

Racialisation in Lebanon

Rebecca Al-Iskalachi

Introduction

“We are not Arabs, we are Lebanese” (Gilmour 1983:79). In this assignment I will assess this claim among Christian Maronite’s and look at how processes of “white self-racialization” have occurred amongst this community in Lebanon (Hage 2005:185). I will trace processes of “self-Europeanization” among Christian Maronite’s from the time of French colonialism and Druze conflict to its resurfacing within the period of civil war (Hage 2005:196). I will look at how Christian Maronite’s emphasise their cultural superiority in contrast to their Arab and Muslim neighbours and look at how this attitude has been shaped by French imperialism (Hage 2005). One area that I will look at will be how Lebanese Christians have tried to neglect their relationship to the Arab world and emphasise Lebanon’s Mediterranean roots (Goldberg 2006; Hage 2005; Gilmour 1983). From looking at the work of Goldberg (2006) one may put forth the view that there has been a growing “Europeanization” or “mediterraneanization” of Lebanon (Goldberg 2005; 88; Gilmour 1983). I will link this to how Christian Maronites promote “lebanonism”, an idea that Lebanon should be independent from the Arab world (Gilmour 1983:80).

I will structure this paper into two parts; first looking at processes of self-racialisation amongst the Maronite community in Lebanon. Then I shall move on to look at more current processes of racialisation in Lebanon by examining the mistreatment of Migrant domestic workers. I will claim that the abuse of domestic workers in Lebanon is an example of modern day slavery with Many Migrant domestic workers being coerced into forced labour (Hamill 2011). I will look at how processes of racialisation have become apparent amongst Sri-Lankan, Filipino and Ethiopian groups who primarily enter domestic work in Lebanon; with many of these workers experiencing racism from employers and the wider Lebanese community (Human Rights Watch 2007; Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004).

Throughout this assignment I will draw on the debates of Goldberg (2006) and Dikotter, (2008) looking at how their theories apply to my chosen case study of Lebanon. Goldberg (2006) looks at the effects of western modernity on processes of racialisation whereas Dikotter (2008) emphasises the importance at looking at local contexts in order to understand processes of racialisation as well as looking at western influences.

To begin, I will first trace processes of “white self-racialization” amongst the Maronites in Mount Lebanon looking at the impact of French colonialism (Hage 2005:185).

“The Paris of the East” – The impact of French colonialism in Lebanon (Bailey and Bailey 2003:170)

French colonialism has had an immense effect on Lebanese life and culture (Gilmour 1983). The city of Beirut pre-civil war was often referred to as the “Paris of the East” (Bailey and Bailey 2003:170). One can look back to when many Lebanese women wore clothes from France or London, spoke French as their first language and had their children educated in French Schools (Gimour 1983). Beirut was a place that oozed the glamour and lifestyle of France’s capital with cocktail parties, luxurious holidays in the Lebanese Mountains, trendy nightclubs, and slick sky rise apartments being a mainstay of the lives of the Maronite Beirut elite (Gilmour 1983). However, beyond the luxury and extravagance of the city of Beirut one can suggest that French colonialism also had an additional profound effect on Lebanon that I will now discuss.

Hage (2005) looked closely at the early history of Lebanon and examined how processes of “white self-racialization” occurred amongst Maronite groups in the wake of French imperialism (Hage 2005:185). He correlated the growth in capitalist relations with the French to a white racialised identity among the Maronites (Hage 2005:185). The Maronite's are a Syrian Christian community who follow St. Maron and were formed under the Byzantine Empire (McDowall 1996; Haddad 2002a). The mountains of Mount Lebanon (then apart of Syria) were in the early centuries a place where they settled amongst other religious sects such as the Druze (Gilmour 1983; Hage 2005). The Maronite's fled to the Lebanese Mountains in order to find refuge from attacks by Muslim crusaders (Haddad 2002a; Gilmour 1983). The height and shelter of the mountains played an important part in isolating and protecting the Maronite community from religious persecution, and many Maronite's still live there today (Gilmour 1983; Haddad 2002a). Even though Mount Lebanon was ruled under the Ottoman Empire, it still, however remained relatively independent and the Druze community remained dominant (Gilmour 1983; McDowall 1996). Hage (2005) argues that that this religious community was influenced by French colonialism in terms of propagating a new racial identity amongst the Maronites.

The Maronite's were seen as a deprived group in comparison to the Druze in Mount Lebanon, however the Maronite community with their skills in the “trades and crafts” were growing in numbers and were becoming increasingly dominant in the mountains due to their economically viable trades (Hage 2005:187). The Maronite's held strong ties with Europe over the centuries, however trade amongst the Maronite Lebanese and French grew due to the demand for silk from Lebanon (Hage 2005). According to Hage (2005) among the Maronite community there became a “Christian bourgeois class” as some Maronite's started to buy their own land (Hage 2005:189). As Maronite villages of the Lebanese mountains grew economically prosperous, an attitude prevailed amongst the Maronites that deemed them more superior to the Druze community (Hage 2005). With Jesuits coming from Europe to teach in the mountains, many Maronites saw the fact that they could read and write as signs that they were more advanced than their Druze neighbours (Hage 2005; McDowall 1996). Hage (2005) suggests that the Maronites of the mountain were adopting “colonial racism”, deeming themselves to be superior due to the industrial practices that were taking place in the Maronite villages of the mountain (Hage 2005:202). They believed that they were “Culturally and ethnically distinct from the Arab Muslim majority in the region” (Haddad 2002a: 31). The Maronites not only distinguished themselves from the Druze in terms of sectarian divisions but also culturally, “self-racializing” themselves as white European (Hage 2005; 43; Haddad 2002a)

However, one important point to emphasise is that communications between the Maronite community and the West were always a part of the Maronite way of life with Jesuits coming from Europe and teaching in the mountains centuries before trade occurred with the French (McDowall 1996; Haddad 2002a). Communications between the Maronite church and the Roman Catholic Church were always prosperous (McDowall 1996; Haddad 2002; Kanaan 2005). Not to mention that in the thirteenth century the Maronite's supported the crusaders in their battle against Muslim opponents (Haddad 2002a; Kanaan 2007). Therefore one should emphasise that the Maronite's always had a strong alliance with the west as they felt that they could protect them in the wake of the Islamic Ottoman Empire (Haddad 2002a; kanaan 2005). However, as trade increased between France and Lebanon, the Maronites developed an attitude that signified that they were better and more advanced than the other communities in the mountain such as the Druze (Hage 2005). The industrial developments that were taking place among the Maronite province generated a new superior identity amongst the Maronites, believing they were more European than their Arab residents due to the skills that they possessed (Hage 2005).

Druze families were still in control of Mount Lebanon under the Ottoman Empire and this caused great tension as the Maronite's wanted to be free of Druze control (Hage 2005). The

Maronite's were hostile to the Druze rulers of the mountain who were taking advantage of the new trade amongst the Maronite's and applying heavy taxes (Hage 2005). Hage (2005) looks at how the cultural hegemony of the west was employed by the Maronites as they adopted orientalist attitudes towards the Druze (Hage 2005; Said 2003; Goldberg 2006). For example, Hage (2005) records how one Maronite historian wrote that "The Druze....are inferior in all respects. They are religiously confused and socially backward, generally lazy with no skills or trades other than tiling the ground" (Hage 2005:194). One can argue that the Maronites constructed the Druze as the "Other" adopting orientalist western racisms to convey themselves as culturally superior (Said 2003; 48 Hage 2005; Goldberg 2006). Goldberg (2006) notes how European attitudes towards Muslims developed from European Colonization of the Middle East (Goldberg 2006) Goldberg (2006) notes how Europeans saw Muslims or non-Europeans as "the quintessential outsider, ordinarily strange in ways, habits, and ability to self-govern, aggressive, emotional, and conniving in contrast with the European's urbanity, rationality, and spirituality" (Goldberg 2006:344). The Maronites believed themselves to be a superior; however failed to see this as the result of western imperialism (Hage 2005). The Maronites internalized notions of white European superiority and believed it to be natural among their community (Hage 2005). According to Hage (2005), the notion of "collective identity" is important here (Hage 2005:201). The Maronites saw the fact that they belonged to the Maronite group as justification for their superiority (Hage 2005). Even though many of the Maronites were still in poverty and did not engage in industrial practices, they still deemed themselves to be exclusively superior to the Druze, simply because they identified with the Maronite community who engaged in western capitalist practices (Hage 2005). This is how processes of "self-Europeanization" and whiteness emerged amongst the Maronites in Lebanon (Hage 2005:196).

With the expanding dominance of the Maronite's, tensions grew further between them and a civil war erupted with the result of a massacre of many Christians in 1860 (Gilmour 1983; Hage 2005). With French interests in Lebanon, the French intervened and came to the protection of the Maronite's (Gilmour 1983; Hage 2005). Previous persecutions by Muslim's in the Middle East made the Maronites identify and associate themselves with the Christian west (Haddad 2002a). Many Maronites saw themselves "as a religious community trapped in a sea of Islam" (Mackey cited in: Haddad 2002b: 300). The French became the 'protectors' of the Maronites during the rule of the Ottoman Empire and this strengthened a European identity among the Maronite community (Hage 2005). The French's role as the protector of the Maronites against the Druze enforced Maronite beliefs that they were more European; the French being their allies in the wake of persecution under the Ottoman Empire (Hage 2005; McDowall 1996).

"We are not Arab, We are Lebanese" – Rejection of the Arab World and the Mediteranization of Lebanon (Gilmour 1983:79).

One can firmly agree with Haddad (2002a) and emphasise how "The Maronites as such regard themselves not only as internally different but racially distinct as well" (Haddad 2002a:38). However, one must also look at the resounding affect that this has had on modern Lebanon and its national identity. One can link the attitudes of Maronites in the past to processes that have occurred over the course of decades in Lebanon's history. For example, the height of the civil war exposed Maronite affiliation with the west as conflicts spawned between Maronite Lebanese Nationalists and Arab Nationalists (Gilmour 1983). One can suggest that Maronite identification with the west is still ingrained in the attitudes of the Maronite community in Lebanon (Gilmour 1983). During the civil war, Christian groups in Lebanon supported "Lebanonism"; a belief that Lebanon should be autonomous from the Arab world and hold connections to the west (Gilmour 1983:80). Here we can see once again the resurfacing of Maronite "self-Europeanization" and affiliation with the west (Hage 2005:196).

One can also look at how some Lebanese have used the notion of science to claim Maronite 'superiority', thus echoing the concept of scientific racism (Law 2010; Hage 2005). Lebanese academics such as Michel Chiha have spoken about Lebanon as not being a part of the Arab world but instead having origins in the Mediterranean world (Hage 2005; Gilmour 1983). He claims that Lebanon was linked to a Phoenician civilization; an advanced civilization who were seen by the Lebanese as forerunners of the development of western civilization building territories across the Mediterranean and Europe (Kaufman 2010). This claim of Phoenician ancestry places Lebanon firmly in the domain of the west, exactly where the Maronite community believe that Lebanon should belong (Gilmour 1983). Chiha in his writings also tries to distance Lebanon from its Middle Eastern location and discusses how Lebanon geographically is similar to countries in the Mediterranean (Hage 2005). One can argue that even today, an attitude still prevails in Lebanon that emphasises the countries "Mediterraneanism" (Gilmour 1983:79). Lebanese tourist advocates place emphasis on its similarities to the west thus retracting away from its identity as an Arab country. For example, one can look at how Lebanon tourism (2011) describes Lebanon as "The Switzerland of the Middle East" (<http://www.lebanontourism.org> 2011). Therefore, one can argue that French influence in the country has indeed led to more Europeanized nation (Gilmour 1983). An attitude still prevails amongst the Lebanese that wishes to distance itself from the Arab world and one may suggest that this is in part the result of "self-Europeanization" amongst the Maronites in the wake of French colonialism (Hage 2005:196).

One may suggest that Europeanization has also taken over beauty standards in Lebanon with many Lebanese and Arab women striving for a western beauty ideal (Hammond 2007). For example one can look at the rise of cosmetic surgery and skin lightening procedures amongst women in Lebanon (Hammond 2007). However, one may argue that it is too simplistic to suggest that this is solely the result of westernization and one may argue that many Lebanese women may be striving for a beauty ideal within their own culture.

Lebanon's mistreatment of migrant domestic workers – is this an example of modern day slavery?

This section examines migrant domestic workers in Lebanon and look at how they face mistreatment in Lebanon from their employers and also from wider racist attitudes in Lebanese society (Jureidini 2002). Before the civil-war, many domestic labours were, Syrian, Kurdish, Palestinian or Lebanese (Jureidini 2009; Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004). However, due to the sectarian tensions that erupted during the civil war, many Lebanese employers felt they could not hire these groups of workers (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004). Migrant domestic workers from Sri-lanka, Ethiopia and the Philippines started coming to Lebanon in the 1970's, therefore replacing local Arab domestic workers due to their cheap labour (Human Rights Watch 2010; Hamill 2011; Jureidini 2009). Hamill (2011) notes how there are now approximately 200,000 Migrant domestic workers living and working in Lebanon. Migrant domestic workers from Africa and Asia have faced much abuse at the hands of their employers (Jureidini 2002). One can argue that domestic workers in Lebanon face modern day forms of slavery such as forced labour and debt bondage (Hamill 2011). Modern slavery is defined by anti-slavery international as forced labour at the hands of an employer who controls the worker through abuse (www.antislavery.org/). One can note how the many Migrant domestic workers that come to Lebanon are easily subjected to this type of abuse due to the lack of legal protection from the Lebanese legal system (Human Rights Watch 2010; Jureidini 2003; Hamill 2012).

Migrant domestic workers have to be sponsored by an employer from Lebanon in order to be able to work as a domestic worker in Lebanon (Hamill 2012). This is usually done via a recruitment agency, whereby the worker will have to pay the agency in their home country a sum of money for their flights, visas etc. (Jureidini 2002). Most Migrant domestic workers

that come to Lebanon are “live-in” workers, whereby they live in the house of the employer and are provided with food, clothes as the employer looks after their financial necessities (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004:584). The employers name will be written in the workers passport and thus the employer is responsible for the Migrant worker; renewing and paying for their work permits and medical insurance (Hamill 2012; Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004). However the Migrant Domestic Worker cannot change their ‘sponsor’ and therefore they can only work for that employer thereby restricting their freedoms in terms of choice of employers (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004; Hamill 2012). Lebanese employers often take the workers passport and identity papers away from them, therefore workers cannot leave their employers even if they experience abuse (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004). If the worker leaves the employer, there is a chance that the worker may be legally detained as they could be understood to have entered the country illegally if not in possession of their legal documents (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004). This “sponsorship system” allows for the abuse and maltreatment of Migrant domestic workers in Lebanon as the employer holds a disproportionate amount of control over the worker (Hamill 2012; 5). As Hamill (2012) notes “The system reinforces the dependency, the master/servant dynamic, and the power imbalance between Lebanese employers and migrant domestic workers” (Hamill 2012:5). Therefore, one can argue that this system allows for the bleak conditions of forced labour (Hamill 2012; Hamill 2011; Human Rights Watch 2007)

The international labour organization defines forced labour as “All work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily” (C029 - Forced Labour Convention, 1930 No. 29). Therefore, one may argue that migrant domestic workers experience forced labour in that many migrant domestic workers passports are withdrawn from them in order to prevent them leaving, therefore they are restricted in terms of their freedom to leave their employer if they experience abuse (Hamill 2011; Human Rights Watch 2007; Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004) . A Human rights report (2007) looked at the abuse of Sri-lankan domestic workers in Lebanon and reported that many workers would experience abuse if they did not fulfil their work duties, with employers threatening to report them to the police if they did not continue working. One can also look at how employers did not let their workers leave the house, choosing to lock them in the home thereby restricting their freedom (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004; Human Rights Watch 2007).

Violence is also used by employers to force work amongst their workers. Many domestic workers are hurt physically, with employers hitting or beating them (Human Rights Watch 2007). Many reports that have come from Lebanon have documented the many violent acts experienced by Migrant domestic workers (<http://www.dailystar.com.lb>). A Human Rights Watch report (2007) found that workers experienced “beatings, deliberate burning with hot irons, kicking, slapping, and hair-pulling” in Lebanon and in other Arab countries (Human Rights Watch 2007:55). Domestic workers also experience other poor working conditions and exploitation such as long working hours, poor living conditions and in some cases sexual abuse (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004; Human Rights Watch 2007).

One can possibly create a link the mistreatment of domestic workers in Lebanon to Arab slavery that was previously seen in the Arab world (Lewis 1990). Lewis (1990) looks at how African slaves were taken to Arab states to carry out work such as domestic duties. Even at this time, there existed inferior ‘Others’ in the Arab world who were sold into slavery (Hunwick 1999; Said 2003). Lewis (1990) notes how many slaves from East Africa “lived and worked in conditions of extreme misery”, Chattel slavery being a common practice in the Middle East (Lewis 1990:56, Marmon 1999). Lewis (1990) makes the point that the Arab world was not free of its own local racisms and therefore one can argue that not all racisms are a direct consequence of western modernity and imperialism as discussed by Goldberg (2005).

One can argue that Migrant domestic workers today also experience Debt bondage (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004). Human Rights Watch (2007) defines this type of slavery as “when a worker works partly or exclusively to pay off a debt that may be incurred during the process of recruitment” (Human Rights Watch 2007: 83). Migrant domestic workers are often drawn into debt before they even leave Lebanon due to the high costs of recruitment agency fees; therefore they are in debt even before they start work and are thus tied to their work in order to pay the debts off (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004; Jureidini 2002). Furthermore, employers on some occasions withhold wages so they cannot afford the cost of flights back home and therefore are forced in to labour (Jureidini 2003). In 2008, Human Rights Watch reported that Domestic workers were dying every week from suicide or attempted escapes from their employers (Human Rights Watch 2008). Therefore, one can emphasise the severity of such abuse and exploitive working conditions against Migrant domestic workers in Lebanon and argue that Migrant domestic workers experience new forms of modern day slavery (Hamill 2011).

Racism against Migrant Domestic workers

“This Friday night, be Sinkara or Milenga ... be Soumatra or Domma ... create your own maid costume, speak like them and look like a Philippino [sic], Bengladish [sic], Sri Lanka [sic] or any maid you want and definitely win 100 U.S. dollars in cash” (www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Local-News/2012/Jan-26/161107-beirut-bar-cancels-event-inviting-guests-to-dress-as-domestic-workers.ashx#axzz1tpTkxIXj 2011). This is taken from an invite to an event in Lebanon that was cancelled due to its racist language and was reported by the Lebanese press (Ibid.). One can argue that many Lebanese citizens internalize racial stereotypes of Migrant domestic workers and therefore racially discriminate against them (Jureidini 2002). One can look at how this report supports the view that many Migrant domestic workers in Lebanon are treated as an inferior and as distinctively different from the Lebanese population.

One can argue that many Asian and African minorities in Lebanon are racialised due to the “racial assumptions” regarding Migrant domestic workers. For example, Jureidini and Moukarbel (2004) looked at how Sri-Lankan Migrant domestic workers were racially stereotyped as “unclean” as they were seen to come from poorer backgrounds (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004). Jureidini and Moukarbel (2004) found that employers would treat sri-lankan domestic workers as unhygienic and specify that they should clean the bathroom before the employer or members of the family use it. One could however argue that this may be regarded as discrimination on the grounds of social class, with most Migrant domestic workers coming from poorer backgrounds. Although one cannot deny the importance of social class in the prejudice surrounding Migrant domestic workers, one may argue that race and processes of racialisation are more significant factors in the mistreatment of domestic workers. Jureidini and Moukarbel (2004) argue that “There is a considerable degree of racism in Lebanon, particularly when it comes to foreign domestic workers” (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004: 586).

For example, one can look at the growing incidents of employers choosing their domestic workers according to racial characteristics (Abdulrahim 2012; Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004). Abdulrahim (2012) found that Lebanese employers would choose their workers in regards to the racial stereotypes often perpetrated in Lebanese circles. For example, Ethiopian and Phillipina workers are seen by the Lebanese as more assertive, whereas Sri-lankan workers are seen as more subservient and obedient (Abdulrahim 2012; Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004). Even before the employer has met the worker, racial assumptions dominate their thinking and one can argue that this thinking in terms of race has led to an “othering” of Sri-Lankan, Ethiopian and Filipino Migrant workers (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004; Elouafi 2010:253). Jureidini and Moukarbel (2004) also found that there is a “racialized hierarchy” in regards to choosing Migrant domestic workers especially in regards to workers’ wages with

Sri-Lankan workers receiving lower wages due to their lack of education and more poverty induced backgrounds (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004; Abdulrahim 2012;9) . Therefore, one cannot deny that there is an underlying degree of racism against Sri-Lankan, Filipino and Ethiopian workers within Lebanon's households (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004). Abdulrahim (2012) found that one employer she interviewed used racist language when talking about her domestic worker articulating that "Throughout the interview, the participant expressly displayed her repulsion towards dark skin, associating it with malice and lack of cleanliness". (Abdulrahim 2012: 15). Abdulrahim (2012) expressed that in her interviews with Lebanese employers they had communicated a large degree of prejudice against people with darker skin tones. One could link this back to what I discussed earlier in my assignment and link this apparent preference for lighter skin tones to the impact of French colonialism and the prevailing attitudes amongst many Lebanese that they are more European (Hage 2005). News Reports from Lebanon have also shown how African and Asian Migrants have been excluded entry into beach clubs thus suggesting racial discrimination (<http://www.dailystar.com.lb>). Even if domestic workers are allowed entry they still aren't allowed to swim in the pools and one beach club in Lebanon also designates Migrant domestic workers to sit in a particular area (<http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Local-News/2011/Jul-23/Beachgoers-battle-rising-prices-admission-policies.ashx#ixzz1Tn6lWaRB> 2011). One can link this example of discrimination to processes of "Othering" and racial segregation (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004; Elouafi 2010:253; Said 2003). The fact that most Migrant workers cannot swim in the same pool as the Lebanese evokes the idea of racial mixing, with Migrant workers not being allowed to congregate with the Lebanese. Language is a powerful tool in connoting racial discrimination. One can also look at how some Lebanese use negative racial terms to refer to certain migrant groups (Jureidini 2002). For example, one can look at how African migrants are referred to in Arabic as "Abed" which means "slave" (Jureidini 2003; 1,). This is significant as this word originated in its use from the time of Arab slavery, with Arabs using this word to refer to black slaves. This word then took on the meaning of a black person in general (Lewis 1990). With the surge of Lebanese migrations to West Africa; "abid" was then used to refer to Africans (Winder 1962:322). However, many West Africans disapproved of the term due to its negative racial connotations and its links back to slavery (Winder 1962). Therefore, this word holds significant wider meaning in its contemporary use and can be seen as undoubtedly offensive to many Africans today (Winder 1962).

Furthermore, Jureidini and Moukarbel (2004) also note how all migrant domestic workers in Lebanon are called a "Sirilankeyeh" thus perpetuating the racial stereotype that most domestic workers are Sri-Lankan (Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004:586). One can argue that most African and Asian ethnic groups who come to Lebanon face racial discrimination due to the racial stereotypes that surround their ethnic group (Jureidini 2002). For example, there have been incidents in Lebanon where prominent people of Asian or African nationality have been asked by police officials for identity documents, assuming that they are a "runaway" Migrant domestic worker (Jureidini 2002; Jureidini and Moukarbel 2004:596).

Conclusion

Drawing comparisons between Lebanon and Northern Ireland

Lebanon is a unique country to examine, with many different sectarian groups and communities living amongst one another (Bailey and Bailey 2003). Crighton and Mac Iver (1991) compares Lebanon with Northern Ireland by looking at how both countries contain groups that have an inherent "fear of extinction" (Crighton and Mac Iver (1991:127). They argue that both Protestants in Northern Ireland and the Maronites in Mount Lebanon settled in these countries in order flee from religious persecution (Crighton and Mac Iver 1991). Both Maronites and Protestants harboured an attitude that understood that they must protect their identities in the midst of persecution by other dominant groups (Crighton and Mac Iver 1991). Crighton and Mac Iver (1991) argue that both "Protestants and Maronites sought to

protect their religious identity from being lost in the ‘non-Christian’ sea in which they lived” (Crighton and Mac Iver 1991: 128). One can look at how Protestants in Northern Ireland and Maronites in Mount Lebanon fought for their survival in the midst of conflict, which thus reinforced their drive to protect their religious identities (Crighton and Mac Iver 1991). For example, the Druze and Maronite conflict in Lebanon that resulted in the massacre of many Maronites escalated the fear of extinction amongst this community with the Maronites therefore developing a stronger relationship with the French (Crighton and Mac Iver 1991; Hage 2005). Furthermore, in Northern Ireland, conflicts with Catholics only reinforced their beliefs that they must fight for their survival in order to protect their religious identities (Crighton and Mac Iver 1991). Even though these conflicts were due to sectarian divisions one can argue that both these groups identified themselves as “Culturally and ethnically distinct” from their adversaries (Crighton and Mac Iver 1991; Haddad 2002a: 31). By comparing Lebanon with the case of Northern Ireland, one can highlight the importance of collective identity and group solidarity in the formation of racist beliefs about others (Hage 2005). The Maronites strong bonds and group solidarity enforced their beliefs that they were superior to the Druze (Hage 2005; Haddad 2001). From my analysis of processes of racialisation in Lebanon one can emphasise the importance of group solidarity and strong communal beliefs in creating an inferior “other” and creating a strong racial identity (Hage 2005; Said 2003:43; Haddad 2001). The Maronites fear of persecution strengthened internal bonds and therefore a racial identity thus developed in the wake of this (Haddad 2001). For example, one can look at how within the period of civil-war in Lebanon, internal bonds and group solidarity increased in the wake persecution and conflict from other sectarian groups (Haddad 2001).

Lessons from Lebanon

From examining processes of racialisation in Lebanon one may ask what Lebanon teaches us about our understanding of global racism. One may suggest that the argument put forth by Goldberg (2006) detracts us from looking at racisms found within a local context. For example, although Lebanon was deeply affected by western colonialism, one cannot deny the importance of looking at the Druze and Maronite conflict in Mount Lebanon in order to understand processes of racialisation amongst the Maronite Lebanese (Hage 2005). Furthermore, one can emphasise how the mistreatment of Migrant domestic workers is not only present in Lebanon but also in the wider sphere of the Middle East (Human Rights Watch 2007). One can draw on the connection between previous slavery in the Middle East and the modern forms of slavery experienced by many Migrant domestic workers today; with local Arab racisms still being reproduced in the sphere of Domestic work in Lebanon. Therefore, the case of Lebanon demonstrates the importance of looking at other contexts outside of Europe instead of looking at a one dimensional view of “racial europeanization” (Goldberg 2006:333). By using an interactive method as discussed by Dikotter (2008) one may develop new theories and new insights that would have been missed if solely looking at the effects of “racial Europeanization” (Goldberg 2006:333).

By looking at the treatment of Migrant Domestic workers in Lebanon one can also emphasise how slavery is still apparent today and note how many other countries need to tackle this growing global problem (<http://www.antislavery.org/>). One look at how globally many countries have an influx of migrant workers that are treated as inferior to the host population. By examining Lebanon one can argue that racial assumptions often dominate peoples thinking about these migrant communities often contributing to the growth of racial prejudice.

References

Abdulrahim, S. (2010). Servant, daughter, or employee? A pilot study on the attitudes of Lebanese employers towards migrant domestic workers. KAFSA (enough) Violence & Exploitation.

Anti-Slavery International. [Online] [Date accessed 2012] Available from the World Wide Web: <<http://www.antislavery.org/>>

Bailey, B, J and Bailey J, M (2003). Who Are the Christians in the Middle East? Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Company.

Crichton, E and Mac Iver, M, A (1991). The Evolution of Protracted Ethnic Conflict: Group Dominance and Political Underdevelopment in Northern Ireland and Lebanon. *Comparative Politics*. 23 (2). 127-142

Dikötter, F (2008). "The racialization of the globe: an interactive interpretation". *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 31(8) 1478- 1496

Elouafi, A, A (2010): The colour of Orientalism: race and narratives of discovery in Tunisia, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 33 (2), 253-271

Gilmour, D (1984). Lebanon: the fractured country. London: Sphere

Goldberg, D.T (2006) "Racial Europeanization". *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 29 (2). 331- 364

Haddad, S (2001): A Survey of Maronite Christian Socio-Political Attitudes in Post-war Lebanon, *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*.12 (4) 465-479

Haddad, S (2002a). "The political transformation of the Maronites of Lebanon: From dominance to accommodation". *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 8 (2). 27-50

Haddad, S (2002b). Cultural diversity and sectarian attitudes in post-war Lebanon. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 28(2). 291-306.

Hage, G (2005) "White self-racialization as identity fetishism: Capitalism and the experience of colonial whiteness". In: K, Murji and J, Solomos (eds). *Racialization: studies in theory and Practice*. New York; Oxford University press; 185-205

Hammond, A (2007). *Popular Culture in the Arab World: Arts, Politics, and the Media*. Egypt: American University Cairo Press

Hamill, K (2011). Trafficking of Migrant Domestic Workers in Lebanon: A Legal Analysis. KAFSA (enough) Violence & Exploitation [online]. [Accessed 6th May 2012] Available from the World Wide Web: <www.kafa.org.lb/StudiesPublicationPDF/PRpdf37.pdf>

Hamill, K (2012). Policy Paper on Reforming the "Sponsorship System" for Migrant Domestic Workers: Towards an Alternative Governance Scheme in Lebanon. KAFSA (enough) Violence & Exploitation [online]. {Accessed 6th May 2012} Available from the World Wide Web: <<http://www.kafa.org.lb/studiesandPublications.aspx?code=27&category=2>>

Human rights watch (2007) *Exported and Exposed: Abuses against Sri Lankan Domestic Workers in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Lebanon, and the United Arab Emirates*.

Human rights watch (2008) *Lebanon: Migrant Domestic Workers Dying Every Week* [online]. [Accessed 6th May 2012} Available form World Wide Web: <<http://www.hrw.org/news/2008/08/24/lebanon-migrant-domestic-workers-dying-every-week>>

Human Rights Watch. (2010). *Without protection: How the Lebanese justice system fails migrant domestic workers*.

Hunwick, J (1999) "Islamic Law and Polemics over race and Slavery in North and West Africa (16th-19th Century) In: S, E. Marmon (ed). *Slavery in the Islamic Middle East*. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers

International Labour Organization. (1930). *Forced Labour Convention, Convention 29*. [Accessed 6th May 2012] Available from the world wide web : < <http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/cgi-lex/convde.pl?C029>>

Jureidini, R. (2002). Women migrant domestic workers in Lebanon. *International Migration Papers*. 48. 1-52.

Jureidini, R. (2003) *Migrant workers and xenophobia in the Middle East. Identities, Conflict and Cohesion Programme Paper Number 2*. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

Jureidini, R. & N. Moukarbel. (2004). Female Sri Lankan domestic workers in Lebanon: A case of 'contract slavery'? *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30 (4).

Jureidini, R (2009). In the Shadows of Family Life: Toward a History of Domestic Service in Lebanon. *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*. 5(3).

Kanaan, C., B (2005) Lebanon 1860-1960: a century of myth and politics. London: Saqi

Kaufman, A (2001): Pheonicianism: The Formation of an Identity in Lebanon of 1920, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 37 (1). 173-194

Law, I (2010) *Racism and Ethnicity: global debates, Dilemmas, Directions*. Harlow: Longman.

Lebanon tourism.org (2011). [online]. [Accessed 8th May 2012]. Available from the World Wide Web: <<http://www.lebanontourism.org>>

Lewis, B (1990) *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: An Historical Enquiry*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Marmon, S, E (1999) "Domestic Slavery in the Mamluk Empire: A preliminary sketch In: S, E. Marmon (ed). *Slavery in the Islamic Middle East*. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers.

McDowall, D (1996) *Lebanon: a conflict of minorities*. London: Minority Rights Group

Said, E. (2003) *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. London: Penguin Classics.

The Daily Star Lebanon (2011) [online] [Accessed 6th May 2012]. Available from World Wide Web: <<http://www.dailystar.com.lb>>

The Daily Star Lebanon (2011). Beirut bar cancels event inviting guests to dress as domestic workers (2011). [online] [accessed 6th May 2012] Available from World Wide Web: <<http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Local-News/2012/Jan-26/161107-beirut-bar-cancels-event-inviting-guests-to-dress-as-domestic-workers.ashx#ixzz1u3BedDG9>>

Winder, R, B (1962). "The Lebanese in West Africa". *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. 4 (3). 296-333.