

Non-Governmental Organizations Working for Women Domestic Workers in Lebanon: Their
Work and its hidden stereotypes

By
Lucien Akdedian

Submitted to
Central European University
Department of Gender Studies

In partial fulfillment of the degree of Master of Arts in Gender Studies

Supervisor: Eva Fodor

Budapest, Hungary
2019-2020

Abstract

This thesis focuses on the efforts of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), within the Lebanese context, towards women domestic workers (WDWs). The study examines the services two NGOs in Lebanon provide to WDWs, most of them being migrants. The central question is how NGOs operating in Lebanon challenge the status quo of women domestic worker's marginalization in the Lebanese society, and what are the hidden stereotypes of the NGO work. The lens through which the study looks at WDWs is through the discrimination which they face due to the intersection of gender, race and class. A key pillar of WDW's difficult situation in Lebanon is their exclusion from the labor law and from the entire legal framework.

The data collection of this thesis is accomplished in three ways: through qualitative semi-structured interviews conducted virtually with NGO participants, through information collected from resources about NGOs operating in Lebanon, and via the insider position/knowledge of the author, who worked in one of the NGOs the thesis focuses on. The interviewees have experience working with WDWs, either in NGOs in Lebanon, or through their collaboration with different NGOs in Lebanon. This thesis focuses on one of the indirect services, NGOs supporting WDWs in Lebanon provide, which is awareness raising. The thesis argues that the awareness raising provided by the two NGOs being studied, Kafa and Caritas Lebanon, entails stereotypes based on gender, race and class, which in their turn reinforce and regenerate the already existing injustices. The hidden stereotypes I analyze, are those that bound the domestic work field in Lebanon to women from disadvantaged class and racial background. Moreover, I analyze the views of my seven NGO participants and demonstrate that the views of most of the participants in this research include similar hidden stereotypes parallel to the ones present within the awareness raising activities done by the two NGOs in focus.

Declaration of Original Research and the Word Count

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of original research; it contains no materials accepted for any other degree in any other institution and no materials previously written and/or published by another person, except where appropriate acknowledgment is made in the form of bibliographical reference.

I further declare that the following word count for this thesis are accurate:

Body of thesis (all chapters excluding notes, references, appendices, etc.): 17 279 words
Entire manuscript: 19 119 words

Signed: LUCIEN AKDEDIAN

Acknowledgments

I dedicate this thesis to my family. My parents, siblings, nephews, Fady and to all my relatives and friends all around the world. I would not have done it without your constant support, prayers and motivation.

Thank you Nourhan for proofreading my chapters.

I would like to thank my participants for their time and willingness to participate in this research.

Thank you to my supervisor, Eva Fodor, and second reader, Francisca De Haan for their patience, valuable comments and encouragement.

Finally, I dedicate this thesis to all women domestic workers and humanitarian workers in Lebanon.

List of abbreviations

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

WDW: Women Domestic Worker

BA: Bachelor of Arts

MA: Master of Arts

CEU: Central European University

ILO: International Labour Organization

MENA: Middle East and North Africa

COO: Country of Origin

IOM: International Organization for Migration

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	1
2. Context and Historical Background	3
2.1 The History of Women Domestic Workers in Lebanon.....	3
2.2 The exploitation of Women Domestic Workers in Lebanon.....	5
2.3 The Sponsorship (<i>kafala</i>) system and Non-Governmental Organizations in Lebanon working with WDWs.....	7
3. Literature Review	9
3.1 Women Domestic Workers	9
3.2 Women Domestic Workers in Lebanon	11
3.3 NGOs working with Women and with WDWs.....	14
3.4 Conclusion.....	18
4. Theoretical Framework and Methodology	19
4.1 Theoretical Framework	19
4.2 Methodology	20
5. Awareness raising by NGOs and their hidden stereotypes – Analysis.....	24
5.1 Participants views about gender	24
5.2 Participants views about race and class.....	29
5.3 Analysis of the awareness raising activities done by KAFA and Caritas Lebanon.....	33
5.3.1 Analysis of media campaigns and videos.....	35
5.3.2 Analysis of written materials, trainings and workshops.....	40
6. Conclusion.....	41
Bibliography.....	43
Appendix 1	49
Appendix 2	53

1. Introduction

It was in Summer 2015, as a fresh graduate from university with a BA in Social Work, I was applying to several vacancies available at different NGOs in Lebanon. Back then, I had no specific NGO, nor a precise target of population to work with. My main goal was to find a job as a social worker and begin my career. Nearly a month after applying to numerous NGOs, I had an interview with Caritas Lebanon, a non-governmental organization in Lebanon which provides different range of support to vulnerable populations regardless of their race or religion (Caritas Lebanon 2020). During my interview, when asked about my preference whether to work with refugees or migrant workers (and specifically female migrant domestic workers), I had informed them that I prefer working with refugees. I had little knowledge about domestic workers in Lebanon, including the difficulties they encounter and about the services provided to them by NGOs. Moreover, working with refugees grabbed the interest of many job seekers in Lebanon at that time. There were large numbers of Syrian refugees in Lebanon, since the start of the Syrian conflict in 2011 and a huge number of Syrians fleeing to Lebanon (Naufal 2012; Janmyr 2016). Few days later, I received a phone call informing me that I was appointed to work with female domestic workers and specifically with migrant women, and that is how my journey with these migrant strata began. I was a humanitarian worker and a project coordinator for approximately four years within the migrant's department of Caritas Lebanon. I never knew the impact that these women would have on me. Working closely for years and in direct contact with WDWs pushed me to apply to the MA program in Gender Studies at CEU and follow my academic and professional endeavors.

I always admired WDWs for their courage, for leaving their countries of origin and coming to a country with a completely different culture, language and background and work as domestic workers (Jureidini 2009; Abu-Habib 1998). I praised these young women (some of them minors) for taking up the role of breadwinners and becoming the source of the financial support for their families (Kifleyesus 2012; Gamburd 2016; Gamburd 2010). I admired their appreciation and love to us – humanitarian workers – when we were providing them with any kind of assistance. I learned a lot from them as they shared their stories of suffering and exploitation mainly due to gender, racial and class discrimination. During my daily interactions with these women, I built strong

connections with them. I shared with them their challenges, cries, and laughter. However, I always thought of the reasons behind the ongoing exploitation of this population in Lebanon, even though NGOs and humanitarian workers work hard to support and protect WDWs in Lebanon (Marie-José Tayah - ILO 2012; Mansour-Ille and Hendow 2018). I never denied the work of NGOs and of humanitarian workers to support WDWs in Lebanon. Yet, I always wondered whether NGOs in Lebanon can better support WDWs. How can NGOs overcome the challenges they face? How can they fight the structures leading to the existence of the exploitation WDWs face? Are they doing enough and how can they do better? I always perceived NGOs as the support system helping vulnerable populations and never thought beyond that. For example, I never analyzed the gaps or hidden stereotypes hidden beneath the positive images present within their work. Gaps, and gender, racial and class-based stereotypes, that target WDWs and the domestic work sector in Lebanon. I always thought that the *kafala* (sponsorship) system as the main problem of the exploitation WDWs face in Lebanon, given that it is the main target of the awareness raising campaigns raised by NGOs in Lebanon to fight this sponsorship system. However, it is through my research that I find that this is not always the situation.

In my thesis, specifically within the analytical chapter, I choose to focus on one of the main indirect services NGOs supporting WDWs in Lebanon provide, which is awareness raising. The main research question of my thesis is: How do non-governmental organizations operating in Lebanon challenge the status quo of women domestic workers' exploitation in the Lebanese society and what are the hidden stereotypes of the NGO work? I base my study on two NGOs located in Lebanon, KAFA and Caritas Lebanon, while analyzing their awareness raising campaigns and materials to deduce the hidden stereotypes (such as limiting the domestic work sector only to females from underprivileged class and racial setting), which these materials and campaigns include. Moreover, while analyzing the views of my seven NGO participants, I demonstrate and I argue that - the views of most of the participants in this research towards the marginalization of WDWs in Lebanon, include similar hidden stereotypes based on gender, race and class, parallel to the ones present within the awareness raising activities done by the two NGOs in focus.

Literature on NGOs in Lebanon working with WDWs, and on the analysis of the overall service provision of NGOs in Lebanon working with WDWs is de-emphasized. My research will

fulfill the gap of the underrepresented analysis of the service delivery of NGOs working with WDWs in Lebanon, more specifically, the analysis of one of the indirect services provided by NGOs in Lebanon working with WDWs, which is awareness raising. My study will as well carry out the gap of the underrepresentation of the hidden, gender, race, and class-based stereotypes towards WDWs in Lebanon, which the NGO participants of this research and the awareness raising campaigns of the two NGOs in focus contain.

My thesis is divided into six main sections. Following the introduction, I present the context and the historical background of Lebanon. Precisely, the second section includes the history of women domestic workers in Lebanon, the exploitation WDWs face in Lebanon, and a general overview about the *kafala* (sponsorship) system and about NGOs in Lebanon working with WDWs. In the third section of my thesis, I provide a literature review on WDWs, on WDWs in Lebanon and on NGOs working with women/WDWs. I conclude the third section with the contribution that I bring with my thesis, as an addition to what has been previously discussed in the literature of WDWs and the literature of NGOs working with WDWs in general, but specifically in Lebanon. The fourth part of my thesis consists of my theoretical framework and the methodology I followed to conduct my research and to analyze my data. Following that, my fifth section will be my analytical chapter, in which I analyze the awareness raising (which is one of the indirect services that NGOs working with WDWs in Lebanon offer) provided to WDWs in Lebanon by the two NGOs targeted (KAFA and Caritas Lebanon). In this section, I discuss my argument and I analyze the results of my interviews and the data I collected. Finally, I end my thesis with a conclusion and some recommendations.

2. Context and Historical Background

In this following chapter, I provide background information on the history of domestic work and of WDWs in the Arab world and precisely in Lebanon, the exploitation that WDWs have been and are facing in Lebanon until today, and on the sponsorship (*kafala*) system and NGOs in Lebanon working with WDWs.

2.1 The History of Women Domestic Workers in Lebanon

The subject of domestic workers in Lebanon is an important topic that should be highlighted and discussed, due to the significant number of domestic workers in the country. Today, the majority of domestic workers in Lebanon and in the Middle East are women migrants (Moors and

de Regt 2008; ILO 2015; Jureidini 2009). Recent statistics, such as the Human Rights Watch, show that 250.000 migrant WDWs from Asia and Africa live on the Lebanese terrestrial (Dutton 2020). Although this number is already significant, other sources state that the signified number of this population is not fairly presented. This is due to the fact that there are thousands of additional undocumented migrant workers who reside in Lebanon who are not counted in the previously mentioned statistic (Amnesty International 2019).

It is essential to go back in time to the history of domestic work in Lebanon, since the beginning of the Lebanese civil war and the flee of Arab domestic workers from Lebanon were the factors behind the huge flow of Asian and African WDWs to Lebanon. The history of WDWs in Lebanon can be tailed back to the period between the 1920s and the 1940s, when Kurdish women were taking part in the domestic work sector in the country (Jureidini 2009). Following the Kurdish WDWs, Palestinian WDWs were the subsequent nationality of domestic workers in Lebanon, beginning the year 1948 (Jureidini 2009). This was mainly due to the existence of Palestinian refugees and of refugee camps in Lebanon (Jureidini 2009). In the 1950s, Egyptian WDWs entered the country to work in the domestic labor field due to and driven by the political tensions that was happening back then between Egypt and Syria until early 1960s (Jureidini 2009). Finally, with the start of the Lebanese civil war in 1975, the era of Arab women to be employed as domestic workers in Lebanon came to an end. Egyptian WDWs traveled from Lebanon due to the unsafe political situation of Lebanon, and Palestinians became no more interested in the domestic work sector (Jureidini 2009).

The migration of Asian and African workers to Lebanon, started taking place in the 1970s, few years before the beginning of the Lebanese civil war, when migrant workers began migrating from Sri Lanka to Lebanon after being employed by recruitment agencies (Abu-Habib 1998; Jureidini 2009). During the early stages of migration to the Arab world, migrants were mainly categorized as single men. Later on, women began to migrate for the sake of family reunification (Fernandez and de Regt 2014). Given the increasing need for domestic workers in the Arab region, women began to migrate autonomously - not for reasons related to unification with their spouses, but to work as domestic workers (Fernandez and de Regt 2014).

After the end of the civil war in Lebanon in 1975, with the alteration in the recruitment of domestic workers from Arab to non-Arab domestic workers, the recruitment of Asian and African

WDWs was multiplied (Jureidini 2009). The post 1973 period witnessed a massive flow of Asian and African workers, not only to Lebanon but to the whole region of the Middle East region (Fernandez and de Regt 2014). This event led to the development of the MENA region in terms of different sectors such as the development of the regions' economy, agriculture, infrastructure and industry (Fernandez and de Regt 2014). Therefore, a substantial number of migrant workers were needed in the region to work (Fernandez and de Regt 2014).

As mentioned earlier, during the 1970s, in the early stages of the migration of WDWs, the main population who migrated to the Arab world came from Asian countries. Back then, the Asian countries which had the biggest percentage of WDWs in the Arab world were Sri Lanka, Philippines, India and Bangladesh. Afterwards, WDWs from Africa, mostly Eritreans and Ethiopians, followed the Asian nationalities (Fernandez and de Regt 2014). Sri Lankans were the main nationality of WDWs in the domestic labor force in Lebanon until 2006 (Jureidini 2009). Afterwards, other nationalities of WDWs from first the Philippines and later from Ethiopia, began to arrive to Lebanon (Jureidini 2009). During this period, the war between Lebanon and Israel took place and the overall political and economic situation of the country was not promising and the situation was not safe for WDWs residing in Lebanon as well (Jureidini 2009). As a result, the government of the Philippines took action to make the migration of WDWs to Lebanon stricter, such as imposing various regulations to maintain a minimum salary for WDWs working in Lebanon to be a worth of \$400/month (Jureidini 2009). Another regulation by the government of the Philippines was to restrict the entrance of WDWs under the age of eighteen (Jureidini 2009). These limitations discouraged WDWs from the Philippines to travel to the MENA region looking for opportunities. Nevertheless, this was just the beginning of a new period with African WDWs coming from Ethiopia, entering the domestic labor sector in 2006 (Jureidini 2009). African WDWs in Lebanon became the highest population of WDWs in Lebanon, mainly due to cheap labor they offer, which is preferred by the majority of the Lebanese public until today (Jureidini 2009).

2.2 The exploitation of Women Domestic Workers in Lebanon

WDWs in Lebanon have been suffering from different form of abuse and discrimination (Jureidini 2009; Amnesty International 2019). The majority of WDWs employed in the Middle East and in Lebanon particularly reside at the house of their employers full-time. This means that they are restricted from enjoying their personal free space and time. Due to such reasons (and

several other reasons mentioned below), there is a higher risk for WDWs to become victims of exploitation and marginalization (Fernandez and de Regt 2014).

Since the beginning of the flow of Asian and African WDWs to Lebanon, which began with Sri Lankan WDWs, since that period WDWs have been facing diverse form of exploitation and marginalization (Abu-Habib 1998). For instance, the low salary WDWs receive, which is an income lower than the minimum basic salary in Lebanon (Ali Fakih and Walid Marrouch 2014; Abu-Habib 1998). Other forms of discrimination, such as non-payment of salaries, physical, sexual and oral violence, being locked at the employer's house when employers are out, restricted to take a day off from work, food deprivation, being forbidden to practice their religion, miscommunication between the WDW and the sponsor mainly due to the language and culture differences (noting that the home countries and the destination country of WDWs have different languages, culture and tradition), confiscation of the passports of WDWs by the employers following their arrival to the country of destination in order to prevent the escape of the WDW (Abu-Habib 1998; Pande 2012; Ali Fakih and Walid Marrouch 2014; Jureidini 2009; Amnesty International 2019).

WDWs are deprived from enjoying their own private space and are not allowed from accessing public spaces such as restaurants and swimming pools without the company of their sponsor (Pande 2012). WDWs are in many cases called by the Lebanese public with adjectives and words (such as "maid") that have racist connotations (Pande 2012). Therefore, balconies of the sponsor's houses remain the only private space WDWs in Lebanon can have (Pande 2012). As a consequence of the abuse, exploitation and marginalization which WDWs go through in Lebanon, many of them end up feeling desperate and decide to commit suicide (Pande 2012).

Further than the exploitation WDWs face in Lebanon, the majority of WDWs are exploited as well in their countries of the origin, prior to their arrival to Lebanon (Abu-Habib 1998; Kathleen Hamill - KAFA 2012; Joey Ayoub - Al Jazeera 2019). WDWs undergo some illegal procedures in their home countries and pay fees to recruitment agencies or to government entities to falsify their passports and official documents, for the purpose of changing their birth dates if the MDW was a minor for instance (Abu-Habib 1998; Nasri and Tannous 2014). In the countries of origin, WDWs, before even deciding on migrating and entering the domain of domestic work, are victims of the oppression resulting from the male-controlled society (Nasri and Tannous 2014). WDWs are provided by dishonest expectations and information in their countries of origin about Lebanon:

they are unaware of their rights, responsibilities and living conditions in Lebanon, unaware of the Lebanese culture, tradition and language (Pande 2012; Jureidini 2009).

2.3 The Sponsorship (*kafala*) system and Non-Governmental Organizations in Lebanon working with WDWs

Historically speaking, the sponsorship (*kafala*) system was practiced by Bedouin¹ societies, as a way of showing their hospitality towards their foreign guests (Khan and Harroff-Tavel 2011; Bajracharya and Sijapati 2012). Back then, Bedouins were responsible of protecting their guests and treating them in the best possible way (Bajracharya and Sijapati 2012; Gardner 2011). However, the connotation and the practice of the *kafala* system has changed over the time (Bajracharya and Sijapati 2012; Khan and Harroff-Tavel 2011). Today, the *kafala* system is practiced in many Arab countries, each government practicing this system in its own way. In Lebanon, the sponsorship (*kafala*) system is predominant until today and is a way of controlling the movement of migrant WDWs by the Lebanese state (Pande 2013; Bajracharya and Sijapati 2012). Migrant WDWs can only enter Lebanon under the name of a Lebanese *kafil*² (Pande 2012; Mansour-Ille and Hindow 2018). The *kafala* system in Lebanon is a system that ties foreign WDWs to their *kafil*, by which the legal and visa status of the workers is tied to the employer (Bajracharya and Sijapati 2012; Roper 2008; Pande 2012). The sponsorship system is viewed as one of the main factors of facilitating the occurrence of violations towards WDWs (Pande 2013). It also increases the number of illegal migrants in Lebanon (Pande 2013). Besides having abusive employers, the sponsorship system itself is exploitative towards WDWs, and the system facilitates the protection of abusive sponsors to remain unpunished against the authorities (Pande 2013). This system renders the employer completely in charge of the WDW, both legally and economically. Noting that with the *kafala* system, WDWs cannot enter Lebanon without having a sponsor (Pande 2013; Bajracharya and Sijapati 2012). WDWs cannot even leave the country without the approval of their sponsor, they even do not have the right to change the sponsor without the official approval of the current sponsor (Pande 2013; Mansour-Ille and Hindow 2018). The *kafala* system leads some WDWs victims of abuse and exploitation to remain silent in front of the violations they receive from the sponsors, due to their legal dependency on the sponsors, and due to the power

¹ Ethnic group of migrating Arabs

² Arabic name for sponsor

imbalance between WDWs and employers, since once the WDW escapes the house of the sponsor she will be considered illegal (Pande 2013; Mansour-Ille and Hendow 2018). The *kafala* system gives the opportunity to Lebanese sponsors to “possess” domestic workers (Pande 2013; Pande 2012).

The *kafala* system is still predominant in Lebanon and unfortunately, until today, there are no laws in Lebanon that protect the rights of WDWs. In addition, Lebanon has not ratified the C189 ILO Convention, which provides the right to decent work for domestic workers and protects their wages, working hours and their overall wellbeing (Mansour-Ille and Hendow 2018; Amnesty International 2019; Idriss 2020). Despite the unpromising stance of the Lebanese government towards WDWs, NGOs remain as one of the main institutions that support WDWs in Lebanon, through the direct and indirect services they provide. Since the early 1980’s, NGOs have been involved in supporting and providing services to WDWs through a range of services, beginning with a limited amount of services, and gradually the services of NGOs developed with the growth in the number of NGOs supporting WDWs (Marie-José Tayah - ILO 2012). The 1980’s was a revolutionary period in the lives of WDWs in Lebanon, with the start of religious NGOs (specifically church-associated NGOs), supporting WDWs in Lebanon (Mansour-Ille and Hendow 2018; Marie-José Tayah - ILO 2012). As mentioned earlier, NGOs in Lebanon provide a range of direct (such as humanitarian assistance, legal, sheltering etc.) and indirect services (such as advocacy, awareness raising, lobbying etc.) to support WDWs in Lebanon. The main direct services provided by the majority of NGOs in Lebanon are: holistic case management, counseling, humanitarian, legal, social, psychological, medical, educational assistances, shelter provision, follow ups, 24/7 helplines, referrals to other organizations when the service requested is unavailable in the given NGO, reintegration to countries of origin, psychosocial activities within the shelters and the community centers and etc. (Marie-José Tayah - ILO 2012; Nasri and Tannous 2014; Mansour-Ille and Hendow 2018; Jureidini 2002; Caritas Lebanon 2020; KAFA 2020). The main indirect services provided by NGOs in Lebanon targeting WDWs or other populations who connect and interact with WDWs (such as the Lebanese public, law enforcement officials, judges, or ministry representatives) are: Trainings (such as vocational and pre-departure orientation trainings), empowerment, community based and capacity building activities, lobbying, advocacy and etc. (Marie-José Tayah - ILO 2012; Caritas Lebanon 2020; KAFA 2020; Nasri and Tannous 2014; Mansour-Ille and Hendow 2018; Jureidini 2002). And finally, the indirect services involve

awareness raising, which is the focus of the fifth section of this thesis, and in which this service is analyzed, as being one of the main indirect services which NGOs working with WDWs in Lebanon provide.

This chapter emphasized the history of domestic work and of WDWs in the Arab world and specifically in Lebanon. It shed a light on the different forms of marginalization that WDWs have been facing and are still facing in Lebanon. The final subsection of this chapter provided a general definition of the sponsorship (*kafala*) system and it briefly highlighted the direct and indirect services of NGOs in Lebanon towards WDWs.

3. Literature Review

In the following chapter, I offer a review of three main bodies of literature related to the topic of my research. I review scholarly articles and books written in different time periods on three main subjects: WDWs, WDWs in Lebanon and NGOs working with women and with WDWs. I conclude by mentioning the gaps which my research fills in the literature of WDWs, NGOs working with WDWs and WDWs in Lebanon.

3.1 Women Domestic Workers

Globally and nationwide, the aspect of gender, race and class within the sector of domestic work and with WDWs is and has been always present (Pande 2013).

As mentioned by a growing number of scholarship, domestic work, due to the fact that it is majorly performed by women and specifically those who come from lower status, is worldwide considered among jobs that are underprivileged and neglected (Silver 1993; Singha 2019). The existing traditional gender stereotypes, which are present among many cultures worldwide, link domestic work and cleaning work as a task limited only to women (Silver 1993; Singha 2019), despite several studies showing historically the involvement of men in the domestic and cleaning fields (Ozyegin 2000). The attribution of domestic work to only women is mainly since the sector is linked to housework and cleaning, and is performed within the context of households, which women have been historically responsible of undertaking these tasks within their own households (Moors and de Regt 2008). However, historically speaking, in several countries of the world a considerable number of men were involved in paid domestic work, despite the fact that the majority of domestic workers in these countries were women (Rollins 1985; Moors and de Regt 2008), and

in countries such as in India men are still employed as domestic workers (Moors and de Regt 2008).

Literature on WDWs, talk about the concept of the feminization of migration (Mahler and Pessar 2001; Gabaccia 1999; de Regt 2010). Feminization of migration is an important concept for this research given that most of WDWs in Lebanon and in the Middle East are migrants. A huge number of scholarship mention the way in which the migration of WDWs is gendered (de Regt 2010; Moors and de Regt 2008). Scholarship on foreign WDWs highlight the role of gender not only in the destination country where WDWs are employed (de Regt 2010). It is present starting from the pre-departure phase of migration, during the employment in the destination country, and while returning to the country of origin (de Regt 2010).

The probability of having local men or women as domestic workers has decreased worldwide with the start of the feminization of migration, not only due to the scarcity of domestic workers locally, but because employing foreign domestic workers is less costly and more obedient than locals (Moors and de Regt 2008). The vulnerable position of foreign WDWs, such as being undereducated or coming from poorer areas, and the fact that they are unprotected by the legal framework, led WDWs to be discriminated by the public, by their employers and by the whole system. Moreover, in undeveloped countries, the low status and low salaries of the domestic work field is another reason for locals not to participate in this sector (de Regt 2010).

As noted within the “Context and Historical Background” chapter, that the migration of foreign workers to the Middle East was debuted by males while females were the followers of their spouses (Fernandez and de Regt 2014). The same applies to the migration of WDWs worldwide, which was debuted as women being followers, however, the situation is no longer the same with the debut of the feminization of migration as women began migrating independently mainly due to the increase of the worldwide demand for WDWs (de Regt 2010; Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004; Anderson 2000).

Scholarship on this topic states that, women who migrate for the purpose of domestic work, face more challenges, than men and other women who migrate for other purposes than domestic work (Moors and de Regt 2008). These challenges are for instance related to the cultural stereotypes WDWs face (mainly due to their nationality, status, race, gender and class), harsh

border passage conditions, and challenges associated with the sector of domestic work being unrecognized by many governments and legal entities, which in its turn creates many difficulties for WDWs and leads them to be in a reliant and unprotected status (Moors and de Regt 2008). Knowing that, domestic work, unlike other occupations within the service sector, is a profession omitted from the legal cadres in many countries around the world. In addition, a few countries around the world have ratified the C189 Convention, which claims the right for decent work for domestic workers (Singha 2019).

The feminization of migration gradually led to an increase in the migration of WDWs worldwide and changed the concept of women being restricted only to their household and childcare. The feminization of migration opened the opportunity for women to enter the global labor market – specifically enter the domestic work sector – and become the breadwinners of their families (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004; de Regt 2010; Mahler and Pessar 2001).

There are different views when it comes whether male guardianship societies exist in the home countries of WDWs or not. From one side, some scholars claim that the fact that WDWs are switching the traditional gender role and are taking up the role of the breadwinner in the family shows the fading of these form of societies in the home countries of WDWs (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004). From the other side, other scholars state that male guardianship societies persist in the home countries of WDWs despite the breadwinning role of women (Smith 2006). For instance, according to Smith, the patriarchal society in Sri Lanka is viewed as a positive sign for the receiving countries of WDWs, since women from these male-controlled societies are hard workers with little knowledge of their rights (Smith 2006).

3.2 Women Domestic Workers in Lebanon

Literature on WDWs in Lebanon indicates that WDWs in Lebanon are victims of gender, race and class discrimination concurrently (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004; Abu-Habib 1998).

Even among each ethnicity (Asian and African) of WDWs in Lebanon, WDWs are discriminated between themselves based on the status and the hierarchy of each nationality of WDW (Fernandez and de Regt 2014; Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004). “Low status” is attributed to those who are less educated, less skilled and who come from poorer regions, while “high status” is attributed to WDWs who are more educated (speak English) and cleaner (Jureidini and

Moukarbel 2004; Fernandez and de Regt 2014). For instance, Sri Lankans and Ethiopians are considered among the “low status and class”, who eventually receive lower salaries due to their status, than WDWs from the Philippines who are considered as having “higher (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004; Fernandez and de Regt 2014; Fernandez 2013; de Regt 2010).

As mentioned within the “Context and Historical Background” chapter, during the 1940’s up until the beginning of the Lebanese civil war, WDWs were consisted of only Arabs (Jureidini 2009). However, a vast scholarship on WDWs in Lebanon mention that, ever since women from Asian and African ethnicities started undertaking the field of domestic work in Lebanon and the continuous growth in the number of this populations’ arrival to Lebanon and their enrollment in the domestic work sector, led to stereotyping the field performed by this migrant strata and considering it a shameful and low status sector (Smith 2006; Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004). Lebanese women began limiting domestic work as only Asian and African women’s work and were no more interested in getting enrolled in the domestic work field, considering their (Arab/Lebanese) status or hierarchy higher and not equivalent to the domestic work sector (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004; Smith 2006).

According to Pande, the gender and racial discrimination that WDWs in the Middle East and specifically in Lebanon face is not only limited to one area or setting but is predominant in several geographical public spaces is endorsed in different forms (Pande 2012). For instance, when it comes to the racist and gender-based remarks women and WDWs receive on the streets. In general, women in Lebanon and in the Middle East usually receive sexual comments and acts from men while simply walking on the streets and when passing by men (Pande 2012). The situation is worst when it comes to foreign WDWs in Lebanon, who receive double the discrimination that Lebanese women or “white” women receive on the streets (Pande 2012). Foreign WDWs on the Lebanese streets do not only receive a higher dosage of sexist comments and acts, but racist remarks as well, due to their different skin color or facial characteristics, by which men assume the nationality and the type of work of the foreign women which automatically gives power over men to discriminate against them even more (Pande 2012).

Other than being victims of racial and gender discrimination on the Lebanese streets, according to Pande, WDWs are discriminated as well in other public places in Lebanon such as restaurants, coffee shops and, swimming pools mainly because of their race and the assumption of

their domestic work job from their race and facial/physical traits (Pande 2012). WDWs are either not allowed to enter the already mentioned places, or are allowed to enter only with the company of their Lebanese employers (Pande 2012).

The gender discrimination of WDWs in Lebanon is clear in comparison with male migrant workers in Lebanon, as documented within the literature of WDWs in Lebanon (Pande 2013). Below are two examples of systematic discrimination, which demonstrate how the legal structure in Lebanon perpetuates gender discrimination. For instance, when WDWs arrive for the first time at the Lebanese airport, they can only leave the airport accompanied by their sponsors, while men foreign workers can leave without the company of anyone (Pande 2013). Another example of gender discrimination between WDWs and male workers in Lebanon is fee of the residency permit issuing or renewal, for which the fee for each gender is different. WDWs pay lower fees than male migrant workers, which reinforces the limitation of the domestic work field to an undervalued sector, performed by women from “low status” (Pande 2012).

The racial discrimination towards WDWs and the field of domestic work in Lebanon is obvious as well, since all foreign WDWs in Lebanon, despite their nationality, are called not by their names, but by one nationality which is the Sri Lankan “SriLankiyye”³, which is attributed to the idea that Sri Lankan WDWs were the first strata of Asian and African nationality to arrive to Lebanon as domestic workers (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004; Pande 2012). The racism towards WDWs in Lebanon is clear as well even before WDWs arrive to Lebanon, when they are “chosen” by their sponsors according to catalogues shown to the sponsors by the recruitment agencies. These catalogues include pictures of foreign WDWs and based on the pictures in the catalogue, sponsors choose the WDW and recruitment agencies start with the process of the employment and bringing of WDWs to Lebanon (Abu-Habib 1998).

The racial, gendered, and class discrimination of WDWs in Lebanon impacts the legal status of WDWs, as documented by many scholars. Given that WDWs are considered as low class workers, most of them are considered as uneducated and coming from poor countries, and working in a low and cheap sector, it is assumed that WDWs do not need a law to protect them (Smith 2006; Jureidini 2009). Therefore, the same applies with the presence of the *kafala* system in

³ “SriLankiyye” is the Arabic word for women from Sri Lankan nationality

Lebanon which preserves this attribution and discrimination of WDWs in Lebanon and preserves their status as helpless and the domestic work to remain considered as a cheap sector (Pande 2013). Other than preserving the discrimination of WDWs, and as mentioned within the “Context and Historical Background” chapter, the *kafala* system facilitates the creation of illegal WDWs, who become undocumented by escaping their employer’s houses due to the discrimination and the abuse they face. Becoming illegal, they start working as freelancers without official documentation and become at constant risk of being caught by the authorities (Pande 2013).

3.3 NGOs working with Women and with WDWs

In the following sub-section, I review the operations of NGOs (specifically feminist NGOs) and I explore the way they are affected either by the policies or by the requirements of international donors. I examine how this impacts the content of their awareness raising activities and on their overall service provision to women. Furthermore, I demonstrate that, in the Arab world, NGOs in general and specifically women NGOs, remain either controlled by international donors or by the government (Hatem 2005; Abu-Lughod 2010), and this leads for women NGOs to face challenges such as altering their gender programs, their activities and awareness raising campaigns, based on the requirements of either the state or the international donors (Hatem 2005). This can be explained as one reason for the existence of the stereotypes within the awareness raising campaigns of NGOs (similar to the stereotypes which will be analyzed in the fifth chapter of this thesis). Moreover, within this sub-part, I provide several examples from NGOs and from feminist NGOs around the world, from one side to mention about the content of their service provision (especially those related to advocacy and awareness raising) and from the other side, to demonstrate that not only in the Arab region, but in other areas around the world, NGOs or feminist NGOs do as well limit their agendas based on the requirements of the government or the donor.

NGOs promoting women’s rights have become nowadays a growing sector in the industry (Abu-Lughod 2010). NGOs supporting women overall, focus on raising awareness, educating and empowering women. They focus on cultivating the awareness of women to help them challenge the traditions that control them, preserve their dignity and become aware of the opportunities they are deserving of (Tadros 2010). An increasing number of literature view NGOs as advocates for WDWs, supporters, protectors and providers of direct and indirect services to WDWs (Shwenken 2003; Moors, et al. 2008; Nasri and Tannous 2014).

When it comes to the scholarship of NGOs working with WDWs specifically in Lebanon, scholars mainly document the different range of assistance NGOs provide (such as safe houses, humanitarian, legal and awareness raising) specially to Asian and African WDWs in Lebanon (Moors, et al. 2008; Nasri and Tannous 2014). NGOs in Lebanon promote and advocate for the rights of WDWs in Lebanon and are viewed as one of the rare public sites for WDWs (Moors, et al. 2008).

A huge body of literature demonstrates how NGOs in general, particularly feminist NGOs, are becoming competitors among each other and are competing among each other, with the intention of each one to receive more funds than the other (Jad 2004; Ghodsee 2004; Bernal and Grewal 2014). According to Ghodsee, NGOs would have collaborated with each other for the sake of their common mission, if the competition between each other in terms of receiving more funds was absent (Ghodsee 2004).

Getting funds and resources from international donors is one of the essential goals of NGOs and the majority of NGOs rely on external donors in order to be able to provide their services (Edwards and Hulme 1996; Ghodsee 2004; Bernal and Grewal 2014). Examples are present from all over the world and not only restricted to NGOs in the Arab world or Lebanon. For instance, in Eastern European countries, women NGOs are viewed as always being mainly reliant on outside donors, and in Russia, where women NGOs are viewed as failing to address the need of its beneficiaries, since their focus is more on receiving funds (Hemment 2014; Guenther 2011; Ghodsee 2004). Moreover, in some Eastern European countries the NGO field is viewed as addressing more the demand of its external funder, than those of its own population, and are accused of failing to transmit the needs of its population to the government and are accused as well for following and transmitting capitalist ideologies than supporting women (Ghodsee 2004; Guenther 2011).

Research shows that some NGOs stick to their own local mission and agendas while relying on international donors for the purpose of getting funds only (Bernal and Grewal 2014; Ghodsee 2004). However, other NGOs base their agendas and practices based on international standards to receive more funds from international donors (Bernal and Grewal 2014; Ghodsee 2004). The same applies when it comes to the relationship of NGOs with the state; some include anti-state agendas while others prefer to adhere with the government (Ghodsee 2004; Fisher 1998). For instance, in

some regions in the Arab world, some local women NGOs refuse to convert their agendas and conform to international donor's standards and requirements, instead they prefer adhering to their own mission (Daly 2010). On the other hand, other associations in the same region within the Arab world (that were previously known simply as associations) decide to convert their title into NGO for the purpose of being recognized on an international scale and getting more funds from international donors (Daly 2010).

A growing number of literature documents that many factors influence the decision of donors when it comes to funding NGOs that have feminist agendas (Al-Ali and Pratt 2009; Tadros 2010; Jad 2010). For instance, in the case of the Arab countries, these factors can be related to the overall political, financial, policy of the region and the regional procedure of distributing the donation, which influence the decision of donors to fund such NGOs (Tadros 2010; Jad 2010). Therefore, it is a challenge for donors to fund feminist NGOs in the Arab regions who have similar mission as the one they have (Tadros 2010). Donor funds to NGOs in the Arab world for the purpose of achieving reforms within the legal system, take place in most cases via NGOs that work in collaboration with the government (Jad 2010; Tadros 2010). Similarly, in the Arab countries modifications within the legal system, or advocacy, awareness raising and lobbying work by NGOs aiming to make legal reforms, remains relatively weak, due to the existence of controlling governments in the Arab regions (Tadros 2010; Al-Ali and Pratt 2009).

In the Arab region, feminist NGOs focus on encouraging principles such as peace, acceptance and human rights approaches (Daly 2010). In several regions within the Arab countries, where women NGOs are viewed as a site for activism, the authoritarian regime of some of the countries, stance in opposition against the continuation of those women NGOs which refuse to adhere to the requirements of the governments (Daly 2010; Hatem 2005). Feminist NGOs in the Arab region providing support to women, remain reliant on the government and entail features of the authoritarian state, which in its turn make women who are receiving aid from these NGOs dependent to the state (Hatem 2005). Moreover, the extent of the activism of NGOs is controlled by the majority of governments in the Arab world, as mentioned by a huge majority of scholarship (Abu-Lughod 2010; Daly 2010; Hatem 2005).

Furthermore, as Bernal and Grewal mention, NGOs can differ as well, in the way they adopt feminist views (Bernal and Grewal 2014). Some will directly empower feminist activism,

while others will include in their agenda's feminist views in collaboration with the state and other governmental establishments (Bernal and Grewal 2014). According to a growing number of literature, the situation differs from one country to the other, when it comes to the collaboration of women NGOs with the state in Latin American countries (Markowitz and Tice 2002; Alvarez 1999; Gideon 1998). Some women NGOs in Chile, focus on activities and trainings related to empowering and educating women who are from poor backgrounds (Alvarez 1999; Markowitz and Tice 2002). On the other hand, some women NGOs in Brazil and Columbia, work on policy amendment projects and provide awareness raising, lobbying, advocacy, trainings and workshops related to law, to gender, race and class, to promote issues of women and gender and integrate them within the legal system of the region (Alvarez 1999; Schild 2015). Due to the efforts of NGOs in many Latin American countries, governments have agreed to collaborate with these NGOs and shed further attention on issues of women and gender within their policies and legislations (Gideon 1998; Alvarez 1999).

In Asia, the overall service provision of NGOs to promote for the rights of WDWs and provide better working conditions for them is considered to be more effective than the support which WDWs receive from the governments of the countries of origin and of countries of destination (Lyons 2007). NGOs are viewed as providers of emergency assistance and of trainings to WDWs (Ogaya 2004; Asato 2004). In addition, the presence of women NGOs in Hong Kong, is regarded as a reason for WDWs to organize themselves and form unions (Ogaya 2004). Moreover, NGOs in Asia work with WDWs and through the initiatives of the latter, on the prevention of migrant WDWs to reenter the cycle of migration after they return to their Countries of Origin (COO), by providing to WDWs orientation trainings and counseling about revenue saving, profession planning, investment, teaching them new skills and providing them with knowledge and etc. (Ogaya 2004). All of this while collaborating with NGOs in the COO who in their turn train the families of WDWs who will return home (Ogaya 2004).

Another example from Asia is Singapore, where NGOs supporting WDWs through their provision of counseling and trainings lead the Singaporeans to stand in solidarity with migrant WDWs present in Singapore and play a role in convincing the government to ameliorate the employment conditions of WDWs in Singapore (Lyons 2007; Ogaya 2004). In its turn, the government in Singapore has shown solidarity in supporting foreign WDWs in Singapore, such as

the government distributing manuals for both WDWs and employers (Ogaya 2004). However, NGOs in Singapore make sure to remain in compliance with the government, while providing any form of support, in order to avoid any form of sanctions, since supporting foreigners should not transgress national schemas (Lyons 2007).

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I covered the three bodies of literature which my research will contribute to. The three bodies of literature are WDWs, WDWs in Lebanon and NGOs working with women and with WDWs. In this section, I examined what different scholars have written about these bodies of scholarship.

In the first sub-part of this chapter I explored the different stereotypes, attributions, and discrimination mainly based on gender, class and race, which is attributed generally to the sector of domestic work and particularly to WDWs. I also covered, the process of migration and the feminization of migration, which entails, gender, racial and class dimensions. The second sub-section of this chapter, which is related to the literature on WDWs in Lebanon, mainly covered the gender, race and class discrimination WDWs in Lebanon encounter. Within the sub-section of NGOs working with women and with WDWs I revised, by providing examples from different regions, the relationship, NGOs in general and particularly feminist NGOs, have with the government and with international donors, and how this impacts on the content of their service provision. I reviewed the agendas of NGOs, their mission, principles, and the kind of support they provide to women and particularly to WDWs, in several parts of the world.

Literature on NGOs in Lebanon working with WDWs is understated. Similarly, literature on the analysis of the overall service provision of NGOs in Lebanon working with WDWs is hardly covered as well. Besides contributing to the already mentioned bodies of literature, my research will accomplish the gap of the underrepresentation of the analysis of the service provision of NGOs working with WDWs in Lebanon, more specifically, the analysis of one the indirect services provided by NGOs in Lebanon working with WDWs, which is the awareness raising. My study will as well fulfill the gap of the underrepresentation of the hidden, gender, race, and class-based stereotypes, which NGO participants and the awareness raising campaigns of NGOs working with WDWs in Lebanon, contain.

4. Theoretical Framework and Methodology

4.1 Theoretical Framework

Feminist researchers and academics have been vastly advantaged by the outputs that the theory of intersectionality brought to the field (Davis 2008). By targeting the issues which women confront, from one side, intersectionality preserves the traditional feminist ideologies, and from the other side, it sheds light on topics of diversity and distinctiveness (Davis 2008). Intersectionality is a theory that includes various elements and proportions (Crenshaw 1991). It is the interaction of these various groups and individuals from different class, race, gender, cultural beliefs etc. (Davis 2008). Intersectionality is a framework that can be modified so that it adjusts to diverse situations and social groups (Dhamoon 2011; McCall 2009). According to Davis, intersectionality motivates complexity and inspires innovation while staying away from untimely conclusions (Davis 2008).

In my research, I mostly rely on the concept of the intersectionality of gender, race and class within the domestic work field and specifically with WDWs in Lebanon. I apply this theory to demonstrate how gender, race and class concurrently influence on the situation of WDWs in Lebanon, and on the service provision of NGOs targeting this marginalized population.

Gender, race and class each one separately represents an independent characteristic of an individual (Mahler and Pessar 2001; Moors and de Regt 2008). However, when intersected with each other, each one of these features converts the meaning of the other (Moors and de Regt 2008; Mahler and Pessar 2001). This concept is applied when analyzing WDWs or NGOs providing services to WDWs in Lebanon. It is crucial to analyze the intersection of gender, race and class, to point out on the discrimination WDWs face, since the gender (being women), race (being foreigners from Asia and Africa) and class (individuals coming from low values/skills and enrolling in the domestic work sector which is viewed as a task performed by underqualified or undereducated individuals) (Singha 2019), of WDWs all together shape their reality in the Lebanese society.

In my thesis, I demonstrate how the intersection of gender, race and class reproduce the marginalization of WDWs in Lebanon. The specific focus within this intersectionality is the role of NGOs operating in Lebanon towards the discrimination WDWs face due to the intersection of

gender, race and class. On one hand, intersectionality is a wholistic framework that appreciates the complex correlations between different oppressive elements that intertwine to shape our reality. However, the only way to produce an accurate depiction of this intersectionality requires discerning the specific role and reality of each structure. To address these challenges, the view of my NGO participants and the awareness raising materials of NGOs targeting WDWs' gender, race and class discrimination in Lebanon, will be the primary indicator of the relative impact of each structure and how they interlock.

4.2 Methodology

In this chapter, I present the methodology I followed to conduct my research and to analyze my data. I describe the research design and the interview process, I address the limitations and challenges I faced, and I discuss my positionality as a researcher.

Access to my participants was one of the main challenges I faced during my research. The Covid19 pandemic which peaked during the period of my research and led to the closure of international borders impeded my personal access to my interviewees in Lebanon. Adding to the pandemic, the economic and political crisis taking place in Lebanon since October 2019 posed more challenges to my research (BBC News 2020).

I consider the fact that I could not interview more than seven participants, a limitation of my research. My initial plan was to access as many NGOs as possible - ones that are based in Lebanon and who work with WDWs and to conduct interviews with several employees from each NGO. I contacted seven NGOs via email and sent several reminders, but only received a reply from two NGOs. I took a step forward and utilized the personal connections I have with some employees who work in the NGOs which I had contacted who failed to respond. I contacted them personally via WhatsApp for several times and for several weeks. However, I was informed that the lack of access to interviews was mainly due to the workload of these NGOs, that was caused by the Covid19 and the economic crisis, which in its turn had led to the abandonment of WDWs by their employers (Colson 2020; Makooi 2020).

As mentioned in the introduction, Caritas Lebanon is a non-governmental organization in Lebanon which provides different range of support (such as humanitarian aid, advocacy, education assistance and much more) to vulnerable populations regardless of their race or religion (Caritas Lebanon 2020). KAFA, is a feminist, non-profit, non-governmental organizations based

in Lebanon, which focuses on fighting against family violence and against women exploitation and trafficking, and focuses as well on protecting children (KAFa 2020). Aside from the obstacles I faced in accessing interviewees, I chose to focus on these two NGOs as the former - KAFa is a feminist NGO (which was essential for me to document how feminist NGOs support female strata and to compare their views with the views of other participants from different backgrounds), and the latter - Caritas Lebanon - whose migrants' department is the first department in Lebanon that was established in 1994 and was designated to support WDWs in the region (Marie-José Tayah - ILO 2012; Caritas Lebanon 2020). Moreover, Caritas Lebanon provides the largest services to WDWs in Lebanon (Mansour-Ille and Hendow 2018; Nasri and Tannous 2014). Finally, both KAFa and Caritas Lebanon are currently the only local NGOs in Lebanon who are present within the Ministry of Labor's task force which aims at reforming, abolishing and finding alternatives to the *kafala* system through its collaboration with the Lebanese authorities (Mufti 2019).

I chose to collect the data of my research through qualitative semi-structured interviews. I selected this method, since qualitative interviews are the best way to gather concrete present-day information from direct sources. The materials collected from my participants through qualitative interviews, would have been difficult to collect with other techniques. Moreover, as Valerie Yow mentions in her book chapter entitled "Interviewing Techniques" from her book "Recording Oral History", that the answers which detailed interviews provide, can only be achieved through in-depth interviews, and no other methodology can provide the same answers to given questions (Yow 2005). Moreover, I found the technique of interviewing, the most practical method to collect virtually - amidst the existing Covid19 pandemic - different range of views from several NGO contestants about the different topics in focus, such as their views about WDWs, the *kafala* system, about gender, race and class and etc. And eventually, find differences and similarities in the views of the contestants and analyze the collected material.

The interviews were conducted virtually via Skype in English with seven NGO participants. I chose my interviewees based on their experience working with WDWs in Lebanon, either in one of the two NGOs in focus, or through their collaboration with NGOs in Lebanon supporting WDWs. All of my respondents are females and Lebanese, except for David, who is a male Filipino. The interviews lasted from 40 to 50 minutes. My interview questions were

initially developed during one of the methods courses I was enrolled in during the winter term at CEU. My interview questions were modified several times throughout the span of my research and throughout the consultations with my supervisor. Finally, I ended up with fourteen interview questions. During the interviews, few secondary questions were asked on the spot. The interview questions reflect the overall experience and views of the applicants with/about WDWs and NGOs supporting WDWs in Lebanon. The questions aim as well to obtain the views of the recipients about the oppression of WDWs, their views about gender, race, class, domestic work, and their views about the *kafala* system. I recorded the interviews I conducted with my participants, transcribed them, while receiving the written consent of all my interviewees. In my research, I refer to my applicants while using nicknames.

Ani, is a social worker and an outreach worker supporting WDWs within KAFA's anti-trafficking unit. Aya, is a social worker and a shelter coordinator in one of Caritas's shelters which hosts WDWs with mental disorders. Nina, is currently a center coordinator in Caritas Lebanon providing services to refugees, but prior to taking this position she was a senior social worker supporting WDWs victim of abuse and of human trafficking for about six years within Caritas Lebanon. David, is a legal officer and assistance-to-nationals officer at the Philippines embassy in Beirut, and has been handling the cases of WDWs and has been collaborating with NGOs in Lebanon for more than twelve years now. Hiba, is a trainee lawyer, she has expertise working in the civil society sector in Lebanon, she was an assistant project manager at FENASOL (the National Federation of Workers and Employees Trade Unions in Lebanon) for a project related to domestic workers in Lebanon. She has experience collaborating with NGOs in Lebanon and was a project assistant at IOM (International Organization for Migration) Lebanon a project related to WDWs as well. Anna, is an awareness project officer at Caritas Lebanon and has experience working with WDWs for more than twenty years with Caritas Lebanon. And finally, Atina, who has experience with WDWs both within the NGO and government sectors. She is a social worker at Caritas Lebanon, responsible of organizing activities to WDWs residing at the shelters and meanwhile she is a social worker at the Ministry of Labor in Lebanon.

Other than conducting interviews, throughout my research, I rely on many scholarly articles, reports, papers related to WDWs and to NGOs. Similarly, I rely on collecting information from resources about NGOs operating in Lebanon. Moreover, within the fifth chapter of my thesis,

I mainly focus on analyzing the websites of the NGOs in focus, their social media pages, media campaigns, videos, brochures, booklets, and annual reports.

Regarding my positionality, I consider myself both as an insider and outsider. As mentioned earlier in the introduction, my work as a senior social worker and a project coordinator at Caritas Lebanon working closely and in direct contact with WDWs from 2015 until 2019 explain my insider status. While reading Ruth Behar and Lila Abu-Lughod's articles, I was reminded of my previous experience as an NGO worker interviewing WDWs and this made me reflect on my positionality as an insider. For instance, In Behar's "The Vulnerable Observer" I was reminded of the importance of writing vulnerably (Behar 1996) and with Abu-Lughod's piece I was reminded of when researchers or interviewers build close kinship ties with their participants or beneficiaries (Abu-Lughod 1988). My applicants in this research were either my previous colleagues, or people with whom I have collaborated during my previous NGO experience. In many sections of my research, I inserted my insider knowledge and the experience I have gained during the past years as an NGO worker. It is true that, my insider position helped me to relate to my recipients and relate to the topic, but at the same time I kept my professional distance/relationship with my recipients and consider myself as a partial outsider as well, given that my views and my NGO experience are sometimes different from the views and the experience of my contestants.

Other than the articles of Abu-Lughod and Behar, to conduct my interviews, I was influenced as well by Valerie Yow's book chapter entitled "Interviewing Techniques". I used many of the interview techniques that Yow mentions in her piece, such as listening to the participant and giving him/her the space to talk and rejecting the misconception that we might know what the answer of the participant will be to a given question (Yow 2005). Adding Yow's piece, the already existing interview techniques I had gained as a counselor/social worker interviewing participants and women victims formed and helped me a lot to conduct the interviews for my research. In many sections of Yow's piece, I was finding similarities in the techniques which Yow mentions and the ones I used to follow during my previous work experience. For instance, respecting the interviewee, creating for him/her a safe environment and building trust with the interviewee (Yow 2005).

5. Awareness raising by NGOs and their hidden stereotypes – Analysis

In the following chapter, I base my study on two NGOs in Lebanon: KAFA and Caritas Lebanon. The reason behind the focus on these two NGOs is clarified within the “Methodology” chapter. This chapter is divided into three main sub-sections. In the first and second sub-parts, I analyze and demonstrate the views of my participants towards gender, race and class in the marginalization that WDWs face in Lebanon. Here, I argue that, the views of most of the participants in this research include similar hidden stereotypes parallel to the ones present within the awareness raising activities done by the two NGOs in focus. The hidden stereotypes I analyze throughout this chapter, are the stereotypes which limit the domestic work sector in Lebanon to women from disadvantaged class and racial background. In the third part of this chapter, I analyze one of the indirect services that NGOs in Lebanon supporting WDWs provide, which is awareness raising. In the last sub-section, based on my findings, I argue that the awareness raising activities provided by the two NGOs being studied, entails stereotypes based on gender, race and class which in their turn reinforce the already existing injustices which WDWs in Lebanon face. In the last section of this chapter, the awareness raising materials which I analyze are the media campaigns, videos, NGO websites, brochures/booklets, and the annual reports of the NGOs in target.

5.1 Participants views about gender

In this sub-section, as mentioned above, I analyze and demonstrate the views of my applicants towards gender and how they mention gender as one of the main factors of WDW’s discrimination in Lebanon. I argue that, the views of most of the participants in this research (except for two contestants) include hidden gender stereotypes, which restrict the domestic work sector in Lebanon only to women.

Throughout my interview, it is noticeable that my participants only mention about the gender aspect of domestic work when they were directly asked about the role of gender in the marginalization of WDWs, or the role of gender in domestic work sector in general. None of my respondents mention this aspect when asked about the discrimination in general and the reasons behind the marginalization of WDWs. Additionally, although most of my interviewees refer to the existence of male-controlled societies, in which men are considered as superior to women, and in which women are discriminated as women (Esim and Smith 2004; Moors and de Regt 2008).

However, only one (Ani) out of my seven respondents mentions about including male domestic workers within the sphere of domestic work in Lebanon, and only two (Ani and David) out of the seven mention about seeing males within the field of care or domestic work in general.

For instance, Ani, a social worker and an outreach worker at KAFA's anti-trafficking unit mentions:

[...] Still the domestic sphere is considered as women's responsibility [...] the way to get out of this cycle is not by limiting this as women's role. We need to end this division of labor or the division of gender roles, where men do not take part in the domestic chores or in the care work, in order for this issue not to exist anymore [...] we're still not there and that's I think the main problem [...] men are still not participating in this kind of work⁴.

As for David, a legal officer and assistance-to-nationals officer at the Philippines embassy in Beirut, who has been handling WDWs cases and has been collaborating with NGOs in Lebanon for more than twelve years now, mentions about men working as domestic workers, but he attributes the reason behind the absence of male domestic workers in Lebanon (or in the Arab world in general) due to its consideration as a taboo by the Arab or the Lebanese society (Moors and de Regt 2008). On the other hand, he gives the example of other countries where male domestic workers are present, and their presence is not considered as a taboo, (Moors and de Regt 2008; Ray 2000)

In the case of Middle Eastern countries it is a taboo to have male domestic workers [...] on the contrary, for example in the Philippines, some men are currently employed as domestic workers in Philippine households [...] If we take the example of Canada also, domestic work is viewed as not limited to women [...]⁵

The existence of these stereotypes among the five other participants is attributed to several reasons. The five recipients who never mention about the male domestic worker aspect, are

⁴ Interview with Ani on May 28, 2020

⁵ Interview with David on June 11, 2020

Lebanese, who were raised and lived in Lebanon and are part of the Lebanese culture. Although, those five interviewees work in (or collaborate with) NGOs who promote women's rights, yet, being raised with the Lebanese traditions, they are imbedded with the same traditional Lebanese stereotypes which restricts housework to women only and excludes men from care work (Silver 1993; Singha 2019).

Moreover, the two recipients who mention about including male domestic workers in Lebanon, are Ani and David. David, although he worked in Lebanon for years, however he is the only male and non- Lebanese participant in this research. David is raised by the traditions of his country (the Philippines), where (as he mentions) males take part in the domestic work sector (ILO 2011). His traditions are different from the Lebanese culture. As for Ani, she is Lebanese, but she is the only participant who is a full time social worker at the feminist organization KAFA, which explains the difference in the views between participants who work in feminist NGOs (like KAFA) and those who work in non-feminist NGOs (like Caritas Lebanon).

When it comes to the overall views of my interviewees towards gender, most of my interviewees in this research, claim that the marginalization WDWs in Lebanon face is not only limited to factors related to labor, but to causes related to gender, more specifically to the fact that WDWs are women (Moors and de Regt 2008). During the interviews conducted, several of my participants state that WDWs are discriminated in Lebanon as women. For instance, Ani from KAFA, says:

The marginalization that WDWs face is to a huge extend affected by gender discrimination [...] this is all about the marginalization of women, not only workers, but women workers⁶.

She adds:

We know that we live under the patriarchal system and this system is based on the inferiority of women. Women are disadvantaged and discriminated more under the structure of this system. We could see this in domestic work itself; we see that women are the ones responsible for the unpaid labor and unpaid care work [...]but

⁶ Interview with Ani on May 28, 2020

somehow women are responsible to do this unpaid and unseen work, and it's not even questioned, specifically in domestic work. It is normalized to the extent where it's not even questioned, and it has been emphasized and supported by all the gender restrictions or gender roles that think that women should stay home and care for children⁷.

Other than attributing the marginalization of WDWs to gender, Ani mentions about the patriarchal society in Lebanon, which is prevalent within domestic work as well, in which women or WDWs are seen as inferior and are seen as accomplishing a task which is unseen and unpaid (Esim and Smith 2004; Moors and de Regt 2008). Similarly to Ani, Atina, a social worker both at Caritas Lebanon and at the Lebanese Ministry of Labor, shares the same view. Atina adds that the presence of male-controlled society in Lebanon is related to ideologies which believe in differences in the overall capabilities between men and women. Atina notes:

[...] But the reason behind the discrimination goes back to the culture of the society, where the ideology that there is biological difference between women and men is present and this leads to differences in the physical and intellectual abilities between men and women [...] this leads also for many societies to become male-controlled, in which women are oppressed and viewed as inferior than men⁸.

Hiba, a trainee lawyer who has expertise with WDWs, NGOs, international organizations, and with the civil society in Lebanon, shares the same view as Ani and Atina, about attributing the gender discrimination of WDWs to the Lebanese culture (Jureidini 2010; Esim and Smith 2004; Moors and de Regt 2008). Hiba mentions:

⁷ Interview with Ani on May 28, 2020

⁸ Interview with Atina on May 22, 2020

[...] In the Arab world women have always been, even in some laws, considered as citizens from second class. This is basically due to the culture⁹.

Aya, a social worker and a shelter coordinator working with WDWs at Caritas Lebanon, says:

The discrimination of women is the manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women, where men are superior, and women are inferior and weak. WDWs are facing the discrimination and abuse because they're considered weak and there is no law to protect them. Most of the time, they are not aware about their rights and sometimes, they are forced by their male family members (brother, father or husband) to work abroad and get some money. Most of the time WDWs are not aware about their rights as women¹⁰.

Nina, a social worker with WDWs and victims of human trafficking at Caritas Lebanon, has the same view as Aya. Nina adds:

[...] Most of domestic workers are women...and WDWs due to their gender are seen as the most vulnerable...they are abused first by their families in their origin country, where their families are sending them to go abroad and to work because they are in need for money¹¹.

Both Aya and Nina link the male-controlled factor to the countries of origin of WDWs where they originally come from, and state that the patriarchal discrimination which women face is present there as well, before they enter the world of domestic work (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004; Abu-Habib 1998; Jureidini 2010; Nasri and Tannous 2014). Moreover, Nina stresses as well on the idea that domestic workers, the majority of them being women (ILO and UN Women 2015; Moors and

⁹ Interview with Hiba on June 7, 2020

¹⁰ Interview with Aya on June 2, 2020

¹¹ Interview with Nina on June 11, 2020

de Regt 2008; Esim and Smith 2004) are considered vulnerable due to their gender (Moors and de Regt 2008; King-Dejardin 2019).

Anna, another participant who is an awareness project officer at Caritas Lebanon, agrees as well on Aya and Nina's concept of the existence of WDWs marginalization as women and not only as domestic workers, even in the home countries of the WDWs before they arrive to the destination country to work as domestic workers. Anna states:

[...] The gender discrimination of WDWs is not only related to labor. WDWs are not only exploited in the destination countries but also in their home countries by their families¹².

In this sub-section, from one side, I analyzed the views of my participants towards the gender discrimination that WDWs in Lebanon face. From the other side, I identified the hidden stereotypes which limit the domestic work field to women only and disregards male from this sector in Lebanon.

5.2 Participants views about race and class

In this following sub-part, I analyze and demonstrate the views of my participants towards race and class in the marginalization WDWs face in Lebanon. I argue that, the views of most of the applicants in this research (except for one) include hidden stereotypes which limit the domestic work sector to women from disadvantaged race and class. I demonstrate below that the majority of my recipients (except for David) fail to consider that the field of domestic work can be performed by non-Asians or non-Africans, such as Arabs, Lebanese or other nationalities. Also, the majority of my interviewees (except for David) limit the domestic work sector in Lebanon to a task performed only by low-class individuals.

Only one participant, David, mentions about the concept of having native citizens as domestic workers, who not specifically come from low class or background. This, as well, is attributed to the fact that David is the only participant who is originally non-Lebanese and comes from a tradition where employing non-foreign domestic workers from different backgrounds is present. David gives the example of the Philippines, where many locals from different class and

¹² Interview with Anna on March 3, 2020

background are employed as domestic workers and are included within the labor law of the government of the Philippines.

For instance, David says:

[...] In the Philippines for instance, Filipinos or Filipinas coming from different backgrounds perform paid domestic work [...] and the several existing laws in the country [...] ensure that the rights and welfare of all domestic workers are protected¹³.

When it comes to the overall views of my participants towards race and class, most of my contestants in this research view that WDWs in Lebanon are victims of racial discrimination and are viewed as individuals from a lower race, nationality and class than the ones they (Lebanese public) come from. Therefore, all of my participants state that the Lebanese public and specifically Lebanese employers treat WDWs with discriminatory languages, using discriminatory attributions based on the different race, nationality and low-class of WDWs (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004; Pande 2012). David provides an example for the race and class-based discrimination WDWs face in Lebanon. He mentions:

[...] In a society like the Middle East women domestic workers are viewed as second-class citizens and are treated like modern-day slaves. In Lebanon, women domestic workers are sometimes called or referred by according to their nationality, like “My Filipina” or “My Bangladeshi” [...] In contrast, some countries in the Southeast Asia treat women domestic workers like a member of the family and are referred to as “helper” [...]¹⁴.

Here, David demonstrates examples of the racist attributions which WDWs receive from Lebanese employers. He mentions how WDWs are viewed as low class individuals and they attribute the existence of these sort of discrimination to the Middle Eastern society (de Regt 2010; Moors and de Regt 2008). Moreover, David provides examples of other societies in which WDWs are treated

¹³ Interview with David on June 11, 2020

¹⁴ Interview with David on June 11, 2020

as part of the family and not as a foreign worker from a low class and race, like in the case of Lebanon.

Similarly to David, Ani, another respondent adds on David's point and gives further examples of how WDWs in Lebanon are victims of racial discrimination and are viewed and treated as low-class population. Ani adds:

Employers believe that WDWs are not clean, not smart [...] Lebanese employers believe that WDWs are not like us (Lebanese) [...] or think that WDWs are inferior [...] Lebanese employers believe that in their home country, WDWs lived in worst conditions [...] and what they have now in Lebanon is already better than what they had in their home countries¹⁵.

With this quote, Ani mentions the stereotype which marginalizes WDWs and which is very common among the Lebanese society, by which the Lebanese society attribute WDWs to being "dirty" and "stupid", linking this stereotype to the idea that WDWs come from poor countries, with poor living conditions, they consider them with low status and class, that's why they attribute them to being "not clean" and "less smart" (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004; Fernandez and de Regt 2014). The Lebanese public considers WDWs not clean, are less smart, because they come from Asian and African countries – poorer countries with low status.

Adding on Ani's point about Lebanese public attributing WDWs racist and classist attributions such as being "not clean", few of my participants state that the Lebanese public contradict themselves and not only hire WDWs, whose job description is mainly designated for cleaning (and pay them little incentive in return), and whom they consider dirty, but as well they make use of them and let WDWs do other tasks such as babysitting, cooking, sometimes educating their kids and in return in most cases marginalize them and profit from their cheap labor (Pande 2013; Smith 2006; Jureidini 2009). For instance, Anna states:

The task of WDWs in Lebanon is not only restricted to the cleaning of the household, but as well to taking care of children, taking care of the elderly, sometimes working in the farm or carrying heavy

¹⁵ Interview with Ani on May 28, 2020

stuff [...] Just like slaves and not workers [...] and still Lebanese are not satisfied and say that domestic workers are not clean and give them racist comments¹⁶.

Hiba shares the same view as Anna. She notes:

Lebanese employers benefit from the multi tasks the domestic workers assist in such as taking care of elderlies and babies, teaching in some cases of students [...] domestic cleaning work, cooking [...] these workers are providing a multi task service to the Lebanese households and still are victims of racist and class based attributions¹⁷.

Moreover, few of my contestants state that Lebanese public relate the low status and class of WDWs to the sector of the domestic work and regard domestic work only for people who come from lower backgrounds and class (Smith 2006; Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004). And consider all people from Asian and African countries as domestic workers. For instance, David mentions:

Based on the common perception in the Arab countries that domestic work is a lower and cheaper form of profession and does not require a high form of respect as other white-collar professions¹⁸.

Additionally, some of my respondents mention that the racial and class-based marginalization which WDWs face in Lebanon, is incorporated as well by the legal framework of the country (Pande 2013; Mansour-Ille and Hendow 2018). For example, Hiba says:

The slavery mark did not leave these women until now, this has been promoted as well by the *kafala* system and the exclusion of this category by law¹⁹.

Aya as well shares a similar view as Hiba. She states:

¹⁶ Interview with Anna on March 3, 2020

¹⁷ Interview with Hiba on June 7, 2020

¹⁸ Interview with David on June 11, 2020

¹⁹ Interview with Hiba on June 7, 2020

The *kafala* system give the employer the power to control her [...] this power imbalance allows the employer to abuse this relationship²⁰.

As noticed, both Hiba and Aya mention that the racial and class-based discrimination of WDWs is promoted by the Lebanese legal system. Moreover, Aya mentions about the aspect of power imbalance between Lebanese employers and WDWs in Lebanon, in which WDWs are discriminated racially and based on class, counting on the fact that they can control power and authority over them since the absence of law and the presence of the *kafala* system provides them with the power to do so, without fear of being punished (Pande 2013).

In this sub-section, I analyzed the views of my participants towards racial and class-based discrimination that WDWs in Lebanon face. Additionally, I identified the hidden stereotypes which confine the domestic work field in Lebanon to only Asian and African domestic workers coming from underprivileged race and class.

The following sub-section of this chapter will demonstrate that the awareness raising activities of the two NGOs in focus, are imbedded as well with the same previously established stereotypes which most of my applicants have.

5.3 Analysis of the awareness raising activities done by KAFA and Caritas

Lebanon

Since their establishment, both Caritas Lebanon and KAFA have been (whether independently or collaboratively with other NGOs or International organizations), raising the awareness of the Lebanese public, recruitment agencies, community leaders, law enforcement officials, and other target populations about the rights of WDWs, through different methods of awareness raising such as workshops, trainings, sessions, media campaigns, newsletters, brochures, posters, booklets and etc. (Marie-José Tayah - ILO 2012; Caritas Lebanon 2020; KAFA 2020).

Awareness raising is considered by the majority of my participants as one of the main indirect services NGOs such as KAFA and Caritas Lebanon provide to WDWs. Not only by the

²⁰ Interview with Aya on June 2, 2020

interviewees of this research, but also by several scholars (Tadros 2010; Al-Ali and Pratt 2009; Alvarez 1999) cited within the “Literature Review” chapter. One of my recipients, Anna, from Caritas Lebanon agrees on the previously noted view towards awareness raising and she mentions:

We have a long experience of raising awareness and advocacy with WDWs and their communities, the Lebanese authorities, recruitment agencies, students, Lebanese public and employers [...] and now, there is more awareness, so WDWs know more about their rights and about the services of NGOs [...] ²¹

Similarly to Anna, Ani from KAFA states:

We do awareness raising and we also work on capacity building [...] we provide training for police officers and GS officers on how to apply a victim centered approach to their investigations, on the law [...] we do educational campaigns regarding the rights and obligations of both employers and WDWs²².

Atina adds as well about the content of the awareness raising provided saying:

Providing awareness sessions for WDWs before their departure from their origin countries to ensure their safe migration [...] Advocating and lobbying with many other NGOs the government to amend or cancel this system [...] awareness on conflict resolution tools, stress management in order to express their feelings and to overcome their problems²³.

It is evident that my participants view that, raising awareness about WDWs in Lebanon to different populations, is viewed as one of the main services they provide within the NGO scope they work in. However, as noticed, the content on which my applicants state that they are raising awareness on, is mainly limited to information sharing. My recipients disregard to mention about

²¹ Interview with Anna on March 3, 2020

²² Interview with Ani on May 28, 2020

²³ Interview with Atina on May 22, 2020

other aspects within the domestic work field, which are overlooked as well within the awareness raising activities of the two NGOs in focus. This will be further elaborated below, where the awareness raising campaigns, videos materials and websites of the two NGOs in focus, will be analyzed.

In the following sub-section, I argue that the awareness raising activities provided by NGOs in Lebanon, particularly by KAFA and Caritas Lebanon, targeting WDWs, entails hidden stereotypes based on gender, race and class, which reinforces the already existing inequalities WDWs face. Although in the first two sub-sections of this chapter, my participants claim that WDWs in Lebanon are being discriminated based on their gender, race and class, the majority of them fail to mention including male domestic workers, or individuals from different race and class within the domestic work sector in Lebanon. Similar hidden stereotypes are present as well within the awareness raising activities done by the NGOs in focus.

The reason behind the neglect of KAFA and Caritas Lebanon to emphasize in their awareness raising campaigns, the already mentioned stereotypes, is due to the restrictions drawn by the government. As mentioned within the “Methodology” chapter, that KAFA and Caritas Lebanon are the only NGOs in Lebanon who operate closely with the Lebanese government, specifically on the abolishment of the *kafala* system and the inclusion of WDWs in the law (Mufti 2019). And as demonstrated within the third section of the “Literature Review” chapter, that the majority of NGOs in the Arab world build their agendas and awareness raising activities based on the requirements set by the government and the international donors (Al-Ali and Pratt 2009; Tadros 2010; Jad 2010). These NGOs are in the midpoints between donors, who finance the awareness raising activities, and the government which sets limitations (Hatem 2005; Abu-Lughod 2010). In order to preserve the collaboration and uphold the benefits (such as facilitating the repatriation and investigation process of WDWs) behind the collaboration, these two NGOs have with the government, they prefer adhering to the rules set by the government.

5.3.1 Analysis of media campaigns and videos

Below, I analyze three media campaigns and two videos (one of the videos has a booklet version of the same video) by KAFA and Caritas Lebanon, which aim at raising awareness on and preventing or eliminating different forms of misconceptions about WDWs in Lebanon, stereotyped practices or discrimination which influence WDWs in Lebanon. These campaigns and videos aim

as well to let the audience be aware of the rights of WDWs in Lebanon. However, these campaigns and videos remain entailing hidden stereotypes (mainly based on gender, race and class), and overlook addressing other stereotypes, such as the limitation of the domestic work field in Lebanon only to women, to women of color and to women from "low class and status". These campaigns fail to represent men as domestic workers, or non-Asian or non-Africans as domestic workers, nor presenting domestic work as performed by people coming non low-class.

As mentioned within the Literature Review chapter, male domestic workers have existed throughout the history, and until today, do exist for instance in India (Moors and de Regt 2008) and in the Philippines (ILO 2011) (as mentioned by one of my respondents within the first subsection of this chapter). However, the absence of male domestic workers in Lebanon today and the failure of NGOs to target this stereotype within their awareness raising campaigns, is a proof of the ongoing male-controlled society and the restriction of domestic work to women of low-skills and of low class.

Moreover, based on my analysis, none of the awareness raising activities promote domestic work in Lebanon to be performed by non-Asian or non-Africans. The awareness raising activities limit WDWs in Lebanon to be women of color and to originate only from Asia and Africa. Although, as documented within the "Context and Historical Background" chapter, in the history of the domestic work sector in Lebanon, the domestic work sector was debuted by Arab WDWs and was dominated by the latter for nearly half a century (Jureidini 2009).

It is worth to mention that, I do not intend to signify that the awareness raising activities provided by the two NGOs in focus are not efficient. It is crucial for NGOs to shoot and include women and women of color within the awareness raising activities (which they are already doing), given that all domestic workers in Lebanon are women and women of color. Thus, this is one way to display that this population is being discriminated due to their race and gender. However, the stereotype lies within the complete absence and neglect to promote the existence of male or non-Asian or non-African individuals as domestic workers, alongside the already existing discrimination which WDWs face due to their gender, race or class.

For instance, looking at the media campaigns and videos launched by KAFa, taking as examples the video entitled *Domestic Workers' demand in Lebanon*, launched in 2010 on their social media platforms (KAFa 2010), and the campaign entitled "*Think about it, think about her*":

A campaign by Kafa targeting Lebanese employers (Kafa 2018). The first video mainly represents pictures of migrant WDWs pictured in several areas within Lebanon, all of them women domestic workers of color. In the video, each WDW is holding a different banner on which short sentences are written in English and French about the rights and demands of WDWs in Lebanon, such as the illegality of the passport confiscation, or the right to have a day off from work, and the right to be provided with medical care when needed and etc., given that the already mentioned common practices are accurately practiced in Lebanon by the Lebanese public towards WDWs (Jureidini 2009; Amnesty International 2019).

As for the second campaign, it is composed of three videos in which the image of the WDW is absent. The three videos of the campaign present a Lebanese couple who are employers of a WDW. The videos represent three common habits, Lebanese employers practice with their relationship with WDWs. The videos show at first the ambiguity of the employers on whether or not to exercise these common practices, just like other Lebanese employers do, and then decide to proceed with doing it. And at the end of each video Kafa presents a sentence mentioning the illegality of each practice. The common practices covered in the videos are the confiscation of the passports, withholding of salaries and restriction from freedom of movement (Abu-Habib 1998; Pande 2012; Ali Fakh and Walid Marrouch 2014).

A third media campaign similarly by Kafa, entitled *Get Your Facts Straight* (Kafa 2016) is as well composed of three videos, in which Lebanese employers are presented as racially stereotyping and discriminating Asian and African WDWs, such as attributing them to being “dirty” and attributing the “dirtiness” to the judgement that WDWs come from a lower race, status, and background. Despite the attributions (as the one mentioned) towards WDWs in Lebanon, this campaign shows that, the Lebanese public from one side discriminate WDWs, but on the other side expect from them to do tasks which in fact is not restricted to the job requirements of domestic workers, such as cooking and taking care of children (de Regt 2010).

Adding to the already mentioned videos and campaigns by Kafa, is the latest campaign by Caritas Lebanon (CARITAS LEBANON 2020). The aim of this campaign as mentioned by Caritas Lebanon is to abolish the *kafala* system. The short film which is informed by the NGO as being the beginning of a larger list of campaigns targeting the same mission of ending the *kafala* system (Caritas Lebanon 2020). This short film represents several discriminative practices, foreign

WDWs face in Lebanon by their employers. Practices such as passport confiscation, overwork, control of their freedom of movement and the racist attributions they receive such as attaching the level of the smartness to the race or nationality of the WDW (Pande 2012; Ali Fakh and Walid Marrouch 2014) etc. In this video it is noticeable the switch in the role of the domestic work, where a Lebanese woman is represented as the domestic worker and the foreign women is represented as the abusive employer. The aim is to let the audience (specially the Lebanese public) feel how it is when Lebanese employers are the ones being abused. The video ends with a message asking to end the *kafala* system, since it is a modern slavery attributing mainly that the discrimination WDWs face in Lebanon is due to the *kafala* system.

A fifth example of an awareness raising activity is the one done by Caritas Lebanon, which is composed of an infographic video. The short infographic video is entitled *Migrant Domestic Workers' Rights – A Short Guide*, (Caritas Lebanon 2016) in which the target is to inform the audience (whether WDWs themselves, or the Lebanese public or law enforcement officials or other target groups), with short messages and visual pictures, about the rights of WDWs specifically in Lebanon. The short messages are related to the rights of WDWs to have decent work conditions and to be free from discrimination and for the sector of domestic work to be included in the law and to be protected by law just like any other profession. The video sheds a light on raising awareness on eliminating the practice of the confiscation of WDWs identification documents in Lebanon (Abu-Habib 1998; Pande 2012; Ali Fakh and Walid Marrouch 2014), it sheds a light as well on the different sort of exploitation which WDWs face in Lebanon long time ago, such as their movement being controlled by their sponsors, being forbidden to practice their own religion and cultural habits, non-payment of salaries or withhold of salaries, being restricted to communicate with their families in their COO, not being provided by medical care (Abu-Habib 1998; Jureidini 2009; Amnesty International 2019) and more. Moreover, the video entails the right of WDWs to be able to change their employment freely, which is one of the rights forbidden as well by the *kafala* system (Pande 2013; Mansour-Ille and Hendow 2018).

In the first video by KAFA entitled *Domestic Workers' demand in Lebanon* (KAFA 2010), the fact that the images of the domestic workers are represented by only women of color links to the hidden gender and racial stereotype which assume that domestic workers in general and specifically in Lebanon should all be women and women of color from a race and class which is

different and lower than the employers'. Moreover, although the image of the domestic worker is absent from the three videos of KAFA's second campaign (KAFA 2018) (entitled "*Think about it, think about her*": A campaign by KAFA targeting Lebanese employers), the employers refer to the domestic worker by "her" and "she" and in the third video the daughter of the employer refers to the domestic worker by her name "Meseret"²⁴. Therefore, in the second campaign, the fact that the domestic worker is referred by female pronouns and by an Ethiopian name it again limits the domestic work field in Lebanon to a foreign women worker. These stereotypes reinforce the ideology that domestic work in Lebanon is restricted only to women and not men and is restricted only to women of color and not Lebanese for instance (Jureidini 2009; Pande 2012).

Moreover, similar gender-based stereotypes are found in the third campaign by KAFA entitled *Get Your Facts Straight* (KAFA 2016), and in Caritas Lebanon's video (Caritas Lebanon 2020). The power imbalance and the difference in class between WDWs and employers is present as well in these two videos/campaigns. However, in Caritas Lebanon's video and as mentioned above, there is a switch in the role of both the WDW and the Lebanese employer, for the purpose of the Lebanese employers to have empathy and put themselves in the shoe of foreign WDWs and stop abusing them. But again, Caritas Lebanon's video fails to address the issue of WDWs being non Asian or non African, the intention of the video is to stop the abuse which is perpetuated by the Lebanese employers.

While taking a look at the visual images of how WDWs are presented in the fifth example of the short video, it is noticeable that throughout the video, WDWs are presented as dark skinned individuals, which reinforces the stereotype of restricting WDWs in Lebanon to Asian or African WDWs and reinforcing the connotation of low skilled labor performed by people from lower status, class and background (Fernandez and de Regt 2014; Fernandez 2013; de Regt 2010; Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004). Moreover, what is also remarkable is that throughout the whole video, the domestic worker is referred to (mostly through images) as a female domestic worker. The only scene where the male implication appears, is at the end of the video, where the pronoun "He" is used to refer not to domestic workers, but to the term and connotation of a migrant worker.

²⁴ Meseret is an Ethiopian name used for both males and females

In this example as well, the stereotype and practice of restricting the field of domestic work in Lebanon to only women and excluding men from this field is reinforced as well.

5.3.2 Analysis of written materials, trainings and workshops

Below, I analyze KAFA's annual reports (KAFA 2020), and a brochure and a booklet from Caritas Lebanon (see appendices 1 and 2). KAFA's annual reports, include the yearly awareness raising sessions, seminars, workshops, pre-departure orientation trainings related to WDWs coming from different Asian and African countries and provided by KAFA throughout the years (specifically from 2014 until 2019). Similarly, Caritas Lebanon's brochure and booklet, include the services which Caritas Lebanon provides to WDWs in Lebanon and particularly the indirect service of awareness raising, through media campaigns, trainings and workshops about WDWs.

Despite the importance of the content being transmitted to the audience about WDWs with the awareness raising sessions, trainings, workshops, marches, the awareness raising sessions provided are more of informative than letting the audience to think outside the box and accepting and viewing WDWs as not limited to a particular gender, race, or class. The content of the mentioned awareness raising activities, which I provide below, tackle similar content for several consecutive years, and are failing to address other issues and stereotypes (such as the ones based on gender, race and class, as mentioned above) which are as well prevalent towards WDWs in Lebanon. By ignoring to mention these stereotyped practiced in the awareness raising session and workshops, the uncovered stereotypes are being more reinforced.

For instance, It is noticeable that the awareness raising activities (including trainings, workshops, seminars, distribution of brochures) of both KAFA and Caritas Lebanon, provided to different target populations (such as law enforcement officials, stakeholders, WDWs, diverse communities of WDWs, school and university students, staff of recruitment agencies and of the ministry of labor, Lebanese public, employers, judges and investigators of WDWs and etc.) mainly have informative purposes.

The awareness raising activities mainly consist of information on migration, its trajectories and complications, on the employment procedure, on pre-departure trainings for WDWs, on the rights and responsibilities of WDWs and of employers, on human trafficking and the exploitation WDWs face. Moreover, the awareness raising activities also include information on human rights, the Lebanese legal context, the improvements required to better protect WDWs in Lebanon,

information on the overall health of WDWs, information on the Lebanese culture and on NGOs that can support WDWs in Lebanon. Similarly, the content of the meetings conducted with several NGOs among each other, and in the presence of other stakeholders and decision-makers of the government (again as mentioned within KAFA's annual reports and within Caritas Lebanon's brochure and booklet), is limited as well to mainly information sharing and protection of WDWs.

In this sub-part, I analyzed the media campaigns, videos, reports, booklets and brochures of KAFA and Caritas Lebanon. Additionally, I demonstrated that these awareness raising activities are rooted with similar stereotypes as the ones present within my participants views.

6. Conclusion

WDWs in Lebanon, originating mainly from Asian and African countries, constitute an important segment of the Lebanese population and contribute largely to the whole Lebanese labor market. However, in Lebanon, like any other regions in the world, WDWs are victims of marginalization, mainly due to the intersection of gender, race and class. WDWs are as well omitted from the Lebanese law and remain unprotected by the Lebanese government. Moreover, the prevalence of the *kafala* (sponsorship) system aggravates the marginalization of WDWs in the region. NGOs in Lebanon, with their long history and through their large span of direct and indirect service provision, challenge the discrimination which WDWs face in Lebanon.

In this thesis, I based my research on two NGOs (KAFA and Caritas Lebanon) who support WDWs in Lebanon and I analyzed their awareness raising activities, which is one of the main indirect services they provide. Moreover, I analyzed the views of my seven NGO participants towards gender, race and class discrimination of WDWs in Lebanon and I demonstrated that their views entail hidden stereotypes based on gender race and class, which consist of limiting the domestic work sector in Lebanon only to women, from different race and coming from poorer status and class, to the ones of my respondents. I demonstrated, as well, that the awareness raising activities provided by KAFA and Caritas Lebanon, includes similar gender, race and class-based stereotypes.

My research contributed to the literature of WDWs, WDWs in Lebanon and NGOs working with women/WDWs. My research highlighted the discrimination WDWs and WDWs in Lebanon face based on gender, race and class, concurrently. It also highlighted the way

NGOs/feminist NGOs, worldwide, working with women/WDWs, provide their services (specifically their advocacy work and the awareness raising activities towards women/WDWs), the agendas and the different relationship each NGO worldwide has towards donors and the government, and how the latter influences on the service provision (specially on the service provision of advocacy and awareness raising for women) of NGOs worldwide.

My analysis fulfilled the gap of the underrepresentation of the analysis of the NGO service provision in Lebanon, precisely the service provision of awareness raising. Similarly, my study accomplished the gap of the underrepresentation of the analysis of NGO participants views towards gender, race and class-based discrimination of WDWs in Lebanon. This analysis combined the intersectionality of gender, race and class in the discrimination of WDWs in Lebanon, with how NGO participants view this intersectional discrimination and with how NGOs shoot this marginalization. Furthermore, this research demonstrated that culture and society influence, not only the attitudes of employers towards WDWs in Lebanon, but also the views of NGO participants on how they perceive the discrimination of WDWs. Moreover, my study showed the governments' impact on NGOs in Lebanon and on how the latter promotes and shoots the discrimination of WDWs based on the governments demands. Moreover, through my research, I realized that when we go deep into analyzing the work of NGOs, (rather than accepting things the way they are) we discover hidden messages unlike the ones being directly promoted by NGOs, within their mission and their awareness raising activities.

My study was limited on analyzing two NGOs in Lebanon and on analyzing the views of only seven NGO recipients. Moreover, my research mainly focused on analyzing the awareness raising activities, which is one aspect of NGOs in Lebanon challenging the status quo of WDWs discrimination. Additional research is required to further identify the reasons behind the existence of the already mentioned gender, race, class-based stereotypes among the views of NGO applicants and within the awareness raising activities of NGOs in Lebanon. A broader research is needed on the awareness raising activities of other NGOs in Lebanon and on a larger population to document the different views they have towards gender, race, class discrimination. Finally, further research is needed as well to analyze other ways NGOs challenge the status quo of WDWs marginalization in Lebanon.

Bibliography

- Abu-Habib, Lina. 1998. "The Use and Abuse of Female Domestic Workers from Sri Lanka in Lebanon." *Gender and Development* 6 (1): 52-56.
- Abu-Lughod, Lila. 1988. "Fieldwork of a Dutiful Daughter." *Arab Women in the Field: Studying Your Own Society*, 139-161.
- Abu-Lughod, Lila. 2010. "The Active Social Life of "Muslim Women's Rights": A Plea for Ethnography, Not Polemic, with Cases from Egypt and Palestine." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 6 (1): 1-45.
- Al-Ali, Nadje, and Nicola Pratt. 2009. *Women and War in the Middle East: Transnational Perspectives*. London and New York: Zed Books.
- Ali Fakih and Walid Marrouch. 2014. "Who hitrd foreign domestic workers? Evidence from Lebanon." *The Journal of Developing Areas*, 339-352.
- Alvarez, Sonia E. 1999. "Advocating feminism: The Latin American Feminist NGO 'Boom'." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 1 (2): 181-209.
- Amnesty International. 2019. "End Kafala: Justice for Migrant Domestic Workers in Lebanon ." *Amnesty International*. April 24.
- Amnesty International. 2019. *Their House Is My Prison': Exploitation of migrant domestic workers in Lebanon*. London: Amnesty International Ltd.
- Anderson, Bridget. 2000. *Doing the Dirty Work? The Global Politics of Domestic Labour*. London and New York: Zed Books.
- Asato, Wako. 2004. "Negotiating Spaces in the Labor Market: Foreign and Local Domestic Workers in Honk Kong." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 13 (2): 255-274.
- Bajracharya, Rooja, and Bandita Sijapati. 2012. *The Kafala System and Its Implications for Nepali Domestic Workers*. Centre for the Study of Labour and Mobility.
- BBC News. 2020. "Lebanon: Why the country is in crisis." *BBC News*. August 5. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-53390108>.
- Behar, Ruth. 1996. "The Vulnerable Observer." In *The Vulnerable Observer: Anthropology that Breaks Your Heart*, by Ruth Behar, Chapter 1. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Bernal, Victoria, and Inderpal Grewal. 2014. "Introduction. The NGO Form: Feminist Struggles, States, and Neoliberalism." In *Theorizing NGOs: States, Feminisms, and Neoliberalism*, by Victoria Bernal and Inderpal Grewal, 1-18. Duke University Press.
- Caritas Lebanon . 2016. *Migrant Workers' Rights (Animation)*. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K4t1A3h1TP4>
- Caritas Lebanon. 2020. www.caritas.org.lb.

2020. *Can you bear being her? We can't turn our eyes away anymore*. Directed by Tony Eli Kanaan. Performed by CARITAS LEBANON.
https://www.facebook.com/CaritasLebanon/videos/559234958123103/?__so__=channel_tab&__rv__=all_videos_card.
- Colson, Thomas. 2020. "Ethiopian maids are being dumped onto the street by once wealthy Lebanese families who can no longer afford servants." *Business Insider*. June 21.
<https://www.businessinsider.com/lebanon-ethiopian-maids-dumped-onto-the-street-as-crisis-intensifies-2020-6>.
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43 (6): 1241-1299.
- Daly, Sunny. 2010. "Young Women as Activists in Contemporary Egypt: Anxiety, Leadership and the Next Generation." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 6 (2): 59-85.
- Davis, Kathy. 2008. "Intersectionality as Buzzword: A Sociology of Science Perspective on What Makes a Feminist Theory Successful." *Feminist Theory* 9 (1): 67-85.
- de Regt, Marina. 2010. "WAYS TO COME, WAYS TO LEAVE: Gender, Mobility, and Illegality among Ethiopian Domestic Workers in Yemen." *Gender and Society* 24 (2): 237-260.
- Dhamoon, Rita Kaur. 2011. "Considerations on Mainstreaming Intersectionality." *Political Research Quarterly* 64 (1): 230-43.
- Dutton, Zoe. 2020. "As Lebanon's economy spirals, foreign domestic workers remain stranded." *The World*. February 19.
- Edwards, Michael, and David Hulme. 1996. *Beyond the Magic Bullet: NGO Performance and Accountability in the Post-Cold War World*. West Hartford: Kumarian.
- Esim, Simel, and Monica Smith. 2004. *GENDER AND MIGRATION IN ARAB STATES: THE CASE OF DOMESTIC WORKERS*. Beirut: ILO.
- Fernandez, Bina. 2013. "Traffickers, Brokers, Employment Agents, and Social Networks: The Regulation of Intermediaries in the Migration of Ethiopian Domestic Workers in the Middle East." *The International Migration Review* 47 (4): 814-843.
- Fernandez, Bina, and Marina de Regt. 2014. *Making a Home in the World Migrant Domestic Workers in the Middle East*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fisher, Julie. 1998. *Nongovernments: NGOs and the Political Development of the Third World*. West Hartford: Kumarian Press.
- Gabaccia, Donna R. 1999. "Is Everywhere Nowhere? Nomads, Nations, and the Immigrant Paradigm of United States History." *The Journal of American History* 86 (3): 1115-1134.
- Gamburd, Michele Ruth. 2010. "Sri Lankan Migration to the Gulf: Female Breadwinners - Domestic Workers." *Middle East Institute*, 13-15.

- Gamburd, Michele Ruth. 2016. "Sri Lankan Migration from Sri Lanka to the Gulf: Female breadwinners and domestic workers." In *South Asian Migration to Gulf Countries: History, Policies, Development*, by Ginu Zacharia Oommen Prakash C. Jain. Routledge.
- Gardner, Andrew M. 2011. "Gulf Migration and the Family." *Journal of Arabian Studies* 1 (1): 3-25.
- Ghodsee, Kristen. 2004. "Feminism-by-Design: Emerging Capitalisms, Cultural Feminism, and Women's Non-governmental Organisations in Postsocialist Eastern Europe." *Signs* 29 (3): 727-753.
- Gideon, Jasmine. 1998. "The Politics of Social Service Provision through NGOs: A Study of Latin America." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 17 (3): 303-321.
- Guenther, Katja M. 2011. "The Possibilities and Pitfalls of NGO Feminism: Insights from Postsocialist Eastern Europe." *Signs* 36 (4): 863-887.
- Hatem, Mervat F. 2005. "In the Shadow of the State: Changing Definitions of Arab Women's "Developmental" Citizenship Rights." *Journal of the Middle East Women's Studies* 1 (3): 20-45.
- Hemment, Julie. 2014. "Global Civil Society and the Local Costs of Belonging: Defining Violence against Women in Russia." In *Theorizing NGOs: States, Feminisms, and Neoliberalism*, by Victoria Bernal and Inderpal Grewal, 119-142. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Idriss, Luay. 2020. "The Lebanese Kafala System in 2020." *Stehind: Stoies Behind The News*. <https://www.stehind.com/lebanese-kafala-system-in-2020/>.
- ILO. 2011. *Domestic Workers in the Philippines: Profile and Working Conditions*. Geneva: International Labour Office. Retrieved from https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/--ed_protect/---protrav/---travail/documents/publication/wcms_167021.pdf
- ILO and UN Women. 2015. "International standards related to domestic workers and women migrant workers ." Publication.
- ILO. 2015. *Cooperating out of Isolation – the case of Migrant Domestic Workers in Kuwait, Lebanon and Jordan*. Beirut: International Labour Organization.
- Jad, Islah. 2010. "The Demobilization of a Palestinian Women's Movement: From Empowered Active Militants to Powerless and Stateless 'Citizens'." In *Women's Movements in the Global Era: The Power of Local Feminisms*, by Amrita Basu, 343-374. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Jad, Islah. 2004. "The NGO-isation of Arab Women's movement." *IDS Bulletin* 35 (4): 34-42.
- Janmyr, Maja. 2016. "Precarity in Exile: The Legal Status of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon." *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 35 (4): 58-78.

- Joey Ayoub - Al Jazeera. 2019. "The Lebanese revolution must abolish the kafala system." *Al Jazeera*. November 14.
- Jureidini, Ray. 2009. "In the shadows of family life: toward a history of domestic service in Lebanon." *Journal of middle east women's studies* 5 (3): 74-101.
- Jureidini, Ray. 2010. "Trafficking and Contract Migrant." *International Migration* 48 (4): 142-163.
- Jureidini, Ray. 2002. *Women Migrant Domestic Workers in Lebanon*. Geneva: International Migration Programme.
- Jureidini, Ray, and Nayla Moukarbel. 2004. "Female Sri Lankan domestic workers in Lebanon: a case of 'contract slavery'?" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30 (4): 581-607.
2018. *"Think about it, think about her": A campaign by KAFA targeting Lebanese employers*. Directed by n/a. Produced by KAFA. Performed by KAFA. <https://www.kafa.org.lb/en/node/4>.
- . 2020. www.kafa.org.lb.
2010. *Domestic workers' demands in Lebanon*. Directed by Bilal Tarabey photography/ Agence Le Pictorium. Performed by KAFA. <https://www.kafa.org.lb/en/node/18>.
- . 2020. *KAFA - Reports*. <https://www.kafa.org.lb/en/taxonomy/term/66>.
2016. *Lebanon's KAFA: 'Get your facts straight' about domestic workers*. Performed by KAFA. <https://stepfeed.com/lebanon-s-kafa-get-your-facts-straight-about-domestic-workers-4721>.
- Kathleen Hamill - KAFA. 2012. *Policy Paper on Reforming the "Sponsorship System" for Migrant Domestic Workers: Towards an Alternative Governance Scheme in Lebanon*. Policy Paper, KAFA (enough) Violence & Exploitation.
- Khan, Azfar, and Helene Harroff-Tavel. 2011. "Reforming the Kafala: Challenges and Opportunities in Moving Forward." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 20 (3-4): 293-313.
- Kifleyesus, Abbebe. 2012. "Women Who Migrate, Men Who Wait: Eritrean Labor Migration to the Arab Near East." *Northeast African Studies* 95-127.
- King-Dejardin, Amelita. 2019. *The social construction of migrant care work: At the intersection of care, migration and gender*. Geneva: ILO.
- Lyons, Lenore. 2007. "Dignity Overdue: Women's Rights Activism in Support of Women Domestic Workers in Singapore." *Women's Studies Quarterly* 35 (3/4): 106-122.
- Mahler, Sarah J., and Patricia R. Pessar. 2001. "Gendered Geographies of Power: Analyzing Gender Across Transnational Spaces." *Identities* 7 (4): 441-459.

- Makooi, Bahar. 2020. "Abandoned by employers, Ethiopian domestic workers are dumped on Lebanon's streets." *France 24*. June 25. <https://www.france24.com/en/20200625-abandoned-by-employers-ethiopian-domestic-workers-are-dumped-on-lebanon-s-streets>.
- Mansour-Ille, Dina, and Maegan Hendow. 2018. "From Exclusion to Resistance: Migrant Domestic Workers and the Evolution of Agency in Lebanon." *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 16 (4): 449-469.
- Marie-José Tayah - ILO. 2012. *Working with Migrant Domestic Workers in Lebanon (1980-2012): A Mapping of NGO Services*. Beirut: International Labour Organization.
- Markowitz, Lisa, and Karen W. Tice. 2002. "Paradoxes of Professionalization: Parallel Dilemmas in Women's Organizations in the Americas." *Gender & Society* 16 (6): 941-958.
- McCall, Leslie. 2009. "The Complexity of Intersectionality." In *Intersectionality and Beyond: Law, Power and the Politics of Location*, by Davina Cooper, Jane Krishnadas, Didi Herman Emily Grabham, 49-76. Abingdon: Routledge - Cavendish.
- Moors, Annelies, and Marina de Regt. 2008. "Migrant domestic workers in the Middle East." In *Illegal Migration and Gender in a Global and Historical Perspective*, by Joanne van der Leun, Leo Lucassen and Chris Quispel Marlou Schrover, 151-170. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Moors, Annelies, Ray Jureidini, Ferhunde Özbay, and Rima Sabban. 2008. "Migrant Domestic Workers: A New Public Presence in the Middle East?" In *Publics, politics and participation: locating the public sphere in the Middle East and North Africa*, by Annelies Moors, Ray Jureidini, Ferhunde Özbay and Rima Sabban, 151-175. New York: Social Science Research Council.
- Mufti, Karim El. 2019. "Migration, Remittances and Possible Return of Ethiopian Domestic Workers in Lebanon."
- Nasri, Alix, and Wissam Tannous. 2014. *Access to Justice of Migrant Domestic Workers in Lebanon*. Geneva: ILO.
- Naufal, Hala. 2012. *Syrian Refugees in Lebanon: The humanitarian approach under political divisions*. Technical Report, Migration Policy Centre.
- Ogaya, Chiho. 2004. "Filipino Domestic Workers and the Creation of New Subjectivities." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 13 (3): 381-404.
- Ozyegin, Gul. 2000. "The Domestic Work of Maids, Mothers, and Men." In *Untidy Gender*, by Gul Ozyegin, 152-176. Temple University Press.
- Pande, Amrita. 2013. ""The Paper that You Have in Your Hand is My Freedom": Migrant Domestic Work and the Sponsorship (Kafala) System in Lebanon." *The International Migration Review* 47 (2): 414-441.

- Pande, Amrita. 2012. "From "balcony talk" and "practical prayers" to illegal collectives: Migrant domestic workers and meso-level resistances in Lebanon." *Gender and Society* 26 (3): 382-405.
- Ray, Raka. 2000. "Masculinity, Femininity, and Servitude: Domestic Workers in Calcutta in the Late Twentieth Century." *Feminist Studies* 26 (3): 691-718.
- Rollins, Judith. 1985. *Between Women: Domesticity and Their Employers*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Roper, Steven D. 2008. *Labor Migration to the Gulf: Understanding Variations in the Kafala System*. Illinois: Eastern University.
- Schild, Verónica. 2015. "Feminism and Neoliberalism in Latin America." *New Left Review* 96: 59-75.
- Shwenken, Helen. 2003. "Respect for All: The Political Self-Organization of Female Migrant Domestic Workers in the European Union." *Refuge* 21 (3): 45-52.
- Silver, Hilary. 1993. "Homework and Domestic Work." *Sociological Forum* 8 (2): 181-204.
- Singha, Lotika. 2019. "Conceptualizing Paid Domestic Work." In *The Social Contexts of Outsourcing Housework*, by Lotika Singha, 1-38. Bristol University Press.
- Smith, Monica. 2006. "'Model Employees': Sri Lankan Domesticity in Lebanon." *Middle East Report* (238): 39-41.
- Tadros, Mariz. 2010. "Between the Elusive and the Illusionary: Donors' Empowerment Agendas in the Middle East In Perspective." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 30 (2): 224-237.
- Yow, Valerie Raleigh. 2005. "Interviewing Techniques." In *Recording oral history*, by Valerie Raleigh Yow, 92-118. Altamira Press.

Appendix 1



GRAND-DUCHÉ DE LUXEMBOURG
Ministère des Affaires étrangères
Direction de la coopération au développement

«Initiating a global approach in supporting and empowering migrants throughout the migration cycle and asylum-seekers and refugees in Lebanon” project

Lebanon, Ethiopia, Bangladesh, Nepal, the Philippines, Sri Lanka



This publication has been produced with the support of the European Union”. The contents of this publication are the sole responsibility of Caritas Lebanon Migrant Center and does not reflect in anyway the views of the European Union”

In order to address some of women migrant domestic workers and refugees problems, the EU-funded project "Initiating a global approach in supporting and empowering migrants throughout the migration cycle and asylum-seekers and refugees in Lebanon" covers three components: i) direct assistance, ii) raising awareness and iii) sustaining livelihoods of migrants in their country of origin.



The first specific objective involves direct assistance to migrants in their country of employment, Lebanon, and upon their return to countries of origin. The second specific objective covers awareness-raising activities for the general public and key stakeholders on problems of labour migration and human trafficking. The third specific objective deals with the aspect of improving livelihoods of returning migrants through vocational training and grants for micro-enterprise development.

Briefing of activities

In Lebanon and countries of origin:

- Provide social assistance
- Provide legal assistance
- Provide medical and psychological assistance and counselling
- Promote the International Migrants Day, International Domestic Workers Day and World Refugee Day in Europe, Lebanon and countries of origin
- Provide trainings to community mobilizers
- Organise learning conferences, exchange visits/ bilateral meetings among partners
- Provide lifeskills and vocational training in shelters in Lebanon



In Lebanon:

- Conduct media awareness campaigns to Lebanese, non- Lebanese and influential actors in the general public
- Carry out training for employees of the Ministry of Social affairs and recruitment agencies
- Organize workshops to judges and investigators and officers of the General Security in Lebanon



In countries of origin:

- Provide vocational training to returnees in Ethiopia and Bangladesh
- Carry out pre-departure training for final candidates of domestic work towards Lebanon in Ethiopia and Bangladesh
- Provide pre-departure orientation sessions in Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, the Philippines and Nepal to candidates for migration



Caritas Lebanon Migrant Center

The Migrant Center of Caritas Lebanon (CLMC), established in 1994, is an integral part of Caritas Lebanon which offers a wide variety of social services to all people, regardless of their race, religion, ethnicity or political beliefs.

Their beneficiaries are migrant workers from Asia and Africa and refugees and asylum seekers, migrants in prisons.

CLMC's specialized team offers these Services For Free: Social and Psychological support; Medical, Humanitarian and Legal Aid; Translation; Safe house & shelters; Orientation Seminars on rights and responsibilities of migrant workers and refugees; awareness campaign and session for the Lebanese public; Assistance of foreign prisoners in Retention Centres and other prisons.



CLMC's specialized team offers these Services For Free: Social and Psychological support; Medical, Humanitarian and Legal Aid; Translation; Safe house & shelters; Orientation Seminars on rights and responsibilities of migrant workers and refugees; awareness campaign and session for the Lebanese public; Assistance of foreign prisoners in Retention Centres and other prisons.

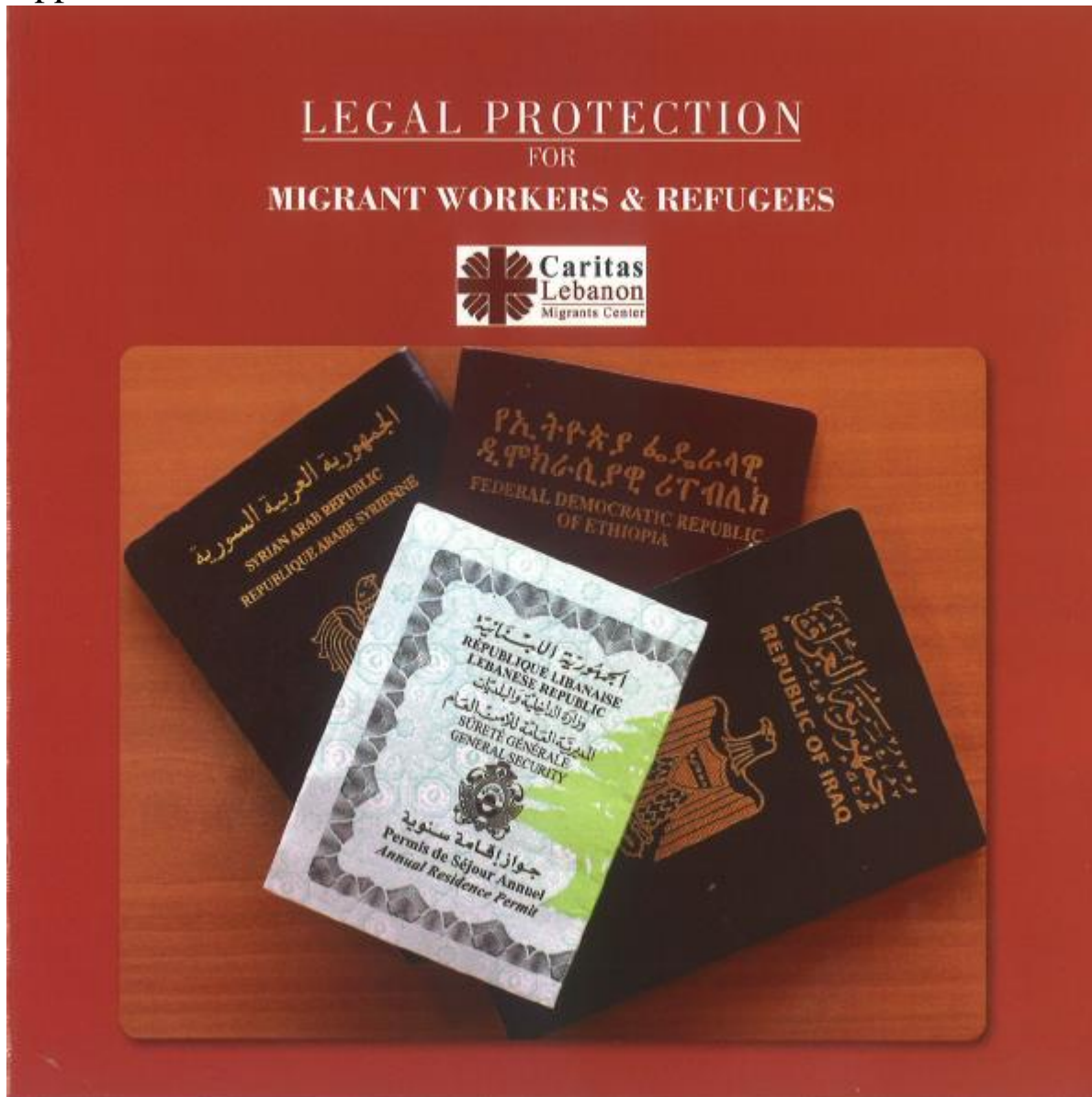
Partners & Donors

Bangladesh -Ovibashi Karmi Unnayan Program (OKUP)

Ovibashi Karmi Unnayan Program (OKUP) is a community based migrants' organization, established in 2004, that operates on the principle of human rights first priority based on gender justice, substantive equality and non-discrimination.



Appendix 2



SERVICES:

LEGAL RIGHTS & RESPONSIBILITIES AWARENESS SESSIONS

For both migrant workers and refugees, the laws in Lebanon can be complex and difficult to understand. CLMC values legal assistance for its preventative role, by providing knowledge to migrant workers and refugees to avoid legal complications before they become expensive and time-consuming to fix. Having served thousands of cases and developed expertise specifically for migrant workers and refugees, CLMC has developed sessions which emphasize tips and hints on how people can protect themselves. These sessions use a curriculum that is based on the day-to-day work and many experiences seen by CLMC lawyers over the years.



CLMC conducts legal rights and responsibilities all throughout Lebanon, both at its own centers and through partners. Lawyers and social workers use a set curriculum tailored for either migrant workers or refugees. Topics include:

- immigration status and requirements
- UNHCR's role
- Embassies' role
- family law
- relations with employers
- relations with landlords

These sessions empower migrant workers and refugees to acquire knowledge and take actions to protect themselves. In this way, they are not merely students or beneficiaries, but actors in safeguarding their situation. The sessions use interactive methods, role playing, and personalized question and answer periods to give migrant workers and refugees the tips and practical steps which they themselves can use in their own lives. Easy-to-understand, easy-to-read brochures are also distributed in the native languages of refugees and migrant workers to keep as reference guides.

TRAININGS

CLMC's training program is a key pillar of its efforts to prevent legal problems and conflicts of interests (e.g. employer-employee) and build attitudes, practices and perceptions which consistently uphold the rights of migrant workers and refugees. Its training program is extensive and engaging with so many stakeholders in Lebanon and even abroad.



CLMC's training program reaches all major stakeholders involved in the law.

- Seminars and workshops are often conducted for judges, in which international experts facilitate discussions on human rights, international conventions, and their applications on Lebanese laws.
- Trainings for prosecutors on various subjects, including false theft complaints, human rights perspectives, and similar applications to Lebanese laws.
- Trainings for General Security personnel, on human rights perspectives on treatment of foreigners in the country, at border crossing, in detention, and when seeking services. Trainings also include detection and investigations for suspected survivors of trafficking, and how to treat them in manners sensitive to their trauma.
- Trainings for police, when encountering migrant workers and refugees in distress. These trainings emphasize methods of treating them respectfully and referring cases in need to human rights defenders and service-providing NGOs.
- Trainings for other Lebanese ministries including Social Affairs, Health, and Education, to emphasize non-discrimination and tailored means of serving migrant workers and refugees in the country.
- Seminars and workshops to involve parliamentarians and other international actors to provide a better protection for migrant workers and refugees in Lebanon.

Many of these trainings have led to long-term policy changes, such as codes of conduct and modules being added to the official training programs of prison guards, Internal Security Forces, and others.

TRAININGS



In addition to the authorities, the training program tries to influence attitudes and practices among a wide range of stakeholders in the Lebanese society. These include:

- The staff of recruitment agencies to treat and implement practices which reinforce the rights and dignity of migrant workers
- The Lebanese public to adopt attitudes of respect and dignity towards migrant workers and refugees. These emphasize tolerance, acceptance of others, and appreciation of the rights of others.
- Migrant workers themselves to avoid common pitfalls of conflicts with employers and the law. These include a wide-ranging set of topics including Lebanese culture, psychological self-help, rights and responsibilities, practical language skills, and safe migration. CLMC collaborates with partners in countries of origin as well as partners in Lebanon to provide preventative trainings.
- Refugees themselves to understand their rights and responsibilities. Special topics include immigration law, family law, and relationships with employers and landlords.
- The staff of other NGOs in order to share CLMC's expertise and build their specific capacity in working with migrant workers and refugees.

All trainings emphasize participatory approaches, practical applications, and building a sense of empathy and understanding among all participants.

AWARENESS-RAISING

The consistent upholding of the rights of migrant workers and refugees is not only a legal matter but a reflection of the attitudes and values in the whole society. In this regard, CLMC regularly uses a variety of methods to raise awareness on these rights. When a critical mass of the Lebanese society holds these values, the legal framework will naturally follow.



CLMC raises the awareness on migrant worker and refugee rights through:

- media and public campaigns, which use private sector marketing techniques combined with the sensitivity of human rights to challenge and change attitudes
- sessions with the Lebanese public, which provide CLMC trainers and social workers an opportunity to interact with school children, university students, women group members, and others in ways that present migrants and refugees in ways that are interesting to them
- seminars to professionals throughout the country, in which CLMC lawyers and social workers present the issue of migration and refugees to professional associations and interested parties
- celebrations of migrants and refugees, usually around national holidays from their countries of origins and internationally-designated days such as International Migrants' Day or World Refugee Day
- presence during NGO fairs and UN agency-led events in which CLMC exposes its work and gives a voice for migrants and refugees.



ABOUT CLMC'S WORK

Caritas Lebanon Migrant Center has grown into the country's preeminent service provider to migrant workers and refugees. It is now the largest national NGO providing services to refugees and migrant workers. Currently, it is actively serving

- 260,000 Syrian refugees and growing each day
- more than 6,000 Iraqi refugees
- more than 10,000 migrant workers each year

A wide range of comprehensive services are offered by its team of over 250 professional and accredited staff who work at CLMC's network of ten field offices throughout the country, five shelters and safe houses, three community centers, and a 24-hour a day presence at the Retention Center for Foreigners.

This team is comprised of specialized professionals including lawyers, doctors, nurses, social workers, psychologists, grants management specialists, and others with a specific expertise on migration and refugees. This team is complemented by a large cadre of outreach workers and volunteers, most of whom are refugees themselves, as well as Caritas Lebanon's network of 37 sector offices and 7,000 volunteers around the country.

CLMC collaborates with a wide range of donors, international and domestic. It counts on the partnership on those who share its vision of rights and dignity for migrant workers and refugees.