation? Kindly give examples.**
- 9- In the case of the nationality law, has media been an element of success in the policy process or its reformation?**

APPENDIX III: RESPONDENTS

Respondent 1, interviewed by author, Beirut, Lebanon, February 5, 2014

Respondent 2, interviewed by author, Beirut, Lebanon, February 20, 2014

Respondent 3, interviewed by author, Beirut, Lebanon, April 10, 2014

Respondent 4, interviewed by author, Beirut, Lebanon, May 18, 2014

Respondent 5, interviewed by author, Beirut, Lebanon, May 20, 2014

Respondent 6, interviewed by author, Beirut, Lebanon, June 15, 2014

Respondent 7, interviewed by author, Beirut, Lebanon, June 20, 2014

Respondent 8, interviewed by author, Beirut, Lebanon, June 28, 2014

Respondent 9, interviewed by author, Beirut, Lebanon, July 10, 2014

Respondent 10, interviewed by author, Beirut, Lebanon, July 12, 2014

Respondent 11, interviewed by author, Beirut, Lebanon, July 22, 2014

Respondent 12, interviewed by author, Beirut, Lebanon, August 5, 2014

Respondent 13, interviewed by author, Beirut, Lebanon, August 12, 2014

Respondent 14, interviewed by author, Beirut, Lebanon, August 24, 2014

Respondent 15, interviewed by author, Beirut, Lebanon, September 2, 2014

Respondent 16, interviewed by author, Beirut, Lebanon, September 10, 2014

Respondent 17, interviewed by author, Beirut, Lebanon, September 15, 2014

Respondent 18, interviewed by author, Beirut, Lebanon, September 20, 2014

Respondent 19, interviewed by author, Beirut, Lebanon, October 14, 2014

Respondent 20, interviewed by author, Beirut, Lebanon, October 14, 2013;

Respondent 21, interviewed by author, Beirut, Lebanon, October 26, 2013

